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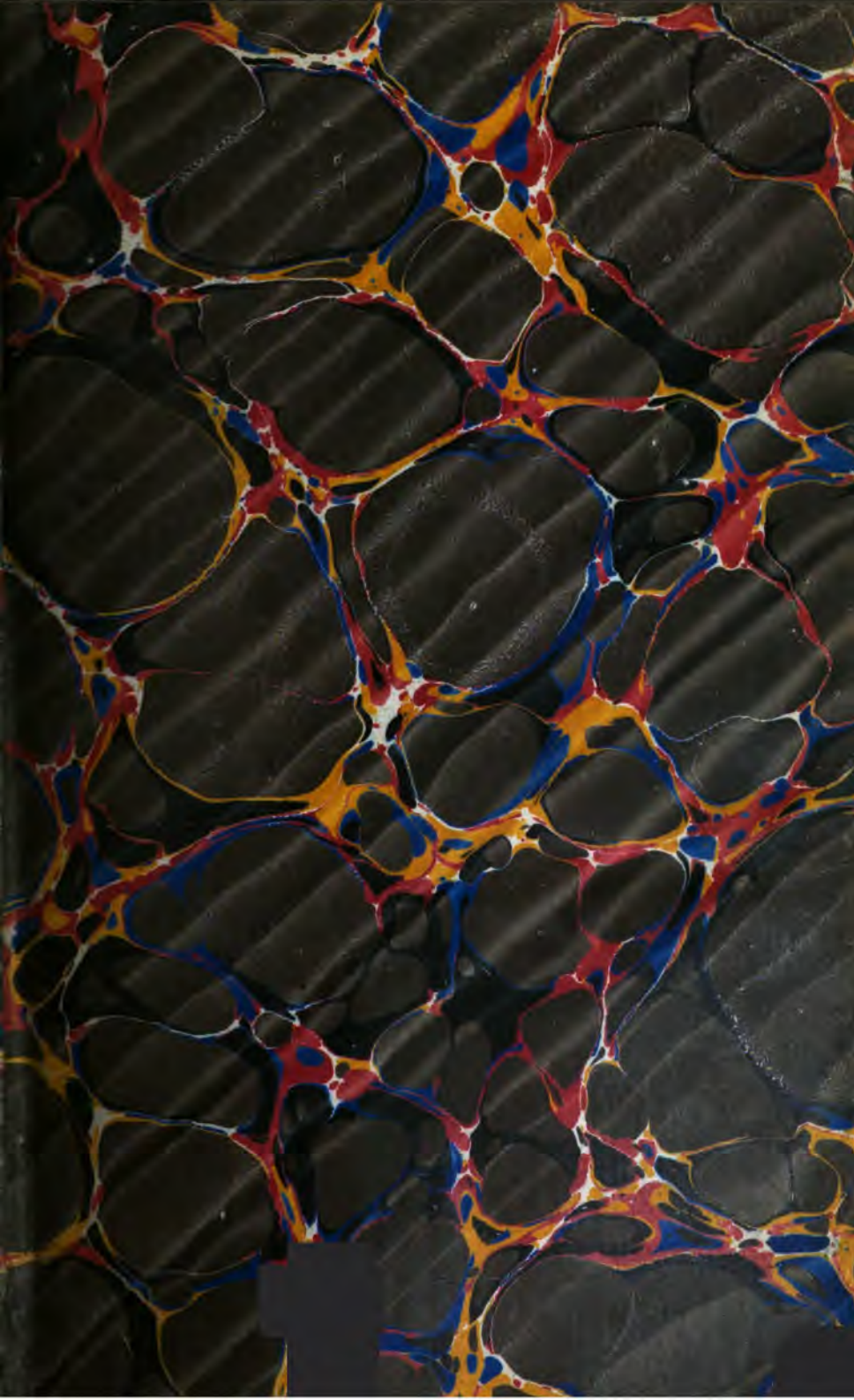
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THE

HISTORY

OF

ANCIENT GREECE,

ITS COLONIES, AND CONQUESTS:

Part the Second;

EMBRACING

THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD,

FROM THE

DOMINION OF ALEXANDER TO THAT OF AUGUSTUS;

WITH A

SURVEY OF PRECEDING PERIODS,

AND A CONTINUATION OF

THE HISTORY OF ARTS AND LETTERS.

By JOHN GILLIES, LL.D.

F.R.S. AND S.A. LONDON, F.R.S. EDINBURGH, INSTIT. SOC. PARIS, AND ACADEM. REGIÆ SCIENC. GOTTING. CORRESP.
AND HISTORIOGRAPHER TO HIS MAJESTY FOR SCOTLAND.

Εκ μεν τουτε της απαντων προς αλληλα συμπλοκης και παραθεσεως, ετι δε διειστητος και διαφορας, μονως τις αν εφικοιτο, και δυνηθειη κατοπτευσας, αμα και το χρησιμον και το τερπνον εκ της ιστοριας λαβειν. POLYBIUS, l. i. c. v.

A NEW EDITION,

WITH CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

THE affairs of the Greeks, an ingenious and enterprising people, were gradually interwoven with those of surrounding nations. By their commerce, their colonies, and their conquests, they formed, at length, a very complex, yet clear, chain of connection among all the countries that belong to the subject of ancient history. Their commonwealths, in Italy and Sicily, will appear, in the present Work, as prime movers in the wars and revolutions of Europe and of Africa; and the Grecian dynasty in Asia comprehends that interesting period in which, chiefly, the affairs of eastern monarchies admit of any copious and consistent narrative. To prepare my readers for this latter subject, it was necessary to advert to the anterior condition, and long unvarying policy, of the East; because the recorded transactions of former conquerors serve occasionally to explain those of Alexander,

while the projects and achievements of *his* splendid reign continually dart light into the distance and dimness of more remote ages. For the sake of this double reflection, I have ventured, at the commencement of my "Survey," to deviate from the order of time, strictness in this particular being less essential in a work, which is not confined to the mere annals of kings and dynasties, but which is principally directed to objects of more utility or allurement: the local circumstances; the mutual wants; the manners, arts, and occupations of communities at large, and of the various ranks of persons composing them; in which extensive retrospect, I am conscious of having spared no pains to avail myself of all such scattered information as either the fragments of antiquity have handed down, or the casual notices of modern travellers have presented. The Assyrians, and other great nations of Asia, stand, apart, in the front of my work; and, in the body of it, similar notices are afforded, respecting the Carthaginians, Romans, Gauls, Parthians, and the assemblage of warlike subjects under Mithridates of Pontus.

After the example of the earliest and most elegant of Greek historians, whose

subject is akin to mine, though terminating at a far earlier date, I have enquired, as he does on similar occasions *, who they were, those renowned and once powerful nations, subdued and long governed by the Greeks and Macedonians: in what particulars they agreed; wherein they essentially differed; what had been their pursuits; and what were their attainments. Through my adherence to this best of models, my readers will be led from the known to the unknown; and the history of Greece, the country to which we are indebted for our general acquaintance with antiquity, will naturally expand into that of the eastern continent, and of those remote regions of the south and west, which gradually fell within the sphere, either of its military enterprise, or of its commercial intercourse.

This plan of history should seem the best adapted to excite interest, and to convey information. Yet this is not the method that has generally been adopted; for, in all things, the opinions of men are influenced, rather governed, by the decisions of fortune. The grave and judicious Polybius composed his invaluable

* Herodotus, l. i. c. 95. et passim.

work, to show by what means the Romans, in the space of fifty-three years, commencing with the second Punic war, acquired a preponderancy over all those nations, which, in the course of the following century, they reduced into provinces. It appeared to him a task more easy, certainly more animating, to trace the progress of the rising commonwealth, than to rake into the vices and miseries of decaying monarchies: and the same motives that actuated Polybius, have so generally prevailed with succeeding authors, that the history of Rome is very commonly confounded* with that of the world. Thus, instead of proceeding from the Greeks to the Romans, from the stock to the branches, the contrary order has become familiar; a practice that might be suspected to rest on some better foundation than mere flattery to power, had it prevailed uniformly. But, fortunately, we possess remains or notices of many ancient writers, who preferred nearly the same plan that is pursued in the present work: witness, among the Latins, Trogus Pompeius,

* In the title, therefore, of this work, as first published at home, and printed repeatedly abroad, there was an ambiguity, which it has been thought right to remove in the present edition.

unhappily * abridged by Justin; and the great Posidonius of Rhodes, at approaching whose door, Pompey, in his meridian glory, arrested the thunder of his lictors, and commanded them humbly to recline the consular fasces.

Between the reigns of Alexander and Augustus, there is an interval of three hundred years, involving many subordinate changes of fortune, while the principal action consists in the transfer of power from the Greeks and Macedonians, to the Romans and Parthians. Of this period, the first century, from the death of Alexander to the commencing ascendency of Rome, has hitherto been treated imperfectly, leaving many chasms to be filled up from authors little consulted for history, and many perplexed passages to be unravelled by suggestions from parallel occurrences in earlier and later times. This first century may be considered as wholly Grecian: the second may be ascribed indifferently to Greek or Roman story; while the transactions of the third may be fitly embodied in the annals of Rome. This third century, contiguous to Augustus, contains twenty years of Ro-

* The abridgement is said to have caused the loss of the original.

man civil wars, contributing but little to our better acquaintance with those countries, which were their scene, and which produced no other political change than that of conveying, from one military usurper to another, the power already acquired and consolidated by the republic. As the greater part of it, however, was an age of Roman aggrandisement, the writers of Rome may be allowed to claim the whole century for their own, and to interweave its subordinate events in the majestic series of consular triumphs. This proud monument, they emulously raised to the glory of their country; a country, in many points to be envied, but in nothing more than for the patriotism of its authors. Their justly admired compositions, who shall presume to rival? Mine is a humbler aim, to serve as a perpetual commentary on them, and to give them new interest with the modern reader, by explaining more fully than is done by themselves, the resources and institutions of the various nations, who either submitted to the legions, or who, like the Parthians, and the Germans, always defied their arms. At the beginning, indeed, the Romans were mainly a Greek colony; and will be shown to have long continued Greeks, in all essen-

tials but their arms, and the tactics necessarily dependent on them. Under this aspect, they belong strictly to my subject, particularly in the earliest times: and though, to avoid repetition of things generally known, I thought proper to compress my subsequent narrative of their domestic concerns, yet, in the relation of their foreign affairs, few important transactions are left unexplained, from the building of the city to the dominion of Augustus.

In the compass of eight volumes, I have thus attempted a work that had been pronounced, by good judges, at home and abroad, to be wanting in modern literature — a more authentic, less meagre, and better connected ancient history. That a subject so vast and various, should be comprised within very moderate limits, may be ascribed to the new arrangement here given to it, and to my constant study not to substitute descants on history for history itself; to avoid declamatory reflections and wordy disquisitions. Facts and dates are the province of the historian: he is to tell what was done; to relate when and how each scene was transacted: above all, to trace and brighten the connection between effects and their causes, that the

picture of past times may be a perpetual lesson to the present.

The former part of this work was accompanied with two maps, affording a general view of Ancient Greece, its colonies and conquests. But this second part, embracing the whole world of antiquity, could be fitly elucidated by nothing short of an ancient atlas; a work, more or less perfect, to be found in every library. The most comprehensive, however, and most instructive geographer is the historian; and, following the Greek historians, I have exerted the utmost diligence to give precision and perspicuity to the geography in my text; which will be the more amply illustrated, in proportion to the fulness and correctness of the maps with which it is compared.

London,
Upper Seymour Street,
April, 1820.

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SURVEY

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SECT. I.

Death of Alexander, Olymp. cxiv. 1. Before Christ 324.—Two aspects of his reign.

ALEXANDER died at Babylon in the thirty-third year of his age, agitating vast and various schemes both of war and of policy. His short reign, of only twelve years and eight months, may be viewed under two distinct aspects; either as the termination of republican

SECT. I. Greece, thereby drained of her strength, and thenceforth eclipsed of her splendour; or, as the commencement of a Grecian dynasty in the East, comprehending in that quarter all those nations whose records are embodied in what is now called ancient history. In treating the subject under the former point of view, I endeavoured, in a preceding work[1], to unfold the plan of Alexander's campaigns, and accurately to describe his battles and sieges. But, in contemplating his reign under its second and still more important aspect, as the foundation of a new empire, destined speedily to dissolve into many separate monarchies, it becomes necessary to advert, not only to the exploits which he achieved, but to the extraordinary undertakings which he meditated, and which, verging, as they certainly did, on romantic heroism, were nevertheless, the boldest of them, confined within strict practicable limits.

Peculiarities in his character and fortune.

Above all candidates for renown, the Macedonian stands, indeed, pre-eminent for his uniform and nice discrimination between difficulties and impossibilities. The former, he perseveringly surmounted; with the latter, he never once had the presumption to grapple. This distinction in his favour, which ensured to him the highest interest with writers of reflection, has not failed, however, to expose him to the envious blasts of satire, eager to lessen greatness,

[1] History of Ancient Greece.

and to the more pestilent breath of fabulous[2] panegyric, servilely prone to swell admiration into wonder. If his detractors have absurdly arraigned him, as a destroyer, a rod, and a scourge; his admirers are not entitled to adorn him with the fame of a blameless hero. In the usual course of his behaviour, he was mild, temperate, and just[3]; yet, on several important occasions, he was the victim of anger and of pleasure, the two ordinary sources of human frailty. But such personal excellences or defects disappear before the splendour of his public life, the regular boldness of his plans, and the unrivalled magnitude of his performances. Endowed with an alertness and energy[4] peculiarly his own, he, nevertheless, practised patiently in war the lessons derived from Philip, the greatest of generals. In his civil administration, and the prudent management of his conquests, he adhered as invariably to maxims instilled[5] by Aristotle, the greatest of philoso-

SECT. I.

[2] Strabo, l. ii. p. 70. & l. xv. p. 798. How deeply is the loss to be regretted of Strabo's Commentary on the Transactions of Alexander, alluded to in the former of these passages! He speaks of him upwards of 70 times in the course of his Geography, and always with perfect consistency.

[3] Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. vii. c. 29. et passim.

[4] ὀξυτατος και δεινοτατος. Id. c. 28.

[5] Strabo, l. i. p. 67. This passage in Strabo anticipates and refutes the false praise bestowed on Alexander at the expence of his preceptor, who, according to Plutarch, advised him to treat the Greeks as freemen, and the Barbarians as slaves. Plutarch's report, of which we shall afterwards see clearly the very improper grounds, has been followed by all modern writers, even the most respectable: Witness the late Dr. Robertson in his Disquisition concerning India, page 23, 4to. edit. Yet Strabo concludes, "Alex-

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phers. This singularity in his proceedings, as regulated by the advice and authority of two such men, and of such opposite principles or purposes, strangely overlooked as it has been by historians and philosophers of Europe, was clearly recognized by Mandanis, an Indian and a priest, when he declared the invading Macedonian the only proficient in wisdom, that he had ever known, even by report, at the head of a victorious army.[6]

Writers, innumerable, have celebrated the valour or fortune of Alexander; but few, in imitation of Mandanis, seem willing to admire his wisdom or sound policy. To do justice to this part of his character, it is necessary to ascertain, how far his resources were adequate to his undertakings, and how far his bare projects were warranted by reason and experience.

His resources commensurate to his undertakings.

Before he thought fit to cross the Hellespont into Asia, he not only extinguished rebellion in Greece and Macedon, but subdued the wider and rougher parts of what is now called Turkey in Europe, inhabited then, as at present, by Thracians and Illyrians, *stubborn* and *warlike*

ander did not neglect the admonitions sent to him, but accepted them with full approbation, and completely complied with their sense and spirit." What this sense and spirit were, may be seen in my translation of Aristotle's practical works, vol. ii. p. 37. et seq. 3d edit. Aristotle spurned the proud domination of nations over nations, and the pretended right of victors to enslave the vanquished; and his liberal maxims are perpetually exemplified in the proceedings of his pupil.

[6] Strabo, l. xv. p. 715.

nations.[7] Most useful recruits might thus be derived from the ample region between the confines of the Danube and the sea of Peloponnesus; a country much surpassing Great Britain in extent, and in that age exuberantly populous. The revenues of Macedon, arising partly from the gold mines of Philippi, and those near the lake Bolbe[8], exceeded a million sterling[9]; an annual supply, which, notwithstanding the high pay and liberal subsistence enjoyed[10] by the Greeks and Macedonians, sufficed in those days to keep on foot an army, moderate in point of number, but so judiciously composed and so perfectly disciplined, that no enemies with whom it was called, in the course of a century, to contend, could either resist its strength or elude its velocity.

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[7] Arrian, Expedit. Alexand. l. ii. c. 7. The epithets bestowed on them by the Greek historian, they deserve to the present day. Under the names of Croats, Bosnians, Bulgarians, and Servians, they still form towards Europe the iron frontier of Turkish power, hating the Christians in their neighbourhood with the pride of Moslems, exasperated by the inveteracy of borderers. Sadly did the unhappy Emperor Joseph experience their stubborn valour in 1788.

[8] Herodotus, l. v. c. 17.

[9] This will appear hereafter from the sums brought into the Roman treasury, and a critical examination of the passages recording them, in Livy, Pliny, and Velleius Paterculus.

[10] According to Thucydides and Demosthenes the subsistence of Athenian horsemen was equal to their pay, and their pay was a drachma, that is nearly eight-pence daily. The captain had only twice the pay of the rank and file, and the general only twice the pay of a captain. Xenoph. de Exped. Cyri, l. vii. p. 403. edit. Leuncl. According to these data, and making ample allowance for contingencies, the expence of 30,000 foot and 5,000 horse needed not to exceed 900,000l.

SECT. I.

By an adherence to his pre-concerted plan of first gaining the maritime cities of Lesser Asia, before he advanced inland[11], the invader acquired the command of the sea, and thereby ensured the best means of availing himself of his domestic resources. Long before the Indians beheld his altars on the eastern bank of the Hyphasis, he should seem to have drawn from Europe contingents of troops of very disproportionate magnitude to the small army of thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse[12], which he originally conducted across the Hellespont; and the success of his arms in Asia speedily procured for him most powerful auxiliaries in that quarter. The western division of the Persian empire, containing an incongruous assemblage of indignant republics and rebellious satrapies, hung so loosely together, that one proportion of these reluctant tributaries might be employed in subduing the other, and both of them be afterwards directed against the remaining force of the monarchy.[13] In the course of four laborious campaigns, and through the success chiefly of the three great battles of

[11] Arrian, passim.

[12] The numbers are differently reported: the highest account makes them 43,000 foot, and 5,500 horse. Plutarch de Virtut. Alexand. Orat. i. p. 327. Edit. Xyland. Arrian and Curtius do not profess to specify every reinforcement. Without having in view the general muster, I extracted from them the following contingents: 6000; 500; 3000; 500; 4000; 500; 6000;—in all 20,500 men; these were but a part of the European levies, and the Asiatic were greatly more numerous.

[13] Isocrat. Orat. ad Philipp.

SECT. I.

Granicus, Issus, and Arbela, and the two memorable sieges of Halicarnassus and Tyre[14], Alexander thus laid at his mercy dominions twenty times more wealthy[15] than his hereditary kingdom. Many robust Barbarians were embodied under European officers, and with what experience discovered to be a fit admixture of European soldiers; commonly four Greeks to twelve Persians in each division of sixteen[16], that is, in each file of the phalanx. The stoutest and bravest among the vanquished, might delight in the Grecian exercises, and glory at being instructed in the arts, and associated to the arms of the victors: but a passion far more powerful with the multitude than the transient love of glory, would facilitate Alexander's levies

[14] Many shorter sieges, particularly in the eastern part of the Persian Empire, are described in my former work. Places that bid defiance to other conquerors, were taken in a few days by Alexander. His engineers far excelled all others in all ages of antiquity.

[15] Herodotus, l. iii. c. 95. is thought to give 14,560 Eubœic talents, equal to 2,807,437l. for the revenues of Persia; but this sum appears to have formed rather the privy purse of the emperor. Conf. Herodot. i. 192. iii. 92. Xenoph. Leuncl. p. 250. and 510. Plato Opera, vol. ii. p. 121. Edit. Ficini. and Strabo, l. xv. p. 735. The contributions levied in kind (corn, cattle, cloth, drugs,) equalled those in money, that is, silver. The free gifts on new-year's days were considerable. Plato, vol. ii. p. 121. The distinction above alluded to between the privy purse and the public revenue has passed through a variety of dynasties from the ancient Persians to the modern Turks: but the Hasné or privy purse of the Grand Seignor is now richer than the Miri: which latter is said to amount to 4,000,000l. Eton's Turkish Empire. The custom of presents to their kings on the new year prevails also among the modern Persians. Chardin and Della Valle.

[16] Conf. Arrian, vii. 23. and Plutarch in Alexand: p. 691.

SECT. I.

of oriental troops, if he really seized at Susa[17] the value of nine millions sterling, and as concurring authorities attest, double that amount in the imperial strong-hold of Persepolis.[18] His army, therefore, continually swelled with the progress of his expedition eastward; and the division which he personally conducted, was never more numerous than in the modern province of Lahore, and on the farther bank of the Hyphasis. At this eastern extremity of his conquests, he mustered an hundred and twenty thousand men[19]; and in the last year of his life, he was joined in one day on the Tigris by thirty thousand[20] Persians armed and disciplined after the Grecian fashion.

Subjects of discussion preparatory to the following history

To prepare my readers for the following history, I shall lay before them some account of the various dominions of Alexander, and describe the distribution of his Greeks and Macedonians among them, in reference to local circumstances, and to that easy and general intercourse,

[17] Diodorus Siculus, l. xv. sect. 66. Arrian, iii. 16. Curtius, v. 2. Justin. xi. 14.

[18] Diodorus, xvii. 71. Strabo, xv. 731. Curtius, v. 6. and Plutarch in Alexand.

[19] Curtius, viii. 6.

[20] Arrian, l. vii. c. 8. and 32. and Plutarch in Alexand. The Persians should seem sometimes to have been embodied without the admixture of four Europeans in each file of the phalanx. According to Herodotus, p. 35. the Persians were of all men the most prone to adopt foreign customs, civil and military; and at the present day Mr. Morier observes, "that if the Persians had possessed as much communication with Europeans as the Turks have had, they would have adopted many of our customs." Travels through Persia, &c. p. 366.

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which, according to universal testimony, he laboured throughout to establish: I shall examine his memorable arrangements in the three main points of government, religion, and revenue; and shall exert the utmost diligence to explain, fully and clearly, how far in the concerns either of domestic industry or foreign commerce, he prosecuted the plans of preceding princes, or introduced new ones, incomparably more useful. By the discussion of these important topics, our minds will be enabled to view without confusion the perturbed scenes that opened in the eastern world, and which brought into action all its elements and powers. The struggle for dominion among the Macedonian captains is the most memorable warfare ever waged in Asia in point of duration and obstinacy, and the only general conflict in that quarter of the globe, during which the resources of wealth and numbers were steadily directed by scientific skill and disciplined valour. It terminated, twenty-two years after Alexander's demise, in the decisive battle of Ipsus, by which the edifice of empire that he had reared was indeed irrecoverably ruined as a whole, yet continued, in consequence of arrangements that had been made by him, to shine conspicuously in many of its parts or fragments.[21]

Political geography of Asia.

In treating the first branch of my subject, I could wish to perform what the Greek historian

[21] Ἡς (scil. Αλεξανδρε αρχης) διαλυθεισης επιπλειστον εξελαμπε τε μερη. Appian. in Præfac. c. 10.

SECT. I. of this period has been contented with promising; and to draw a lively picture, impressive on the fancy and memory[22], of the political geography of Asia from the Grecian sea to the Indus, exhibiting all the important peculiarities by which the several portions of that vast territory were essentially characterised. A delineation of the twenty satrapies of Darius would not answer my purpose, since, according to that distribution, which was made chiefly with a view to tribute, nations were classed in the same satrapy, not only dissimilar in manners, but in local situation extremely remote from each other.[23] Besides this inconvenience, the number of the satrapies occasionally underwent alteration[24]: it was imprudently reduced by Darius's successors, who thereby strengthened the hands of their more powerful viceroys or vassals, spontaneously too prone to rebellion: and neither Alexander, nor those who came after him, adhered to a division artificial and arbitrary, since unguided by those permanent differences by which nature had characterised the country, and those scarcely more variable with which time and custom had marked its inhabitants.

[22] Προ οφθαλμων τεθεισης της ὁλης τυποθεσιας, &c. Diodorus, l. xviii. sect. 5. Conf. Arrian. Exped. Alexand. l. v. c. 5. et seq.

[23] Herodotus, l. iii. c. 89. To which add the invaluable commentary of our great geographer; Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 229—323. The subject of the Persian satrapies is learnedly treated also by Mr. Heeren in his "Ideen uber die Politik, &c." that is, "Ideas on the Policy, Intercourse, and Commerce of the Principal States of Antiquity," p. 103—350.

[24] Confer. Herodot. ubi supra, and Xenophon Hellen. and Anabas. passim.

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Its most general aspect.

Considered under their most general aspect, the Macedonian dominions in the East comprehended the Peninsula[25] of Lesser Asia bounded by three seas; the kingdom of Egypt on the opposite or southern side of the Mediterranean; and the most renowned portion of the ancient continent running eastward of that sea, and nearly commensurate with its entire expanse of water both in magnitude and in climate. Alexander's conquests will thus be found to have extended forty-five degrees of longitude over the fairest portion of the temperate zone: their greatest breadth stretched over twenty degrees of latitude, from lake Aral and the Iaxartes to the mouth of the Indus, the entrance of the Persian gulph, and the southern frontier of Egypt; all three positions in the near vicinity of the northern tropic.

Lesser Asia.

In this mighty and generally compact fabric of empire, Lesser Asia and Egypt sufficiently distinguish themselves as outspreading appendages on two opposite sides of the Mediterranean. The former is a peninsula nearly equal to Germany in extent[26], and which, during many ages of antiquity, might be compared with the German empire in the wide variety of its governments. It contained generally, but most conspicuously along the sea-coast, a strong admixture of European blood; which circumstance

[25] The term used by Strabo, l. xiv. p. 673.

[26] Major Rennell, in his admirable map, illustrating Xenophon's Anabasis, has given the Peninsula its due dimensions; D'Anville had lessened its breadth by a whole degree of latitude.

SECT. I. rendered it equally important in a political and military point of view. It had been long famed for its arts and opulence: and its prosperity cannot be suspected of decline under Alexander and his successors, if, after many merciless depredations by Mithridates and the Romans, Mark Antony by a double requisition really extorted from it in one year, the amount of forty millions sterling.[27] In the progress of this work, the enormity of that sum will be reduced nearer to the standard of probability, when we contrast the ancient sources of the riches of Lesser Asia with the actual causes of its wretched poverty.[28] Let it suffice for the present to observe, that it exhibited for the extent of two thousand miles along its winding coast a series of flourishing sea-ports, most of them Greek colonies and republics; an unbroken line of civilization and commercial activity, that can be compared so fitly with nothing in the ancient or modern world, as with the long list of British colonies, now United States, on the coast of North America.

Egypt. Of ancient Egypt we should judge very improperly by the degraded country now bearing that name. The Egyptians of old, whose ingenuity had subdued the Nile, and remedied its

[27] Plutarch in Anton. p. 926. Appian says, this sum was the tribute of ten years. Appian, Bell. Civile, l. v. c. 5.

[28] The deterioration is the most memorable in history, scarcely excepting the desolation of Babylon. Captain Beaufort, who was employed to survey the coasts a few years ago, did not perceive even a fishing boat along the whole southern shore.

desolating superabundance or too niggardly[29] contributions of water, are described as an orderly and courteous people, delighting in habitual industry, enjoying great vigour of health, and according to the report of Herodotus, those of them cultivating husbandry, or resident in cities, the most intelligent of all foreigners, with whom that acute Greek historian, in the course of his long travels, had the good fortune to converse.[30] Through the sacred indolence of the Moslems in neglecting the various branches and canals of the Nile, Egypt is reduced to half its ancient cultivable soil[31], and contains not even half of its ancient population.[32] Through terror of the wandering Arabs and banditti that perpetually infest its frontier, it is cut off from the mountains of the Red Sea, which supplied it with a profusion of precious marbles. With the ruin of its useful or elegant arts, it has long ceased to command an invaluable caravan commerce, which had rendered it successively a powerful independent kingdom, and the richest satrapy, except Babylonia, in the Persian empire, before Alexander and his successors made it the great maritime emporium of nations. In this flourishing state,

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[29] Strabo, xvii. 787. and again, p. 811. Κλειθρα δις ταμιευσι δι αρχιτεκτονες, το τε εισρεον ὑδωρ και το εκρεον.

[30] Herodot. ii. 77. et seq.

[31] See Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 521—533.

[32] Josephus states its populousness at eight millions. De Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 4. Its inhabitants are now reduced to less than three millions. Pococke, Volney, and different Histories of the British Expedition to Egypt, in 1801.

SECT. I. it fell into the hands of the Romans, and was governed by them six complete centuries, producing an annual revenue little exceeding indeed three millions sterling[33]; but which, even in the splendid age of Augustus, far surpassed the present value of that sum in exchange either with the labour of man, or the useful productions of nature.

Assyria and Ariana mutually separated by mount Zagros.

Beyond the Mediterranean, and the Peninsula which that sea washes and confines, the broader expanse of Asia is commonly divided into the territories to the east and west of the Tigris. But this most celebrated portion of the ancient continent, as the immemorial seat of endless dynasties, may be more fitly distinguished by the chain of mountains a little east of the Tigris, separating anciently the dominions of Assyria from those of Media, and constituting the actual boundary between Turkish and Persian power. In this mountainous chain, which stretches from the confines of the Euxine to the shores of the Persian gulph, Zagros is the most important link, since forming, as it were, the western wall of Media-Magna, Zagros separates[34] that widest of the satrapies from the once richer and more renowned regions watered by the navigable courses of the Euphrates and Tigris. By establishing mount Zagros for the ground of our division, we shall

[33] Strabo, l. xvii p. 798. The revenue under the Beys was estimated at 1,500,000. Wilson's British Expedition, p. 226.

[34] Το Ζαγρων διορίζον την Μηδιαν και Βαβυλωνιαν. Strabo, l. xv. p. 522. Conf. Polybius, l. v. c. 44.

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at once impartially respect the great distinctions of empire in ancient and modern times, the comparative extent and value of territory, and those essential differences of blood and language by which chiefly the nations of the earth are either united or discriminated. Various languages were spoken in Lesser Asia; but, from the confines of that peninsula to those of Media, the Syrian prevailed universally[35]; and the Persian held nearly[36] the same extensive sway to the Indus, over Media; Persis, the proper Persia; Bactria, or Bactriana, and all the inferior provinces of the East. In point of habits and manners, Zagros formed a boundary not less palpable. To the west of it lived the Assyrians, a people comparatively peaceful and civilized; to the east, dwelt the rude Caspians, Hyrcanians, Parthians, Arians, Bactrians, Sogdians, all of them alike armed with bows made of reeds, or bamboos, and short lances: in their persons and customs there was a clear and striking resemblance, which universally betrayed a strong admixture of Scythian blood, and Scythian barbarism.[37]

Assyria, its divisions.

In the geography of the Greeks, Assyria, often confounded with Syria, comprehended the four following countries[38]: Mesopotamia and Baby-

[35] Της διαλεκτου μεχρι μεν διαμενουσης της αυτης τοις τε εκτος του Ευφρατου και τοις εντος. Strabo, l. i. p. 41.

[36] Ομογλωττοι σχεδον μικρον. Id. l. xv. p. 724.

[37] Herodot. l. vii. c. 61. et seq.

[38] Herodotus, Xenophon, Strabo, and Arrian: particularly Herodotus, i. 106. and 178.

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lonia, respectively the northern and southern divisions of the vast peninsula between the Tigris and Euphrates; Atur or Adiabene[39], lying to the east of the Tigris; and Syria Proper, the extensive province to the west of the Euphrates, and reaching from that mighty stream to the coast of the Mediterranean.[40] As the coincidence in language and institutions united the whole of these regions under the common appellation of Assyria, so a similar uniformity diffused over the countries on the other side of Zagros, even to India, the ancient and general name of Ariana[41], a name easily recognizable in the Eriene or Iran[42] of Oriental writers. But, in consequence of the ascendancy acquired, lost, recovered, and at different periods of history long held by Persis, the proper Persia, adjacent to the Persian gulph, the name of Ariana was in later times supplanted, and among the historians and geographers of Europe, at length totally sunk in that of Persia, including not only the countries of Ariana above-mentioned, but the extensive territory southward, washed by the Erythræan sea, and having the Persian gulph and the Indus

Ariana, or Persia, its divisions.

[39] Plin. N. H. l. v. c. 12. This country was called Atur by the natives; which name the Romans confounded with Assyria in its general signification. Dion Cassius, l. lxviii. in Trajan: an error in names which occasioned great confusion in history as well as geography.

[40] Ἡ κατω συρια. Strabo, l. xv. p. 692. "The Lower Syria," that is nearer the sea-coast.

[41] Strabo, xv. p. 688.

[42] Zendavesta passim, and D'Herbelot, Artic. Iran.

for its western and eastern boundaries. Within this spacious quadrangle, four times the extent of France, the main body of modern Persia extends its useless bulk, the inland regions being scantily supplied with water, and the coast of the Erythræan sea unprovided with safe harbours.[43] Its southern parts are indelibly marked by the wide deserts of Carmania and Gedrosia, and its shores were in all ages of antiquity deformed by miserable *Ichthyophagi*, far spread though feeble tribes, whose bread consisted of dried fishes, their houses of fish bones, and whose sole distinctions of honour depended on the quantity and kinds which they had collected of these wretched materials.[44] But Carmania and Gedrosia, now Kerman and Makran, were respectively bounded on the north by Arachosia and Saranga, provinces refreshed by projecting branches of the Paropamisus.[45] Fertility began with the mountains[46]; and as this tract of Persia formed the shortest communication between India and Assyria, its inhabitants, improved by commerce, are cha-

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[43] Oliarius, Tavernier, Chardin, Le Brun.

[44] Arriani Indica, c. 29.

[45] In the middle of the 17th century, Tavernier visited a ruinous city unwalled, supposed the capital of Carmania, and situate in a comparatively fertile district. Voyage en Persé, p. 107. et seq. It appears from his distances to have stood near the borders of Saranga. The country of the Saranguei is now included in Seistan, the capital of which, *Dooshak*, sounds quite differently from Ptolemy's Zaranga. This residence of the Prince of Seistan is but a small place, but there are extensive ruins around it, and innumerable ruined towns or villages are scattered over the province.

[46] Arrian. Indic. c. 40.

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racterized [46] by their party-coloured robes of delicate texture, their wealth, beneficence, and wise polity [47], long before the erection there by Alexander of stations or staples connected by direct roads with Babylon, destined in his fond fancy, to become once more the centre of commerce, and seat of empire. From this general survey, it will appear that, leaving for the present India out of the account, the Asiatic dominions of Alexander comprehended the comparatively narrow peninsula compressed between the Euxine and Mediterranean; the widely spreading Assyria, inhabited by Assyrians or Syrians; and Ariana or Persia, the country of the Medes and Persians, and all the kindred nations of the East.

Taurus employed by the ancients as the main ground of geographical distinction.

In each member of this threefold division, we shall find many characteristic differences, moral as well as physical. But in surveying the whole generally, Greek historians discovered a feature in its geography, which pervaded its entire length, and of which they often make use for distinguishing, not only the larger masses of this territory, but also the minuter groups into which power or policy had thrown it.[48] With both these views, their descriptions of that part of the eastern continent, which lay open to their researches, are commonly guided by the bold form of its mountains, which

[46] Diodorus, xvii. 8. Conf. Herodotus, vii. 67.

[47] Arrian. Exped. Alexand. iii. 26.

[48] Conf. Diodorus, l. xviii. c. 5. et seq. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 673. and Arrian. Exped. Alexand. l. v. c. 5. et seq.

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decide the course of those great rivers, to whose natural inundations, modified by patient artificial management, the dry Assyrian plains wholly owed their fertility and beauty. These gigantic highlands, the great laboratory of Asia, directly cross the chain of Zagros[49] above noticed, incomparably exceeding it, however, in the length of their course. Commencing in the south-western corner of the peninsula, nearly opposite to Rhodes, they hold under the general name of Taurus, a direction parallel to the Mediterranean, and thus divide Lesser Asia into two unequal parts, by separating the southern and rugged districts of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia from the more extensive and more level provinces of Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia. At the sacred promontory of Lycia, a branch of Taurus first rises to conspicuous eminence, overhanging the adjacent sea, and thence boasting the proud name[50] of Olympus, a name

[49] The importance assigned in the text to Zagros is conformable to Strabo, l. xi. p. 522. Conf. Polybius, l. v. c. 44. Ptolemy enlarges mount Choathros at the expence of Zagros.

[50] Ολυμπον δε διον δλολαμπη. Aristot. de Mundo, &c. thence denoting "the all shining mansions of the Gods." See Homer, Odyss. vi. v. 42. beautifully translated by Lucretius, iii. v. 18.

Apparet Divum numen, sedesque quietæ,
Quas neque concutiant venti, etc.

And Claudian,

Celsior exurgit pluviis, auditque ruentes
Sub pedibus nimbos, et rauca tonitrua calcat.

Most ancient nations had their Olympus, even the Scythians, whose descendants, the Tartars, still venerate as such mount Cashgur, on the frontier of their great desert Cobi. In the same manner, Asgard was the Olympus of the Scandinavians. See Edda.

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usurped by many other mountains, both in ancient Greece and her Asiatic settlements. Taking an oblique course as it advances towards the eastern confines of the peninsula, Taurus assumes there a greater elevation, sometimes surveying from its summits at once the Mediterranean and the Euxine, and then gradually diffuses itself over the table land of Armenia, a country in the same latitude with Spain, yet experiencing, in consequence of its height, the utmost severity of winter.[51] From this huge trunk, as it were, of the mountain, a branch extends northwards, which, under the name of Caucasus, towers between the Euxine and Caspian seas, and from its northern ridges overlooks the boundless deserts of Sarmatia and Scythia. In a direction opposite to that of Caucasus, Zagros, as above observed, separated Assyria from Media-Magna, forming the western frontier of the latter. The principal entrance into Media, conducted to that beautiful district, which lies between Ecbatana, now Hamadan, and the lake Maraga[52]: and the main issue from the same great province to more eastern lands, passed through the Caspian gates, a vast chasm eight miles long, and commonly forty yards broad, at the distance of an hundred miles due south from the Caspian sea.[53] Media, constituting the link of communication between

[51] Xenoph. de Exped. Cyri, l. iv. p. 329.

[52] This district was called Matiene. It formed the north-west division of Media-Magna. Herodot. v. 48. 52, and Rennell, p. 277. 338.

[53] Plin. N. H. l. vi. c. 14. Conf. Dellavalle, vol. iii. p. 65.

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Assyria and Ariana, thus formed, both in a moral and geographical point of view, a great and important boundary. To the west of the Medes lived the Assyrians, a people more polished than themselves; the contrary was the case with the Parthians, Arians, and Persians, and all eastern nations to the Indus.

Orontes, Caucasus, and Imaus.

After pushing forth the opposite branches of Caucasus and Zagrós, the great mountain, or rather the table land studded with mountains, continues its course eastward, assuming a little beyond the site of Ecbatana, or Hamadan, the sounding name of Orontes. The portion of Taurus distinguished by this name, separated the two Medias, the northern, Media-Atrapatena, generally[54] a rugged country, the southern, deservedly called Media-Magna, a land abounding in beautiful valleys susceptible of the highest cultivation, and successively the main stock of the Persian and Parthian empires, neither of which were of much account until the kindred nation of the Medes reinforced their power. From the neighbourhood of the Caspian gates, Taurus pushes southward the Paratacaene[55]

[54] Herodotus and Strabo are less favourable to Media Atrapatena than our modern travellers, who speak of its villages as more pleasant than even those of Irac, Media-Magna. These are often embosomed in orchards and gardens, yielding great varieties of delicious fruits.

[55] As Zagros is the western, so the Paratacaene hills are the eastern, wall of Media. The two parallel chains lie about 300 miles asunder. The Paratacaene mountains of Media advance southward to join those of Persis, the proper Persia: the chain is

SECT. I. hills, a branch parallel to Zagros, separating Media from Persia; while the great primary chain still continues its eastern direction through Hyrcania, Parthia, Margiana, Bactria[56] and Sogdia. Under new and harsh names, Bactria and Sogdia have long been deformed by Tartars, but they were anciently embellished by Greeks beyond most regions of the East; and their situation on the Scythian frontier, will give to them much military importance in the subsequent history.

At the extremity of Bactria, the swelling range divides and expands into two broad belts, the one called Imaus, stretching towards the Hyperborean regions, and the coast of Nova Zembla; the other, under the successive names of Paropamisus, the Indian Caucasus, and Emodus, holding the original eastern course, and composing the vast high-lands that long defended the wealth and effeminacy of Hindostan; while on the opposite, or northern side, they form an obtuse angle with Imaus, and thus inclose the great desert of Shamo or Cobi[57], whose frightful sterility still shuts up and guards the unwarlike populousness of China. Alexander attempted not to scale Imaus, the ascent to the proper region of those Scythians, who boast-

only interrupted by the valley of Ispahan, which city is scarcely four miles distant from the southern mountains. Bell's Travels, vol. i. p. 118.

[56] Ἡ Βακτριανη. Strabo. thence often called Bactriana.

[57] Shamo, or Shamoo, is the Chinese name, signifying the "Sea of Sand." Cobi is the Tartar name for the same desert.

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ed of being the ancientest of men, because their country was the most elevated[58]; and whose desolating inundations have so often deformed the face of the eastern world. Menacing hordes of this ever warlike nation, he encountered on the banks of the Jaxartes, the northern boundary of Sogdiana or Sogdia. After wounding them from his engines erected on the southern bank of that broad river, he passed to the opposite shore on skins, and assailed the insolent barbarians in a manner so new to them, and so resistless, that they had recourse to a hasty submission.[59] His friendship was then granted to the great Khan, who disavowed the hostile proceedings of a worthless part of his subjects; and Alexander having thus sustained the matchless fame of his arms, allowed himself with admirable policy to be restrained by divine warnings from violating the inward majesty of the desert, into which there was not any rational human motive that should induce him to penetrate.[60]

[58] Justin, l. ii. c. 1. The boast of those western Scythians in Justin is clearly derived from their eastern brethren the Calmouks and Zongones, who hold the same proud language to the present day. La Chappe Voyage en Siberie, p. 302. The ascent to Chinese Tartary is found by barometrical observations to be 16,000 feet above the Yellow Sea. Conf. Pallas. Act. Petropol. An. 1777. Staunton's Voyage to China, vol. ii. p. 206. and Kirwan's Geological Essays, p. 26. et seq.

[59] Arrian, l. iv. c. 5. et seq. Conf. Plutarch in Alexand. p. 691.

[60] Arrian, Ibid. Nothing can better show Alexander's superiority, than comparing his Scythian warfare with that of the Romans under Crassus, Antony, &c. To cope with Nomadic warriors,

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The Paropamisus.

To the sagacity of that conqueror, the ridges of Paropamisus were not less alluring than Imaus had been repulsive. The southern mountains contained the inlets to India, a country disfigured, indeed, by Greek fables, but known to produce commodities peculiar to itself, and of universal demand among all the civilized nations of antiquity. In penetrating through the Paropamisus thither, Alexander pursued the same route that had been opened, or frequented, by ancient caravans, and which has been followed, as is well known, by all future conquerors. From the precision with which the avenues to India are defined by rivers and defiles, armies in different ages have constantly invaded that country by the same unvaried tract[61]; all of them have traversed the Paropamisus so as to descend into the valley of Candahar, and all have crossed the Indus at Taxila, now Attock, because the only place on that river where the slackened rapidity of current conveniently admits a bridge. But, in his transactions in the neighbourhood of the Indus, and his return to that of the Euphrates, Alexander displayed views in his expedition altogether different from the merciless depredations of a Nadir Shah, a Tamerlane, and a Mahmut. The mountainous

with whom flight is not disgrace, he divided his cavalry into small squadrons to intercept the enemy's escape. See this mode successfully practised in Bactria, Arrian. iv. 2.

[61] Conf. Arrian, l. iv. c. 22. and D'Anville Eclairciss. sur la Geograph. de la Haute Asie, p. 19.

inlets to India were formed into a Macedonian province, under the name of the Satrapy of Paropamisus, and bridled by well-garrisoned cities, particularly two Alexandrias, upon, or near[63], the sites of the modern Cabul and Candahar, places still recognised as the two principal gates of Hindostan; the former towards Tartary, the latter towards Persia. The high-lands surrounding Cabul and Candahar, containing the sources of the Oxus and Indus, must always be important in a commercial point of view, since they connect the navigable courses of these great rivers; but they were of far greater relative importance in those ages, when the commerce of the East was carried on chiefly or solely by inland communications. In the Panjab again, or country watered by the five eastern branches of the Indus, the pacific Taxiles, and the warlike Porus, were alike reinstated in their dominions, and admitted to the rank of friends.[63] But a surer friend, Python, the son of Agenor[64], was left with a body of Greeks in the Panjab, as superintendant of Macedonian affairs in that important and then valuable[65] territory. These

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[63] Rennell's Memoir of a Map of Hindostan, p. 153—167. 3d edit.

[63] Arrian, l. v. c. 20.

[64] Thus named by Diodorus, xviii. 39. to distinguish him from Python, the son of Crateas, an officer, as we shall see, of higher rank in Alexander's service.

[65] Plutarch, p. 699. says that Alexander subdued 5000 cities in India, as large as Cos; and Strabo, l. xiv. p. 657. says that Cos, though a beautiful and elegant, is but a small city. "It contained about five or six thousand inhabitants: for Arrian informs us that the country of the Glaucæ in India contained 37 cities, which had from 5000 to 10,000 inhabitants." Arrian, l. v. c. 20.

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arrangements, so essential to the inland commerce carried on with India, were accompanied by naval undertakings of a bolder nature, but not less decided utility. On the banks chiefly of the Indus and Hydaspes a fleet was constructed, or collected, that from the trireme to the tender, amounted to two thousand sail.[66] While the land forces in divisions pervaded the country on either side, this great armament pursued its triumphant course for the space of six hundred miles down the Indus to the ocean. Having accomplished this voyage, the least serviceable vessels were laid up in the Indian Delta, a district formed by alluvions of the Indus, into the same triangular shape with the well-known Delta of the Nile. The stouter ships or gallies Alexander then manned with above ten thousand Greeks or Phœnicians, and entrusted them to Nearchus, the zealous friend of his youth and adversity during the suspicious reign of Philip, that he might explore the navigation between the mouth of the Indus, and the inmost recess of the Persian gulph; an enterprise which that commander successfully performed in the course of somewhat less than five months, and which he afterwards distinctly and elegantly described.[67] Meanwhile the Greek cities of Bucephalia and Nicæa, and others whose very names have perished[68], were built on the five

[66] Arrian, l. v. c. 2. The numbers, however, are different in his Indian history, c. 19.

[67] Apud Arrian, Hist. Indic. c. 20. et seq.

[68] Plutarch, Arrian, Diodorus, and Pliny.

tributary streams which water the Panjab; and Pattala, now Tatta, was built on the Indus itself, near the top of the Delta[69], destined in Alexander's fond fancy to become the Memphis of the Indian world. SECT. I.

In what sense Taurus may be regarded as a correct line of distinction.

In compliance with the example of ancient historians, I have thus traced mount Taurus to the extremity of the Macedonian conquests. But truth obliges me to observe, that the delineation of this stony girdle of Asia would far better discriminate the divisions of that continent, if its nature more exactly corresponded to the notions which Greek writers entertained of it. They considered this mountainous range, particularly in its prolongation eastward, as separating[70] the dark regions of cold and penury, from the delicious and bright plains of Southern Asia, from countries whose names revive the ideas of enjoyment and splendour; peculiarly adapted to the arts of peace, and the multiplication of men and animals; the first that were adorned by great cities, and which, as the warm genial soil, when softened by irrigation, is in no season of the year condemned to barren sleep, produced abundantly, through many successions of ages and empires, whatever can soothe the senses or

[69] Strabo, l. xv. p. 701.

[70] Diodorus, xviii. 5. Conf. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 673. and Arrian, l. v. c. 5. All these Greek writers considered Taurus also as an unbroken ridge, dividing the two great central regions of Asia, Iran and Turan, as they are called by the orientals. But in describing the roads from India to Turan, the more northern region, the Ayin Acbaree mentions one by the way of Candahar entirely free from hills. Rennell's Memoir, p. 154.

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[70] Strabo, l. xii. p. 548.

[71] The Uxii, Mardi, and Cossæans are branded as thieves and robbers in all ages of antiquity. Of these predatory mountainers, the

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and native fierceness of its inhabitants. The fortieth degree of latitude, however, which formed the great northern boundary of Alexander's Asiatic empire, may be regarded as a clear and decisive limit[72] between pastoral and agricultural nations, separating the peaceful Armenians from the irreclaimable tenants of Caucasus; Media-Magna from Media-Atrapatena; Sogdia and Bactria from Scythia; and, beyond the geography known to the Greeks, the indefatigable husbandmen of China, from the Nomades in Chinese Tartary.

Military road through Asia.

Before I proceed to explain the distribution of the Greeks and Macedonians among the various provinces which I have enumerated, it will be proper to advert to the natural and usual communications between them in the whole of their extent from the Ægean sea to the Indus. Under the Persians, whose thoughts turned solely on aggrandisement or security, part of this vast route was marked by a great military road which extended above thirteen hundred miles from the Choaspes or Eulæus[73], to the Greek coast of Ionia. The banks of the Eulæus were adorned by Susa, a rich and flourishing city, of whose immemorial prosperity the sources will after-

Mardi bordered on the Persians, the Uxii on the Susians, the Cossæans on the Medes. Arrian. Indic. cxl.

[72] Compare Strabo, Diodorus, and Arrian above cited, with Chardin, Tavernier, and Foster's journey from Bengal to England in 1798.

[73] The Choaspes and Eulæus unite their streams a little above Susa: thence the confusion of names.

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wards be explained. It stood two hundred[74] miles east of Babylon on the same extended plain, and, through hatred to the Babylonians, had been preferred by the kings of Persia, for the usual residence of their court, and the chief seat of their empire.[75] In consequence of this circumstance, the military or royal road, for the purpose of the historian who describes it, is carried no farther than Susa. This road passed[76] from the Grecian sea through the central provinces of Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia; penetrated through the Cilician passes at Issus, crossed the Euphrates at Zeugma, traversed Mesopotamia, and by the floating bridge on the Tigris, passed into Aturia. It then quitted the rough and desert bank of the Tigris[77], and pursued a south-eastern direction through Adiabene or Aturia; crossing, at well-known fords, the four rivers, which, after watering that province, fall into the Tigris: namely, the greater and lesser Zab, which the Greeks called the Wolfe and the Boar; the Diala, or Physcus, which flows

[74] Polyclet apud Strabon, l. xv. p. 728.

[75] According to Xenophon, Cyrus spent seven months at Babylon; two summer months at Ecbatana in Media-Magna: and the three months of spring at Susa. Xenophon Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 233. But from the time of Darius Hystaspis, Susa became the chief residence of the Persian kings. Mr. Larcher, in his translation of Herodotus, vol. vii. p. 347. Table Geograph. says, "that the Persian kings after Cyrus, spent the winter at Susa, the summer at Ecbatana, the spring at Babylon, and the autumn at Persepolis." But he does not cite his authorities, and, I believe, none will be found for the residence of those kings during the autumn at Persepolis.

[76] Herodot. l. v. c. 52. et seq.

[77] Thevenot's Travels, p. ii. c. 15.

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through the intermediate district; and the more southern Mendeli or Gyndes, which Cyrus, to avenge the drowning of a sacred horse, is said to have deprived of its dignity as a great river by dividing it into 360 artificial channels.[78] From Aturia it conducted to Sittacene the eastern appendage of Babylonia, and from thence proceeded through a rich plain to Susa. The whole route consumed ninety-three days, at the rate of fourteen English miles for each day's march, thus exceeding above thirteen hundred of such miles in length. There is nearly the same distance between the Choaspes which washed the walls of Susa, and the remote parallel stream of the Indus. The military progress through ancient Asia, may be supposed, therefore, to have consumed about the space of six months; but the slowest caravans far exceed the rapidity of armies, commonly travelling each day seventeen or eighteen miles.

The same road frequented.

On this occasion I mention caravans, because the roads, traversed for military purposes by the

[78] Herodotus, ibid. Yet Cyrus, who was incomparably the best and wisest of all the Persian kings, might have better reasons for this strange undertaking. Finding the Gyndes unexpectedly swoln, and being unprovided with embarkations, he might have recourse to the labour of his great army, to make the river fordable: and the sooner to gain his end, might mark out a vast number of channels. See Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 202. Cæsar performed a similar operation on the river Sicoris in Spain. Cæsar de Bell. Civil. i. 61. This action in Cyrus, therefore, is not to be put on a footing with that of Xerxes, the third in succession from him, when he threw fetters into the Hellespont. Herodot. vii. 35. Plato says, that Cyrus and Darius Hystaspis are the only kings of Persia worthy of record. De Leg. iii. p. 815.

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immemorially by caravans.

Persians, were, according to the earliest notices in history, frequented by the Assyrians, Arabians, and Indo-Scythians[79] in travelling associations for commerce. To this salutary intercourse through many parts of the Eastern continent, deserts presented difficulties, and mountains impossibilities. The halting places, therefore, and great staples by means of which only an extensive inland traffic can be carried on, were determined chiefly by the direction of Taurus and its various branches above specified. In passing through Lesser Asia, Taurus overhangs the level and easily pervious provinces of that peninsula, which were traversed, as we have seen, by the royal road of the Persians, and which will be shown, in the progress of this history, to have been immemorially the seats of opulent commercial cities. As it advances eastward, the same mountain surveyed from its southern sides, the once rich Assyrian plain, an uninterrupted level little inferior to the peninsula in dimensions, and contiguous to the boundless deserts of Syria and Arabia. The Syrians and Arabians, through all ages of antiquity, spoke dialects of the same language, and might be regarded as branches of one great nation. According to concurring testimonies, the Phœnicians were a colony[80] from the Sabæan coast

[79] Iob. vi. 19. Strabo, xvi. p. 781. Eustathius ad Dionys. Perieget. v. 1088.

[80] Herodotus, l. i. c. i. Conf. Genesis, c. x. v. 15. & c. xii. v. 6. in the translation of Michaelis, and Gesner de Navigationibus extra Columnas Herculis, annexed to his edition of Orpheus, p. 424. See

in Arabia, who early settled on the coast of Syria, and whose pursuits there, will be found perfectly analogous to those of the peaceful Sabæans, from whom they descended. But neither the Sabæans, Phœnicians, nor Syrians, much less the industrious cultivators of the rich Babylonian plain, had any affinity in manners or in fortune with the far-spread Arabian Nomades. Amidst innumerable revolutions of all around them, these Nomades have remained unalterably the same. At the dawn of history, they appear with their present characteristic features [81]; as men with open hearts, and boiling passions, quick in apprehension, voluble in speech, with ardour to undertake great enterprises, and perseverance to accomplish them; on the whole admirably adapted to those bold commercial expeditions, which, if they deterred by the dangers of distant warfare, also transported by its hopes, and allured by its advantages. Their importance to the Assyrians, in effecting the boasted conquests of Ninus and Semiramis, will afterwards be explained: in commerce also they were early and intimately connected with Nineveh and Babylon, successive capitals of Assyria; and the trade in which

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also a note in Larcher's Herodotus, l. i. c. i. in which he exposes on this subject the stupendous ignorance of Voltaire; an ignorance deforming every part of that too popular author's remarks concerning matters of ancient history.

[81] Schultens Præfat. ad Monument. vetust. Conf. Asiatic Researches, and D'Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale Artic. Arabes.

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they were the carriers to the latter of those cities affords notices for extending the royal road just mentioned eastward to the Indus.

Whole extent of the caravan road through Asia.

In order to obtain the vast quantities of Indian commodities consumed[82] in Babylon, the shortest route would have conducted across the mountains of the Cossæans and other fierce clans, infesting the rugged frontiers of Susiana, Persia, and Media. It would have next led through Saranga and Arachosia on the confines of the Carmanian and Gedrosian deserts. To avoid such dangers, the Assyrian or Arabian caravans commonly proceeded northwards through Mesopotamia, crossed the Tigris into Aturia, and entering the defiles of mount Zagros, penetrated into that district of Media which is contiguous to the Nisæan pastures. From the rich vallies of Media they issued by the Caspian gates, skirted Parthia and Hyrcania, and advancing still eastward, stopped short at Bactria on the Oxus, a great and immemorial emporium of Assyrian and Indian merchandize.[83] From the Oxus the intercourse was continued to the Indus, through those defiles of the Paropamisus above-mentioned. In this latter part of the journey, the Indo-Scythians were the great carriers; hardy mountaineers inhabiting from Cabul to Cashmere, and not less remarkable for their

[82] Ctesias Indic. c. 21. and Herodotus, l. i. c. 183.

[83] Diodor. ii. 5. Conf. Zendavesta, ii. 173. and for the causes of the wealth and splendour of Bactria, Strabo, l. ii. p. 73. & l. xi. p. 509. The same author twice mentions the τριοδος, or meeting of the three roads, from Bactria to India. l. xi. p. 514. & l. xvi. p. 725.

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propensity to travelling [84], than their southern neighbours in Hindostan were distinguished by a cowardly superstition that unalterably rivetted them in their native seats; from which, to the present day, they have never willingly removed.

Distribution of Alexander's garrisons through Asia.

Amidst the multiplicity of countries which have been mentioned, the handful of Greeks and Macedonians conducted by Alexander across the Hellespont, must have quickly disappeared, had not his small army been perpetually recruited from Europe, and still more powerfully reinforced by Asiatics instructed in the arts, and associated to the arms of their conquerors. The bravest and most docile of the barbarians had been intermixed in due proportions among his European troops; they were also combined with them in far greater numbers, in the different posts and garrisons which Alexander established at proper distances [85] for maintaining a safe communication between his conquests; for securing their internal tranquillity; and for defending them against foreign invasion. In this manner fourteen thousand Greeks (the number of Macedonians is uncertain) were dispersed through Bactria and Sogdia, to protect those half civilized provinces against the Scythian Nomades. With such Bactrians and Sogdians as had adopted their institutions and submitted to their discipline, the Greeks occupied the antient strongholds on that exposed frontier; and according

Those on the Scythian frontier.

[84] Ælian Hist. Animal. l. iv. c. 6. Conf. Eustathius ad Dionys. Perieget. and Ptolem. Geograph.

[85] Diodor. l. xvii. sect. 83.

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to the plan which their common master had traced, erected the new city of Alexandria, now Cogent, on the deepest recess of the Jaxartes from the skirts of the northern desert.[86] At the opposite extremity of agricultural Asia, Alexander adopted similar precautions against the wandering and warlike Arabs, whom, next to the Scythians, he regarded as the most formidable enemies to the security of his empire. For bridling their incursions, until he executed a plan which he had ably concerted for circumnavigating and subduing their peninsula, a city was built far to the south of Babylon[87], on the frontier of the Arabian desert: this nameless city was strongly fortified and amply garrisoned.

His post on the Arabian frontier.

We have already seen the firm hold which he had taken of India, by the cities and garrisons which he had established on the Indus and its five tributary streams. The mountainous inlets to India, on the side of Sogdia and Bactria, as well as the more level routes through Saranga and Arachosia were guarded by chains of stations a day's journey from each other[88]; nothing was to be feared from the predatory tribes that had hitherto infested this route: Alexander had tamed and bridled them[89]; and his halting-places were chosen with so much judgment for both commercial and military purposes, that

His posts of communications with India.

[86] Arrian, l. iv. c. 1. Conf. D'Anville Geograph. Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 305.

[87] Arrian, l. vii. Conf. Strabo, l. xv. p. 731.

[88] Diodorus.

[89] Arrian Indic. c. 40.

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many of them gradually assumed the rank of cities; witness the three Alexandrias in Aria, in Arachosia, and the Paropamisus; and in their line of connection with Babylon, either by the way of the Caspian gates, or by the frontier of the Carmanian and Gedrosian deserts, many other important strong-holds must have intervened, since biographers ascribed to Alexander the foundation of no less than seventy cities in his eastern conquests.[90] Of all those cities, Alexandria in Egypt, built in the vicinity of the antient Canopus, has most illustriously transmitted to modern times the name of the conqueror. For establishing this great emporium destined to continue for eighteen centuries, the principal bond of connection between the East and West, the only situation was selected that obviated the inconveniences of a low coast, invisible at a distance, and dangerous to a proverb when approached.[91] The harbours on the sea, and on the lake Mareotis; the spacious and well ventilated[92] streets of Alexandria; and the magnificent lighthouse in the isle of Pharos, were all of them indeed completed by the first Ptolemy, the brother of Alexander; but that conqueror himself not only planned these noble undertakings, but had begun to carry them into execution; and mixing agreeably to his character, the endearments of private friendship with generous schemes of public utility, he com-

Alexandria in Egypt.

[90] Plutarch de Fortun. Alexand. p. 327. Conf. Diodor. xvii. 83.
[91] Strabo, l. xvii. [92] Strabo, ibid. p. 793.

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manded the Pharos to be adorned with a Heroum in honour of Hephæstion; that contracts between merchants and mariners might for ever commemorate the mild and manly virtues of his early, best beloved, and deeply regretted friend. Cleomenes, his intendant general in Egypt, with whom he had much reason to be offended, he exhorted by letters to forward the monument to Hephæstion, declaring with his characteristic sprightliness, that activity in this particular would cancel many past transgressions, and procure indulgence for new ones.[93] Besides this Cleomenes, a Greek, and a skilful financier, Alexander left in Egypt Pentaleon and Polemon, trusty Macedonians, respectively commanding in Memphis and Pelusium.

Forces in Macedon, Lesser Asia, and Ariana.

At the western extremity of the empire, Antipater, the able minister of Philip, governed under his son as lieutenant or viceroy in Macedon; and to such peaceful subjects had the Greeks, Macedonians, and still more turbulent Thracians been reduced, that the military establishments of Antipater, required only sixteen thousand foot, and five thousand horse; that is the full complement of the phalanx, attended with its essential[94] auxiliaries. On the three coasts of Lesser Asia, the generosity of Alexander had subdued the affections of the Greeks. In the interior of that peninsula, his principal

[93] Arrian, l. vii. c. 23.

[94] Diodorus says, 12,000 foot and 11,500 horse. He has augmented the latter at the expence of the former, as will appear, when we come to consider more particularly the composition of Macedonian armies.

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military force rendezvoused under Antigonus, in the central province of Phrygia. The wide extent of Ariana, or Persia, was committed chiefly to Peucestes and Atropates, who ruled respectively in Persis, the proper Persia, and in Media. The king in person, with many of the officers highest in his service, and an army fifty thousand strong[95], spent the last scenes of his life in Babylonia, which he had chosen[96] for the seat of an empire, of which it formed locally the centre, since at an intermediate, and nearly equal distance from its four great boundaries; the Indus, the Danube, the burning sands of Libya, and the bleak Scythian desert. After making this general muster, the parts of which naturally distribute themselves over the above explained geography of the country, I shall delay till the course of my narrative requires it, to enumerate officers commanding inferior provinces, or those entrusted with the various castles or treasuries wrested from Darius and his Satraps. These employments, important as they were, fell[97] generally to the share of subalterns, in two distinguished bodies of horse and foot, known by the technical name of *Companions;* a term of which, in the progress of this history, it will be material accurately to ascertain the import. At present, it is more necessary to remark, that by

Communication between Asia and Europe.

[95] Diodorus, Arrian, Curtius.

[96] Strabo, l. xv. p. 731. In this choice Alexander was guided by experience. From local circumstances and its central situation, Babylonia had been immemorially the seat of arts and empire; the imperial district of Assyria under its successive capitals.

[97] Arrian, Diodorus, Curtius, and Plutarch.

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wise regulations, and an accurate survey of roads and distances, every possible facility was afforded to an uninterrupted communication among all the different garrisons in Asia[98]; and between Asia and Europe, the same secure intercourse was maintained by a fleet of three hundred gallies, commanding the narrow seas, and perpetually exchanging[99] the money and merchandise of the one continent for the men and valour of the other.

Alexander's new maxims for the government of Asia.

In all general discussions concerning Asia, the strength and distribution of armies are matters of primary importance; because in that quarter of the world, the forms of public administration have ever been chiefly military; and, instead of the persuasive voice of law, the coercive arm of power, is, on every occasion, vigorously exerted for the maintenance of police, the collection of revenue, and the enforcement of what is there called justice. With all his unwearied exertions and incomparable abilities, Alexander could not have altered the natural genius of the people, or rather those acquired habits of thinking, which time and custom had indelibly impressed. The great mass of his eastern subjects, he speedily perceived to be incapable of adopting, nay of understanding, the liberal institutions of his hereditary kingdom; a government not of arbitrary will, but of

[98] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. vi. c. 17. Conf. Aristot. de Cura Rei Familiaris, l. ii. p. 510, and Strabo, ii. p. 69.

[99] Diodor. l. xviii. c. 15. Arrian and Curtius, passim.

equitable law[100]; in which all judicial trials were public, and conducted according to precise indispensable forms[101]; in which taxes were not to be imposed but by general consent; and according to which a loyal and martial people presumed, for the public good, to regulate the occupations, and sometimes to controul even the amusements of their sovereigns.[102] Such institutions, Alexander well knew, were not calculated for the meridian of Asia. He employed, however, unremitted diligence to engraft on the irreclaimable and barren stock of despotism, some of the coarser fruits of liberty. Under the Persian dynasty which immediately preceded him, and under the Medes who preceded the Persians, individuals of these nations, who themselves trembled at the frown of a master, governed despotically other nations, whom they scorned as their natural inferiors. In this manner the extended possessions of Asiatic monarchies formed a wide political circle, of which the dominant nation was the centre, and of which the parts nearest to this centre rose in respectability above the provinces more remote from it.[103] Natives of Persis, the proper Persia, thus governed the territories in their immediate neighbourhood; and natives of these territories were employed as Satraps

[100] Κατα νομον βασιλεια. Aristot. Politic.

[101] Nihil potestas regum valebat, nisi prius valuisset auctoritas. Curtius, l. x. c. 8.

[102] Curtius, l. viii. c. 6. Conf. Tit. Liv. xxxi. & xliv.

[103] Herodot. l. i. c. 183 & 192, & l. iii. & 192 Conf. Xenoph. Cyropæd, l. vii. p. 193.

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over countries more distant from the Persians, and on one side contiguous to themselves. Vested with this commission, they held both the sword and the purse, accountable only for their administration to Satraps nearer to Persia, while the last and nearest of these, always themselves Persians, were amenable to none but the great king or his ministers. The same national pre-eminence had been claimed of old by the Assyrians, and has been exercised with stern cruelty over Asia, by all the conquering dynasties of Scythian or Saracene descent down to the present day.[104] But Alexander, the only Euro-

[104] So extensive in point both of time and place are Asiatic maxims, that the Tartars act towards the Chinese with the same systematic nationality. "The science of government," Lord Macartney observes, "in the eastern world, is understood by those who govern, very differently from what it is in the western. When the succession of a contested kingdom in Europe is once ascertained, whether by violence or compromise, the nation returns to its pristine regularity and composure; it matters little whether a Bourbon or an Austrian fills the throne of Naples or of Spain, because the sovereign, whoever he be, then becomes a Spaniard or a Neapolitan. The policy of Asia is totally opposite. There the prince regards the place of his nativity as an accident of mere indifference. It is not locality, but his own cast or family: it is not the country where he drew his breath, but the blood from which he sprang: it is not the drapery of the theatre, but the spirit of the drama that engages his attention, and occupies his thoughts. A series of two hundred years, under a succession of eight or ten monarchs, did not change the Mogul into a Hindoo, nor has a century and a half made Tchien Lung, a Chinese." The Tartar conqueror never loses sight for a moment of the superiority of his cast: — "his impartiality is a mere pretence: — he conducts himself at bottom with a systematic nationality." Macartney, quoted by Mr. Barrow in his China, p. 415. Comp. Staunton's Chinese Embassy, vol. ii. c. 4. To these remarks I shall add, that in reference to nations, ελευθερια in Herodotus and other correct Greek writers, signifies "the free-

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pean [105] who ever bore sway in the great central regions of the eastern continent, determined to destroy this most invidious of tyrannies, the tyranny of nations over nations, and persevered immovably in his purpose, notwithstanding the perpetual and turbulent remonstrances of his Greeks and Macedonians. The proudest of his lieutenants were compelled to respect the customs, the superstitions, the local prejudices of the vanquished. [106] The ordinary affairs, whether civil or sacred, of the Barbarians, were left to the management of persons appointed from their own number, and the best qualified, therefore, to direct in matters of domestic concern. [107] The severity of government was mitigated by minute partitions of power and quick rotations of magistracy: and we can discern with wonder and regret that offices, whose union is described at

dom of one nation from vassalage under another." Herodot. i. 95. & iii. 87. et passim. The words denoting what *we* call "liberty" are ισονομια and ισηγορια; words happily chosen, since the former expresses "equality of law regulating actions," and the latter "equality in the use of speech or writing," implying a perfect independence of thought.

[105] The Arabs, in allusion to this circumstance, call Alexander Dhulkearnaim, "the two horned," quod assecutus est Orientem et Occidentem. Abulpharagius Compend. Dynast. p. 96.

[106] Arrian, l. iii. c. 16. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 738, and Joseph. Cont. Apion. Plutarch de Fortun. Alexand. compliments the pupil on this subject most unjustly at the expence of his preceptor, a calumny anticipated and refuted by Strabo, l. i. p. 67.

[107] Arrian is careful to notice this arrangement in almost every one of the countries reduced under the Macedonian power. Expedit. Alexand. passim.

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Their influence in arts and commerce.

connected with arts, industry, commerce, and all the best improvements of social life. From the earliest temples in Nineveh and Babylon down to the destruction by Mahomet of the idols of Mecca, the sanctuaries of eastern superstition continued invariably the seats of trade.[112] Even in Greece itself, as I have shewn on a former occasion, the inviolable repositories of temples constituted the ordinary banks of deposit both for individuals and for states.[113] The venerable mansion of Saturn formed the principal treasury at Rome; and such is the force of imitation, that the vestibules and sacred enclosures of the temple of Jerusalem, were sordidly[114] applied to purposes widely different from their pure and primitive destination, as places of prayer to the Almighty.[115]

It is impossible to trace the muddy streams of polytheism to any clear and common source, and would be idle nicely to discriminate between things essentially capricious. Yet capricious and absurd as they are in their own nature, and fraught with many consequences prejudicial to public and private happiness, they appear, all of them, to have contained so many points of agreement,

[112] Sixty idols stood in the Caaba, the ancient resort of the Sabæan merchants. Mahomet ruined trade by the profanation of this temple. Bruce's Travels, vol. v. p. 21, and Garnier Vie de Mahomet. For the antiquity of the Caaba, these writers might have cited Diodorus, l. iii. c. 44. The situation of his ἱερὸν ἀγιώτατον exactly corresponds with the Caaba at Mecca.

[113] Xenoph. Anabas. l. v. p. 355, and Cicero in Verrem, l. i. c. 19. Conf. Arrian Exped. Alexand. passim, & l. vi.

[114] Matthew, xxi. 12. [115] Isaiah, lvi. 7.

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as greatly facilitated intercourse among remote, jealous, and often hostile nations. This remark might be copiously illustrated in the notices still extant concerning most of the principal emporia from the Grecian sea to the Indus. In Lesser Asia, in Assyria, and in Ariana, the threefold division above given of the great antient continent, we shall find priestly casts, or families, hereditary ministers of the Gods, bearing sway, in each of them respectively, throughout all the places most conspicuous for civilization and commerce: and, in several cities of Lesser Asia, we shall see this sacerdotal government subsisting in full force from the darkest antiquity down to the bright reign of Augustus, amidst innumerable convulsions and revolutions of all the states around them.[116] Of these hierarchical establishments, however various the rites, the principle or sanction was uniform. It consisted in benefits derived from heaven through the supposed intervention of earthly vicegerents[117]; and in the countries where idolatry is said to have begun, and where it certainly flourished most vigorously, I mean Babylonia and Egypt, priestly domination was essentially connected with the kindly influences of the celestial revolutions on the regular returns of the seasons, and the indispensible operations of agriculture.[118] Originating in an art essential to human subsistence, it extended with another

[116] Diodorus, l. iii. c. 59. Conf. Strabo, l. xii. p. 558 & 672.
[117] Strabo, l. i. p. 24, & l. xvi. p. 762.
[118] Isocrat. Areopagit.

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pre-eminently conducive to actual well-being and future improvement. By commerce only, the scattered rays of knowledge and civility could be collected and concentrated, in cities guarded by the sanctity of temples more surely than they could have been defended by the strength of walls. In these marts of superstition and traffick, fierce Nomades intermixed with peaceful artizans[119]; through the revered authority of priests, the one class was restrained from fraud, and the other from violence; and of the œconomy and tendency of such asyla, or privileged resorts, in simpler ages, we are enabled to judge by their description in later and more corrupt times, when they still presented objects imperiously demanded by the multitude; seducing luxuries to gratify their senses; airy ceremonies and fables to amuse the idleness of their minds; and both of them well calculated to soften their savageness, and bridle their ferocity.[120] In Alexander's punctilious attention to local superstitions we may discern, therefore, a perfect harmony with all the great views by which he was actuated. His veneration for imaginary gods, so universally attested, and so unanimously approved[121], discovers a highly commendable respect for productive and commercial industry, for safe communication and confidential

[119] Stephanus de Urb. Voc. Ασια.

[120] Strabo, ubi suprn. See the effect of such establishments among the fiercest nations of Mount Caucasus. Strabo, xi. 497, et seq.

[121] Arrian, Plutarch, Diodorus, Strabo, and all the authors whom they cite.

intercourse, for all the arts, either of elegance or utility; in a word, for whatever, in that age, had a tendency to restrain the brutal passions of men, and to engage them in laudable exertions. SECT. I.

His revenues.

History is full of Alexander's endeavours, even during the progress of his conquests, to wean wandering and warlike shepherds from their predatory habits, and to convert them into industrious husbandmen.[122] Of his exertions to make the empire flourish in resources, there is every where abundant attestation; but none of his biographers or historians have furnished us with any notices concerning the imposition or collection of his revenues. On this subject, the only details are given as exceptions to his general system, and must be sought in the writings[123] of his preceptor, to which no one has hitherto, for this purpose, had recourse. With regard to the imposition of taxes, a saying of Alexander's is handed down, reproaching "the wasteful gardener, who, instead of picking the fruit, plucked up the plants themselves."[124] Yet his fleets and armies, his new cities, fortifications, and arsenals, not to mention lesser objects connected either with the defence or with the improvement of his dominions, must have required prodigious efforts of labour, and enormous disbursements of money. His reve-

[122] Strabo, l. xi. p. 517. Pliny, l. vi. Plutarch in Alexand. and Arrian Indic. c. xl.

[123] Aristot. de cura Reifamiliaris, Opera, vol. ii. p. 509. edit. Du Val.

[124] Olitorem se odisse, Alexander dixit, qui radicibus exscinderet olera quæ carpere debuisset.

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personal attendance for money; Philoxenus still persevered in appointing a new set of performers, until he thus received money from all the principal Carians, then and long afterwards a very wealthy people.[127]

Fair financial operations of Antigenes, intendant of Babylonia.

The vile expedients of Cleomenes and Philoxenus differed widely from the fair financial operations of their fellow-labourer Antigenes, intendant-general in Babylonia. Antigenes imposed a tax on masters for every slave or servant employed by them, but stipulated to pay to these masters in return, the full value of every fugitive that escaped from their families or manufactories; a condition, which, in most countries of antiquity, would have proved very burdensome, (slaves, almost the only labourers, being extremely addicted to desertion,) but which was fulfilled at little cost by Antigenes; such an excellent police had he established along the highways in his province! This respectable minister also revived several of the duties or customs which anciently[128] prevailed in the Assyrian empire, when Babylon was the seat of arts and of luxury; and, as will be explained hereafter, at once the source and the centre of an extensive and multifarious commerce.

[127] Aristot. ibid.

[128] Id. ibid. p. 510.

SURVEY

OF

ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS.

SECTION II.

Two Classes of Asiatic Conquerors. — Assyrians and Egyptians, their Characteristics.—Scythians, their Characteristics. — Medes and Persians to be classed with barbarous Conquerors. — The Babylonian Plain. — Its Revolutions and successive Capitals. — Authentic History of Assyria, confirmed by local Circumstances. — State of Asia antecedently to the first great Monarchy. — Inland communication from the Mediterranean to India. — Emporia in Assyria, Ethiopia, and Egypt. — Similarity of their Institutions and Government. — Pursuits and Attainments of the Egyptian Priests. — Their Brethren in Ethiopia. — Meroë, its History and singular Theocracy. — The Sabæans and Phœnicians. — Three main Staples — Babylon in Assyria — Bactra in Ariana — Pessinus in Lesser Asia.

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Dynasties preceding the Macedonian.

AGREEABLY to the method above proposed, I proceed to examine how far Alexander's plans were original, and how far, in the concerns either of domestic policy, or of foreign commerce, he was guided by the examples of

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his precursors in empire. The various nations will thus pass in review, who successively governed Asia, and whose transactions, manners, and institutions left indelible impressions on that great division of it known to the writers of antiquity.

Assyrians and Egyptians, their characteristics.

From the concurring testimony of these writers, it appears that, before the Macedonian invasion, two classes of conquerors had alternately held sway in the East. The nations, to which these conquerors belonged, are marked by wide discriminations of civility and barbarism. Antecedently to the memorable reigns of Ninus and Sesostris, the former of which began only twelve, and the latter about fourteen centuries, before the Christian æra, the Assyrians and Egyptians consisted chiefly of laborious husbandmen and industrious artificers, resident in cities or villages, addicted to pomp in religious worship, and so immemorially conversant with arts and letters, that, at their first appearance above the horizon of time, they should seem to have reached their highest meridian of refinement; and the farther back that we remount in their annals, their proceedings in war and peace become proportionally the more worthy of regard.[1] The stupendous monuments, besides, of both these nations may be considered as still

[1] See the first and second books of Diodorus Siculus throughout. For the extensive conquests, and the γραφτας κυρβεις, or geographical tables, of the Egyptians, see Apollonius Rhodius Argonaut. l. iv. v. 275. and Eustathius in Proem. ad Dionys. Perieget. p. 6.

attesting their ancient greatness, since those of the Egyptians which remain, were, according to unquestionable authority, far surpassed and outshone[2] by those of the Assyrians, which have perished through the slighter consistence of their materials. SECT. II.

The second class of eastern conquerors is distinguished by features equally characteristic, but uniformly expressive of grossness and ignorance. Destitute of temples for their gods, and of fixed habitations for themselves, they roved with their flocks, and herds, and tents, over the wide Scythian deserts, stretching between the range of Taurus above described, and another chain of mountains twelve degrees north of it. This northern range, known under the general name of Altai, should seem, from the inhospitable savageness of the inhabitants and the country, to have been rarely visited by strangers during any age of antiquity; in the subsequent times, it is shewn only as the disfigured scene of Tartar and Turkish fables[3]; and it was first carefully surveyed by the curiosity or policy of the Russian government in the course of the last century. Commencing with the lofty Riphæan mountains, a thousand miles due north of the Caspian, Altai prolongs its ridges to the sea-coast of Siberia, and the frightful solitudes of the Tonguses, a people so irreclaimably barbarous, that they are still governed by Sha- Of the Scythians.

[2] Herodot. l. i. c. 178

[3] D'Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale, Article Caf.

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mans or wizzards.[4] Within the ample region between Taurus and Altai, the elevated plains of Scythia are generally unfit for tillage, though frequently chequered with rich herbage, and have therefore been invariably inhabited by nations or clans, whose manners are pastoral, whose government is patriarchal, and whose habits are military; thus presenting in all ages the same unaltered picture of warlike barbarity; turbulent at home, and awfully formidable abroad.[5] The descents both of Taurus and of Altai afforded, in many parts, the best iron[6], which the Scythians, at their first appearance in history, had already fashioned into swords and hatchets.[7] In giving firmness and sharpness to this metal, in converting the hair of their camels into felt for tents or for garments, and in corrupting the innocent mildness of milk into

[4] View of the Russian Empire, by Smirnove, p. 67.

[5] By modern writers of great eminence, the ancients have been suspected of exaggeration, respecting the populousness of countries called deserts. But the suspicion is not justified by the reports of travellers, who have visited such countries. Mr. Turner, in his journey to Bootan and Thibet, says that Bootan presents to the view mountains covered with eternal verdure, forests of large and lofty trees, every part of the soil cleared and adapted to cultivation, not a slip of land left unimproved. Thibet, on the contrary, exhibits extensive arid plains, or low rocky hills without any visible vegetation. Yet this want is compensated by its multitudinous herds. As Bootan enjoys a superabundance of vegetable life, so does Thibet exhibit a superabundance of animals, p. 216. The antelope has been said absurdly, to subsist without water or food. Yet it would appear that, with greatly less of either than is deemed in most countries essential to the preservation of life, animals may live, and thrive, and wonderfully multiply.

[6] Voyage en Syrie par l'Abbé Chappe Autiruche, p. 603.

[7] Herodot. l. vii. c. 64.

a liquor highly intoxicating[8], these shepherds of the north displayed their highest reaches of art and ingenuity; but of their native courage and prowess there are perpetual and signal proofs in all their transactions and institutions, and in all the earliest reports concerning them. Not to mention the tradition that Asia had been thrice conquered by Scythians before the building of Nineveh, and that Ninus, the founder of that kingdom, first ventured to withhold from them the tribute which they had exacted from Assyria during fifteen centuries[9], the father of prophane history records their desolating migrations southwards, six hundred and twenty-eight years before the Christian æra. At that period, Cyaxares the Mede had undertaken an expedition against the Assyrian Sarac or Sardanapalus, king of Nineveh, when an irruption of eastern Scythians into the rich Nisæan plain, the finest district in Media, recalled him to the defence of his ravaged fields and flaming villages. To this Cyaxares, the Medes acknowledged themselves indebted for their military discipline, and for reducing into regular bodies of pikemen, cavalry, and archers, those shapeless unwieldly masses that had hitherto acted with tumultuary rage and by mere brute force.[10] But the im-

Their irruptions into Southern Asia, Olymp. xxxviii. 1. B. C. 628.

[8] Pallas, History of the Moguls, p. 133.

[9] Justin, l. ii. c. 3. Conf. Diodor. ii. 43. The antiquity of the Scythian conquest is greatly antedated, if the origin of the nation remounted only to the year 1510 before the Christian æra; or, as Herodotus says, a thousand years before Darius's Scythian expedition, Herodot. iv. 7.

[10] Herodot. i. 73—103. Conf. Sancti Hieron. Opera, vol. iv. Coll. 661.

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proved tactics of the Medes served not to resist the perpetual torrents of Scythian horsemen that assailed them in rapid succession; and Cyaxares, in danger of being overwhelmed on all sides by this desultory warfare, consented to acknowledge the Scythians for his masters by paying to them large contributions. In the space of five years, the invaders, carrying their houses on their waggons, pushed their predatory colonies into Armenia, Colchis, Pontus, Cappadocia: some ravagers penetrated into Syria, particularly that division of it called Palestine, in which they occupied Bethshean, a town formerly belonging to the half tribe of Manasseh on this side the Jordan, and which thenceforward received the name of Scythopolis.[11] On the frontiers of the Holy Land, Psammeticus, king of Egypt, came forward, not to oppose the invasion by arms, but to divert it by submission and rich presents.[12] By these offerings, the rage of the Scythians was appeased: slaves and booty formed the main objects of their ambition; since being narrowed in mind by the same habits and mode of life which invigorated and enlarged their bodies, they were totally unfit to govern the conquests which their valour had achieved, and which their rapacity, for the most part, deformed and desolated; for with them the merciless havoc of war was restrained by no considerations even of interest, the naked face of their own country saving them from fear of reprisals

[11] Syncell. Chronograph. p. 214. Conf. Herodot. i. 103. et seq.
[12] Herodot. i. 105.

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in their grossest abuse of victory.[13] Among the fierce natives of the desert, who, on this occasion, established themselves in the counties south of mount Taurus, the sudden alteration in their way of life appears to have produced a correspondent change in their character. Finding themselves in possession of many conveniences and luxuries, hitherto unknown to them, they greedily embraced every new temptation to appetite, indulged the wildest caprices without shame or remorse[14], and passed at one fatal bound from the simplicity of childhood to the miserable voluptuousness of doating old age: a consequence inevitable whenever gross undisciplined minds are borne on too prosperous a tide of fortune. Of this rapid degeneracy, Cyaxares availed himself for destroying part of his unworthy guests, and expelling the remainder of them from Media. In several neighbouring countries, the people collectively took arms against their insolent and besotted oppressors; whose vexations, though dreadful in the villages and open country, had generally stopped short at the gates of walled cities, well provided with granaries and arsenals; and some

[13] Arrian has thus explained the principle of Scythian warfare: ατε ἄβροιοι οικεσι ὁτε δειμαινειν περι των φιλτατων. "Having no home, they feared not harm to any of its sweet endearments." Arrian Exped. Alexand. iv. 17. And again in his Indian history, c. 40. "Alexander overran the territories of the Uxii, Mardi, and Cossæans, compelling those roving banditti to a settled agricultural life, that having property of their own to defend, they might no longer prey on their neighbours."

[14] Plato de Legibus, iii. p. 815.

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of them possessed also of treasuries. As the Scythians had neither skill nor patience for sieges, money, by way of ransom, was readily accepted by them. Many tribes returned home richly laden with silver: others fell a prey to their own vices or the revived courage of the vanquished; and the agricultural nations of Asia were thus delivered from a scourge by which they had been afflicted upwards of twenty years.[15]

New irruptions of Scythians or Chaldæans. Olymp. xlv. 2. B.C. 599.

But after a short breathing-time of scarcely half this period, a new irruption from the stony girdles of Asia left more indelible marks on the southern parts of that continent. In the most venerable of all records, the Chaldæan Nomades, destined to overthrow Jerusalem and Tyre, are characterized by qualities exactly appropriate to their remotest Tartar descendants.[16] They are the iron nation of the north, the resistless rovers of the desert, whose successions of fierce cavalry are numerous as the ocean waves, and impetuous as the winds of heaven.[17] The slightest attention to geography shows that this impressive imagery is totally inapplicable to those Chaldæans who immemorially formed the sacerdotal tribe in Babylonia, and who cannot possibly

[15] Herodotus says 28 years; others 20; the storm abated gradually. Conf. Herodot. i. 106. Sanct. Hieron. vol. iv. Coll. 661.

[16] The pictures given in Cherefeddin's Life of Tamerlane, and in the life of Zingis, or Gengiscan, by Petit de la Croix, are exact copies of those drawn in Scripture, in Herodotus, in Diodorus, and in Justin.

[17] Conf. Isaiah, c. xxiii. v. 13. Jeremiah, i. 13. and xv. 12. Ezekiel, xxvi. 3. and 7.

be regarded as a northern people in respect of the Jews or Phœnicians. The Chaldæans of the prophets are those of whom a part was antiently called Chalybians, by the Greeks, from their habitual labours in iron.[18] They dwelt among the craggy descents from the table-land of Armenia towards the Euxine sea, and cultivated there the same trade of armourers for the supply of the western Scythians, which the Turks afterwards exercised for the service of their eastern brethren.[19] Their name, being that of the tribe nearest to civilized nations, was extended to Scythians in general, in the same manner as the appellation of Tartars, or rather Tatars, originally denoting a small body of men, attained in later times an indefinite amplitude[20], and as the name of a miserable village on the southern frontier of Siberia has expanded over the whole of that immense region.[21]

Frequency of Asiatic revolutions, cause thereof.

A lively writer, cited and approved by a learned one, ascribes the frequent revolutions in Asia to the extremes of cold and heat, which in that continent immediately touch each other, without any intervening degree of middle temperature.[22] But, consistently with the records of

[18] Strabo, l. xii. p. 549.

[19] Conf. Strabo ubi supra, and Abulghazi Khan Histoire Genealogique des Tatars, p. ii. c. 5.

[20] The Tartars formed the van-guard of the Scythian armies, and their name thus reaching the ears of foreigners before that of any other tribe, came to be applied by strangers to the whole Scythian nation. Freret in Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. xviii. p. 60.

[21] Schmidt's Russische Geschechte. Feodor, 1584.

[22] Conf. Montesquieu Esprit des Loix, l. xvii. c. 3. and Gibbon's Decline and Fall, &c. vol. ii. c. 26.

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history, indispensable premises to such general conclusions, the vicissitudes in the eastern world may more truly be referred to the striking contrast between fierce Nomades with their warlike manners and habits, and the softened civilization in their neighbourhood of men collected in great cities, dissolved in the luxury of baths and harams. If the Scythians often descended in terror from their cold mountains, the shepherds of Arabia and Ethiopia, as we shall see presently, emerged with as successful boldness from their scorching plains. The Medes, inhabiting a country more southern than Spain, held sway, during their rude pastoral state, for an hundred and sixty years in Upper Asia.[23] But corrupted by their conquests in Assyria, the Medes lost their military prowess, without improving in civil wisdom[24]; and thereupon submitted to Cyrus and his Persians, a people visited by a still warmer sun, but who then lived in scattered villages, subsisted chiefly by hunting and pasturage, and were commonly clothed in the skins of wild beasts.[25]

[23] The Medes were encouraged to revolt from the Assyrians, 710 years before Christ, in consequence of the disasters of Senacherib's army related in Isaiah, c. xxxvii. v. 36. After the loss of his army, "Senacherib's estate was troubled," Tobit, c. 1. v. 15. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 95. and Mos. Choronens. l. i. c. 22. Herodotus, who wrote an Assyrian History, the loss of which is infinitely to be regretted, places the foundation of the Assyrian empire 520 years before the revolt of the Medes, (l. i. c. 95.) that is, 1230 years before the Christian æra. [24] Xenoph. de Institut. Cyri, l. i. passim.

[25] Herodot. l. i. c. 71. The revolt of the Persians happened 550 years before Christ; and the last Darius was murdered by Bessus 330 years before Christ.

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The Persians to be classed with barbarous conquerors.

Notwithstanding the boastful fictions of the modern Persians, a mingled brood of Scythians[26] and Saracens, the purer ancient nation bearing the Persian name, including the Medes, intimately united with the Persians in government, in manners, and in language, must, according to authentic history, be classed with the barbarous conquerors of Asia, in as far as concerns the pursuits either of foreign commerce or even of domestic industry. Their unskilful practice, in arms as well as in arts, is attested by all their wars with Greece, circumstantially related in the former part of this work[27]; and the contributions of their provinces were irregular and precarious until the rapacious[28] reign of Darius. In the exercise of what was called government, we see on every side the tremendous power of despots with all the strength and all the weakness incident to their detestable domination[29]; the palaces and cities in the centre polluted by submissive slaves, instruments of a vile luxury, while the distant provinces were perpetually shaken by usurping

[26] The Illats chiefly of Scythian descent, and other wandering and warlike tribes, form more than half the population of Persia; and may be considered as masters of the country. The lands on which they pasture descend from father to son, and the king is only the head of a powerful tribe, who, by arms, or artifice, has reduced his rivals to subjection. These proprietors of lands are the only real nobility of the country; for the servants of the crown are chosen from men of low birth: ministerial power, in the hands of a great military chief, would under such a government imply that the prince was a mere pageant, or a prisoner.

[27] History of Ancient Greece. See particularly chap. ix. p. 422.

[28] Herodot. l. iii. c. 89.

[29] Και τ' αλλα ὁσα τοιαυτα Περσικα και Βαρβαρα. Aristot. Politic. l. v. c. 11.

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satraps or rebellious vassals. The law of the Medes and Persians, "which altereth not," has been too favourably construed into a definite code of written legislation, bespeaking considerable advancement in civil policy[30]: for indubitable evidence compels us to take the expression in its literal sense.[31] Notwithstanding the primitive and hardy virtues of the Persians, spontaneous results of ignorance and poverty, Xenophon acknowledges with what facility they descended from the innocence of their mountains into the profligacy of Babylonian plains, and with what stubborn formality, characteristic of barbarians, they adhered to the letter, after they had long departed from the spirit of their primi-

[30] In the celebrated Travels to discover the source of the Nile, vol. i. p. 449. Mr. Bruce ascribes this maxim to Nebuchadnezzar, who was neither a Mede nor a Persian. But this great traveller was not very accurately acquainted with ancient history, on some important passages of which his work, as will appear in the sequel, throws much light.

[31] The following story is told in Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia:—The late king Aga Mahomet Khan, when encamped near Shiraz, said he would not move, till the snow was off the mountain. The winter was severe, and long; the army began to suffer, but the king's word was a law, not to be violated. A great body of workmen was, therefore, sent to remove the snow, and the king marched. This story was told to Sir John, by a chief who had been present, in order to impress his mind with a high opinion of Aga Mahomet Khan. He therefore justly infers, that, "on examination of those passages of Holy Writ in which the laws of the Medes and Persians are mentioned, it will be discovered that the king's word was, in the most ancient days as at present, deemed the fixed and immutable law of the land; and that no more was meant by the phrase, 'altereth not,' than that, when the monarch had once commanded, though it was to commit injustice, he even could not depart from what he had uttered." Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. i. p. 268.

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tive institutions.[32] They were destitute of temples and idols[33], but had been taught by their magi, or priests, an awful veneration for the elements, those particularly of fire and water.[34] This strange superstition prevented them from willingly undertaking any voyage by sea, lest they should defile its waves by the unavoidable secretions from their bodies.[35] Darius Hystaspis, a prince inimical to the magi, endeavoured, indeed, to overcome this religious scruple.[36] Yet of the twelve hundred ships with which his successor Xerxes invaded Greece, not one was furnished by Persia. The sea-ports of Syria and Lesser Asia[37], with the adjacent islands of Greece, supplied the whole number. This timid folly was carried by the Persians to such an extravagant excess, that they never built a harbour, or city of any note, on any part of their vast coasts.[38] They even destroyed those inland navigations which had antecedently been established, and succeeded in the perverse labour[39] of obstructing great rivers fitted to lay open the inmost recesses of Asia, and which

[32] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 238. et seq. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 135.

[33] Herodot. l. i. c. 131.

[34] Xenoph. ubi supra, and Herodot. l. i. c. 138. & l. iii. c. 16.

[35] Plin. N. H. l. xxx. c. 2.

[36] Herodot. l. iii. c. 70. & l. iv. c. 44.

[37] At the commencement of Alexander's expedition, the Persian fleet was supplied wholly by the Egyptians, Phenicians, and Cilicians. Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. i.

[38] Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxii. c. 6. Conf. Arrian, Exped. Alexand. ii. 17.

[39] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 740. stigmatises their καταρακτας χειροποιητους

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both before and after the domination of those unworthy [40] masters, were successfully employed for that beneficial purpose. Egypt and Babylonia, two countries, which for reasons that will afterwards appear, were the peculiar objects of Alexander's partiality, suffered under the Persians the utmost severity of persecution. [41] Cambyses, the brutal conqueror of Egypt, in his eagerness to level every thing in that ancient kingdom before his own despotism, extinguished the whole royal lineage, and raged with intolerant fury against the priestly cast, or ancient sacerdotal families [42], the first authors and always the main supporters of Egyptian prosperity. Persecution excited rebellion, and rebellion was punished by new aggravations of cruelty. In this manner Egypt, for the space of nearly two centuries, continued the perpetual scene of crimes and of punishments. Scarcely twenty years before the Macedonian conquest, Artaxerxes Ochus suppressed Nectenebus the last conspicuous rebel; and, on this occasion, fresh severities were exercised on the Egyptian priests: their temples were plundered, their lands were wrested from them; even their sacred books, the objects of much religious care, were seized in

[40] Strabo, l. xi. p. 509. He speaks of their grossness, ignorance, and total neglect of all improvement, in terms applicable to the sacred indolence of their Moslem successors. See in Arrian, iii. 16. the joy with which the Babylonians received Alexander, whose first order was, to rebuild the temples demolished by the Persians.

[41] Herodot. l. i. c. 183. 186. l. iii. c. 62. Aristot. Politic. l. iii. c. 9. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 740. Diodorus, l. xvi. c. 51.

[42] Herodot. l. iii. c. 1. et seq.

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their hidden repositories, and retained by their cruel persecutors, till ransomed by large sums of money.[43] The injuries inflicted on the Babylonians were not less outrageous. The Persians plundered their treasuries and profaned their temples[44], corrupted their daughters, and emasculated their sons[45]; and with tyranny embittered by envy, intercepted two ancient sources of Babylonian wealth, by obstructing the navigable courses of the Euphrates and Tigris.[46]

Alexander scorned the examples of those conquerors.

To a prince animated by the prospect of extending commerce and diffusing arts and industry over the finest regions of the earth, the proceedings of the conquerors just named, could only present examples to be shunned. In the progress however of his expedition, Alexander used unexampled diligence in searching after the archives[47] of the vanquished, as well as in examining with his own eyes the ancient monuments of their opulence and power.[48] Many invaluable records collected by him, have irrecoverably perished. Yet the objects which he beheld, and the information which he received on the spot, concurring with the notices recorded by a few travellers of his own country, could

[43] Diodorus, l. xvi. c. 51.

[44] Herodot. i. 183. [45] Herodot. l. i. c. 196. & l. iii. c. 92.

[46] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 740. The kings of Persia treated the merchants of Babylon precisely in the manner, that a merchant of London pretended ludicrously to fear lest this great commercial city might be treated by Charles II. "The king" he was told "is very angry:" "Indeed! I fear he will take the river from us."

[47] Strabo, l. ii. p. 69. Pliny, vi. 17. Conf. Moses Choronens, l. i. c. 7. et seq.

[48] Arrian, Curtius, and Plutarch.

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not fail to raise his thoughts above the vain pomp of Ecbatana, Pasagarda and Persepolis, and to fix them on the more substantial grandeur of Babylon, Bactra, Tyre, Memphis, and Thebes, before these and other once industrious cities were, some of them, a prey to the savageness of the Scythians, and others of them permanently enslaved under the painted barbarism of the Medes and Persians.

Directs his attention to the earlier transactions of the Assyrians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians. How these were recorded.

In entering upon the history of those ages of productive industry and commercial intercourse, which must of necessity have preceded the destruction and havoc attending the foundation of empires, I might regret the scantiness of my materials, if there was not still greater reason to lament their uncertainty. The ancient glories of the Assyrians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians, immemorial cultivators of the earth, and inventors of those arts which naturally flow from the leisure and security of agricultural and settled life, were not indeed abandoned, either to the darkness of oblivion, or the mists of traditionary fable. Their transactions were recorded on monuments[49] of the utmost durability, but recorded in a kind of picture-writing, whose characters, except in gross material objects, being essentially ambiguous, necessarily deepened in obscurity, according to the growing extent of their signification; that is, to the variety or spirituality of the notions which they were employed to express. It is remarked by

[49] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 729. Diodor. l. i. c. 27. Herodotus, Pliny, and Cassiodorus.

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Herodotus, that the Egyptians wonderfully excelled in the strength of their memories.[50] A prodigious compass of this faculty was requisite to grasp the wide variety of their hieroglyphics, already perplexed with such difficulties in the age of the patriarch Joseph, who governed Egypt as intendant-general during the greater part of the seventeenth century before Christ, that the interpretation of sacred writing is described as one of the most important professions in the kingdom.[51] It was exercised, like all other employments of dignity, by the privileged or sacerdotal families, in the hands of whose degenerate descendants it always continued to remain, and was often very grossly abused; witness the impudent lies told from hieroglyphics, to the inquisitive travellers Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus[52], remote by five centuries from each other; and at the intermediate point of time between those respectable historians, the shameless fictions, given also as explanations of hieroglyphics, by Manetho and Berosus, when the translation of the books of Moses into Greek under the first Ptolemies piqued the national vanity of these romancers, the one an Egyptian, the other a Babylonian, priest, and made them enhance, beyond all bounds, the antiquity and celebrity of their respective nations. I shall not

[50] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 77. Conf. Diodorus, iii. 4. The hieroglyphics on some single obelisks, are said to amount to 400. Diodorus speaks with wonder of the *εμφασεως μνημης συνηθλημενης*. Diodor. ibid.

[51] Genesis, xli. 8. The word translated "Magicians" in our bibles, Michaelis renders "Ausleger Egyptishen bilderschrift."

[52] *Πολλα λεγοντες φιλοτιμοτερον ηπερ αληθινωτερον.* Diodor. i. 29.

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therefore venture to write, what, in the numerous authors who have copied each other on the subject, I have found it disgustingly tiresome to read, and formally repeat those incoherent and insipid fables which pass for ancient history. There would be more shame than satisfaction, in laboriously arranging such flimsy and faithless materials; since, after much pains in selection and decoration, instead of the exploits of kings and conquerors, of men and gods, all equally the creatures of fancy, a more skilful interpretation of the record might rightly substitute the annual vicissitudes of the Euphrates or the Nile, the periodic motions of the heavenly luminaries, the operations and implements of useful arts, Orion or a plough-share. [53]

[53] An agricultural explanation of hieroglyphics is given by Abbé Pluche in his Histoire du Ciel: (vol. i. p. 45. et seq. edit. 1778,) an author, who being an advocate for religion, is most acrimoniously insulted by Voltaire, as an adversary, and treated too angrily by Warburton, who needed not to have feared him as a rival. Warburton's great merit in the explanation of the origin and nature of hieroglyphics is generally and justly admired; yet he has not exhausted the subject, and I cannot reconcile all of his conclusions with the only existing authorities concerning it; viz. Herodotus, l. iii. c. 36. Diodorus, l. iii. c. 4. Porphyr. in Vit. Pythagor. Clemens Alexand. V. Strom. p. 555, and a fragment of Manetho in Eusebius's Chronicle, p. 6. In this fragment, Warburton instead of γραμμασι ἱερογλυφικοις substitutes γραμμασι ἱερογραφικοις. His reason for this correction is, that ἱερογλυφικα being always used by the ancients to denote characters of things, in opposition to alphabetic letters, or characters of words, ought not to be joined with γραμματα, which denotes characters of words only. Because ἱερογλυφικα always denotes characters of things, Warburton concluded that γραμματα always denoted characters of words. The conclusion is illogical, and contradictory to one of the passages on which our whole knowledge of the subject rests, περι δε των Αιθιοπικων γραμματων ἱων παρ

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The Babylonian plain, its revolutions and successive capitals.

The Babylonian plain, however, which comes forward in Scripture as the first great scene of national enterprise, continued to be described long after the introduction of alphabetic writing, as the finest portion of Assyria and of all Asia. At the distance of a few years from the projected tower, "whose top might reach unto heaven[54]," we find in profane history a city whose æra remounts 2234 years before Christ; a date obtained from the astronomical tables sent by Alexander to Aristotle[55], and important beyond other astronomical æras, because supported by various notices and circumstances, all bearing on the same point, and powerfully co-operating to confirm it.[56] That Babylon was immemorially governed by Chaldæans, a sacerdotal cast or family; and that the authority of these Chaldæans was founded on their superior attainments, particularly their proficiency in astronomy, is said to have been attested by the concurring remains of Assyrian history.[57] The

Αιγυπτιους ἱερογλυφικων καλδαικων, &c. Diodorus, l. iii. c. 4. Conf. Divine Legation, b. iv. § 4.

[54] Genesis, xi. 19.

[55] Porphyr. apud Simplic. in Aristot. de Cœlo.

[56] Seneca Nat. Quest. l. vii. c. 5. Conf. Anatolius apud Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. l. iii. c. 10. p. 275.

[57] Strabo, l. i. p. 23. & l. xvi. p. 762. The religion propagated by them is still called Sabiasm, and its professors Sabians, from the Assyrian word Saba, the host of heaven. Of the doctrines and ceremonies of this religion, the astronomer Thabet Ebn Korrah, himself a Sabian, gave an account in the Syrian tongue. Abulpharag. Hist. Dynast. p. 281. The Sabians have continued to modern times the greatest astronomers or astrologers in the East, through the long series of Saracene and Tartar dynasties.

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Greeks too, fond as they were of ascribing their scientific improvements to Egypt, acknowledge themselves indebted to the Babylonians for the pole, the gnomon, and the division of the day into twelve hours[58]; inventions which, with others of a like practical nature, could not fail to be diffused over remote countries by a city carrying on a very extensive traffic, and whose wares found their way into Greece many ages before the war of Troy.[59] Of the ingenious manufactures also, for which Babylon continued to be renowned, even under the Persian yoke, many must have remounted to a very high antiquity, since fourteen hundred and fifty years before Christ, the elegant dyes brought from Arabia were already employed in that city, when "the goodly Babylonish garment" overcame the honesty of Achan, and occasioned his memorable punishment in the mournful valley of Achor.[60] Yet, according to the manner in which ancient history is generally understood, after the first glimpses of the tower and city above mentioned, not only these important monuments, but the whole Babylonian plain, disappears from our sight for the space of sixteen centuries, after which lapse of time, Babylon again commands our attention as the new capital of Assyria, upon the destruction of Nineveh, a place described in scripture nine centuries before Christ, in terms calculated to excite our

[58] Herodot. l. i. c. 109. [59] Id. l. i. c. 1.

[60] Joshua, c. vii. v. 21. Conf. 2 Samuel, c. xiii. v. 18. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 739., and Bruce's Abyssinia, vol. i. p. 374.

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utmost curiosity. Three hundred years after this magnificent description of Nineveh, and six hundred years before the Christian æra, Babylon was enriched, peopled, and enlarged by Nebuchadnezzar, even beyond the measure of Nineveh itself, that stupendous capital in which there were upwards of six score thousand persons, incapable of discerning between their right hand and their left.[61] Is it yet possible to give an account of what happened in Babylonia in the interval of the sixteen centuries above mentioned, between its projected and unfinished tower, and the wonderful aggrandisement by Nebuchadnezzar of its most ancient city, whose æra, according to the notices sent by Alexander to Aristotle, accords with the year 2234 before Christ? This question is important, for it cannot be imagined that the industry of man, equally stubborn and audacious[62], should have neglected for sixteen hundred years, a territory well known[63], and fitted according to circumstances, to smile the sweetest of plains, or frown the most frightful of deserts.[64] To answer

[61] Jonah, c. iii. v. 3. & c. iv. v. 11.

[62] Genesis, xi. 4—6. "Let us build a city and tower whose top may reach unto heaven." The Lord said, "This the people begin to do, and now nothing will be restrained from them which they have imagined to do." Compare Horace, Ode iii. l. i.

Audax Iapeti genus
Ignem fraude mala gentibus intulit—

Again,

Nil mortalibus arduum est
Cœlum ipsum petimus stultitia, &c.

[63] Herodot. l. i. c. 178, l. iii. c. 92, l. iv. c. 39, l. vii. c. 63. Conf. Joseph. Antic. Jud. l. i. c. 7. & l. xvi. c. 6 & 7.

[64] Strabo, l. xi. p. 502.

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this question fully and clearly, will require a new history of Assyria; for a careful meditation of the only authorities on record, have forced me on conclusions different from those hitherto received, 1. concerning the foundation and extent of the empire of Ninus; 2. concerning the æra and site of Nineveh, its first capital; and 3. concerning the time and circumstances of its decline and downfall. In my endeavour to illustrate this very extensive subject, (for the history of Arabia and Ethiopia will be found essentially connected with that of Assyria) the surest notices of antiquity will be confirmed by reasons drawn from the unalterable dispositions of nature. I therefore request the reader's attention to the following short account of the geography of Assyria, which, among other important points, will evince Alexander's sagacity in the choice of his capital.

Assyria, cause of errors in its geography.

In its complete signification, Assyria comprehended two vast tracts of territory, on opposite sides of the Euphrates; called, in Scripture, Aram beyond the Euphrates, and Aram on this side the river.[65] To the former, the Greeks peculiarly applied the name of Assyria; to the latter, for the sake of distinction, that of Syria.[66] Ex-

[65] Nehemiah, c. i. v. 7. 9. 2. Samuel, viii. 3. Conf. Herodot. ubi supra, and Arrian, l. vii. c. 7.

[66] The names are thus used by Xenophon, Diodorus, Arrian, and the whole series of Greek historians. The Syrians and Assyrians, though regarded as one people, from their agreement in language, in persons, and in manners, (Herodot. l. vii. c. 63.) yet inhabited different sides of the Euphrates; and as we shall see below, were first completely reduced under one empire, by Nebuchadnezzar, six centuries before Christ.

clusively of Aram on this side the river, Assyria contained three divisions; first Mesopotamia, an appellation which, taken literally, should comprehend the space of seven hundred miles between the whole courses of the Euphrates and Tigris, from the Armenian mountains in which they rise, to the Persian gulph into which, during the age of Alexander, they still continued to flow by separate channels.[67] But the name, Mesopotamia, was confined to the northern region, where the rivers diverge an hundred, and in some parts two hundred miles asunder, until in their course towards the sea, they contract to the narrowness of twenty miles in the vicinity of Bagdad, the great modern capital. From this narrow isthmus, the second division of Assyria deriving its name Babylonia from ancient Babel, extended three hundred miles to the Persian gulph, never exceeding fourscore miles in its breadth between the rivers. The third division of Assyria was the projecting district beyond the Tigris, reaching northward to the foot of the Carduchian hills, and watered by the greater and lesser Zab, the Diala, and the Mendeli. From these local circumstances, this eastern district, properly named Atur, was frequently called Messené and Adiabené, Greek translations of Assyrian words, denoting a country lying among rivers difficult of passage.[68]

[67] Nearchus apud Arrian, Indic. c. 40.

[68] Suidas in Voc. Adiaben. Conf. Stephanum de Urbibus in Voc. Messene and Adiabene, cum notis ad locum. Edit. Berkel. In descending the Tigris, travellers are struck with the savage wildness

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It happened, however, that the same term *Messené* denoted also the narrowest part of Babylonia, because that invaluable strip of land, the first scene of enterprize, and first seat of civilization, compressed and defended as it was, by the Euphrates and Tigris, had also from immemorial antiquity been intersected near the site of the modern Bagdad by innumerable canals, several of which bore the appearance of great natural rivers.[69] In their wars for three centuries with the Parthians, the Romans usually marched through the country called Atur by the natives, by themselves Aturia, and which, from the similarity of sound, they easily confounded with the more extensive name of Assyria.[70] While this deception made the Romans dignify the least important division of Assyria, with a name properly applicable to the whole, the terms *Messené* and *Adiabené* made the Greeks under the Roman empire confound the same northern district with the central and more celebrated division, called properly Babylonia; and this conflux of errors from different sources gave birth, as will be shewn presently,

wildness of the surrounding country. Thevenot's Travels, p. ii. c. 13. The whole space between the two Zabs is a desert; and the roads impracticable, till, leaving the banks of the river, you proceed eastward to the neighbourhood of Arbela: Atur was therefore called Adiabené, on account of its natural obstructions; Babylonia, on account of its artificial canals.

[69] Herodot. l. i. c. 193. Xenoph. Anabas, l. ii. p. 283. Diodorus, l. ii. c. 26. Conf. Nahum, c. ii. v. 6—8.

[70] Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. c. 28. He considers Assyria and Aturia as the same words, differently pronounced.

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to strange misrepresentation of ancient history. Meanwhile it is material to remark that the Assyrians and Syrians, though they had the Euphrates throughout for their acknowledged boundary, could really communicate with each other towards their northern frontier only, where this great river approaches the Mediterranean, until it is again repelled eastward by mount Amanus. Southward of this mountain, Syria extended four hundred miles along the Mediterranean coast: the mean distance of an hundred miles from the sea marked, and indelibly marks the region of fertility: all the vast intermediate space between this limit and the Euphrates is occupied by inhospitable and for the most part impenetrable deserts.[72]

Received notions of Assyrian history.

Before I proceed to relate the history of the Assyrians consistently with these unalterable distinctions in geography, it is necessary to state in few words the received opinions on the subject. It is generally said, then, that the empire of the Assyrians began before the days of Abram; that it extended over all southern Asia; that its capital was Nineveh in Atur[73],

[72] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 749. et seq. Comp. Volney, Voyage en Syrie. These deserts were directly crossed but once by an army, that of Nebuchadnezzar, as we shall see below.

[73] Xenophon, in his fifth march from the river Zabatus, or Zab, must have encamped on the ground opposite to Mosul, that is, on the supposed site of Ninus; yet, he who is so careful to mention the ruins of great cities, says nothing of those of Ninus or Nineveh. They passed equally unnoticed by Alexander, of all men the most observant and most curious, who crossed the Tigris in that neighbourhood in his way to Arbela. The error of placing the capital of the Assyrian empire in Atur, on the eastern side of the Tigris, should seem, therefore, to have begun

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the eastern district beyond the Tigris; and that this capital, near the site of the modern Mosul, subsisted with the empire itself thirteen hundred years from the triumphs of Ninus and Semiramis to the voluptuous reign of Sardanapalus, who was destroyed by his provincial governors, Belesys the Babylonian, and Arbaces the Mede, seven hundred and forty-seven years before the Christian æra.[74] Not to mention that the wonderful stability of the dynasty of Ninus, during the space of thirteen hundred years, is incompatible with the varied revolutions in southern Asia during all succeeding periods, and those stubborn causes above explained, from which such perpetual changes have never ceased to flow, this early, extensive, and durable monarchy is so totally inconsistent with the divided state of the ancient world, as represented in sacred and profane authors, that the great Newton and his few followers in chronology, are solicitous to reject the whole story as fictitious, and to make the æra

The two Ninevehs.

to prevail at a later period, nor was it then universal; for Pliny, who speaks twice of the site of Ninus, on both occasions, places it between the Tigris and Euphrates. Plin. vi. 15. & 26.

[74] "The antient empire of the Assyrians which had governed Asia for above thirteen hundred years was dissolved on the death of Sardanapalus, 747 years before Christ." Prideaux in the Old and New Testament Connected, b. i. p. 1. and such is the general language of historians and chronologers founded on corrupt or fabulous lists of the great kings of Asia from Ninus to Artaxerxes Mnemon. These lists were copied in that reign by Ctesias, and from him transcribed by Castor, Eusebius, and Syncellus. They contain not a single name agreeing with that of any of the Assyrian kings mentioned in Scripture. But historical arguments, more irrefragable than discordancy of names, totally disprove them.

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of Nineveh, as a seat of empire, to begin about the same time, that other chronologers have thought fit to end it.[75] According to this less extravagant system, the first great Assyrian conqueror was Pull, who appeared in that lofty character seven hundred and seventy-one years before Christ, interposing with a strong arm in the affairs of Syria, and by the plenitude of his power confirming the murderous Manakem in the usurped kingdom of Israel.[76] But even this system of Newton is invalidated by the best Greek historians, and overthrown by the authority of Scripture, which describes Nineveh, in the century before Pull, with the same characteristic majesty in which that capital comes forward twelve hundred years before Christ in profane authors, as a city of wonderful extent, and more wonderful populousness, and the seat of a mighty monarch, whose measures of government were concerted in the council of his princes and ministers.[77] That such a dominion subsisted twelve hundred years before Christ at Mosul, and uninterruptedly continued there for many following centuries is disproved by the strongest evidence. Mosul stands within a

[75] Newton's Chronology followed by the authors of the Ancient Universal History, vol. iv. c. viii. p. 310. & vol. ix. p. 352.

[76] 2 Kings, c. xv.

[77] Jonah, iii. 3. & iv. 11. Conf. Nahum, c. iii. v. 16. et seq. As to the characteristic circumstance respecting Nineveh, its extent of three days journey, it will be shewn hereafter that the circuit of its walls was 480 stadia, which divided by 3 gives 160 stadia, about 17 miles, precisely the computed day's journey among the Orientals in all ages. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 737. and Tavernier, Lucas, Bernier, Jackson, &c.

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hundred miles of Zobah or Nisibis[78] in northern Mesopotamia, whose kings, inconsiderable potentates, fought in the eleventh century before Christ against Saul and David, kings of Israel; and were often defeated by these illustrious Hebrews. David in particular vanquished Haderezer king of Zobah with great slaughter, stripped his servants of their golden quivers, and not satisfied with recovering his own border on the Euphrates, pursued the flying enemy homeward, and sacked the cities Betah and Berothai[79], places of little strength but considerable commerce, since they contained, with other merchandize, vast magazines of brass[80], a circumstance well marking the country contiguous to Nisibis, both banks of the Tigris in that neighbourhood abounding in copper mines[81], several of which are wrought to the present day, partly for exportation, and partly for supplying the manufactories of the lately populous Diarbekir.[82] From the near connection of Nisibis in locality with Mosul, it is impossible that the former of

[78] 1 Samuel, c. xiv. v. 47. with Michaelis' notes.

[79] 1 Samuel, c. viii. v. 3. and c. xv. v. 18. [80] Id. ibid.

[81] Denoted by the word Medan, which gives name to many places in Armenia and Curdistan. See Jackson's Journey from India in 1797.

[82] Diarbekir was, in 1756, more populous than any city in the Turkish empire, not excepting either Cairo or Constantinople. It contained 400,000 inhabitants. "But, in 1757, swarms of locusts devoured all the vegetation of the surrounding country, and occasioned a famine: an epidemic sickness followed, which carried off 300,000 souls in the city of Diarbekir, besides those who perished in the neighbouring villages." Eton's Survey of the Turkish Empire, c. vii. p. 268.

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these cities should have long maintained wars with the kings of Israel without bringing into notice the far greater power of Mosul, if that had really been the head of a mighty empire. The great Nineveh, therefore, could not occupy the site usually assigned to it[83]; its splendid court and powerful garrison must have belonged to a kingdom naturally secluded by the desert above mentioned from the countries contiguous to the Mediterranean sea: nor does it appear to have interfered with those countries in war or government, until Pull, King of Assyria, quitting the pacific system which had governed most of his predecessors, conquered Nisibis or Zobah, Haran, Eden, with all the neighbouring strongholds in Armenia or Northern Mesopotamia, and thereby brought his victorious arms on the immediate frontiers of Syria.[84] Of this greater Nineveh, called by the Greeks Ninus, much is said in history. It adorned the invaluable isthmus of Babylonia above described, and its position has been variously marked by the Euphrates and the Tigris, because it occupied the banks of the great canal between them.[85] It was distant above four hundred miles from the fertile district of Nisibis, and secluded from it by the smaller, as from Syria by the greater, desert. It was built by Ninus, the first great Assyrian

[83] The error had began before the time of Strabo. Vid. Strab. l. xvi. ab initio.

[84] 2 Kings, c. xviii. & xix. Conf. Isaiah, c. xxxvi.

[85] Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 95. and Diodor. l. ii. s. 25. Bochart, Phaleg. l. iv. c. 20. states contradictions which he cannot reconcile.

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[86] Arrian Indic. c. 1. He extends the Assyrian conquests to India.

[87] Ἡ ἄνω Ασια, Herodot. l. i. c. 95. that is, the countries east of the Euphrates; Dionysius of Halicarnassus also, Antiq. Roman, l. i. c. 4. thus limits the Assyrian empire in point of space. As to time, Herodotus says the Assyrians governed Upper Asia 520 years before the revolt of the Medes. This revolt, as will appear fully hereafter, happened 710 years before Christ; add 520, and the foundation of the Assyrian empire will remount to the year 1230 before Christ. This date coincides with that given by Appian of Alexandria in Proem. c. ix. Appian says "the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians governed Asia nine hundred years." The last Darius was slain 330 years before Christ: add this to 900, and we shall again have 1230 before Christ for the æra of the Assyrian empire. Herodotus' notices, with respect both to the extent and the duration of that empire, are thus confirmed by two historians inferior to none in point of credit. Independently of this confirmation, his authority may safely be relied on in matters so important to him as the date and dominions of an empire of which he wrote the history. Vid. Herodot. l. i. c. 106. & 184. Herodotus's Assyrian History is alluded to by Aristotle in his History of Animals, l. viii. c. 18. In speaking of birds with crooked bills, "which never drink," the philosopher observes, that this peculiarity was unknown to Herodotus, who describes the augurial eagle as drinking, in his Narrative of the taking of Nineveh. In M. Camus's edition of the "History of Animals" now before me, he adopts the erroneous reading of "Hesiod instead of Herodotus." Was Hesiod an historian? Or, a question still more decisive, could Hesiod relate an event long posterior to his own age? I add one remark farther, because it appears to me of importance. Herodotus' chronology is not only consistent with Scripture, but tends to increase our reverence for the prophecy there concerning the Assyrians 1452 years before Christ. See Numbers, c. xxiv. v. 22. In this passage, the captivity announced under the Assyrians would be less marvellous if their dominion (as commonly said) had already subsisted many centuries over all Asia.

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capital, built by Ninus, with a city of humbler fortune but much higher antiquity, has strangely perplexed the history of what is called the first great monarchy, or rather the first great empire that permanently established the dominion of nations over nations. The two Ninevehs, however, are distinguished from each other by very clear characteristics. The first was built by Ashur upon his removal from the plain of Shinar, and is described as less considerable than other cities in its neighbourhood.[88] It stood on the eastern bank of the Tigris three hundred miles above Babylon, near to the Carduchian hills on one side, and to the desert of Sinjar on the other, at a place where the river is most conveniently crossed. Its locality is marked by Mosul, the bridge or passage, the name of a city since built on the opposite or western bank: and is still further confirmed by great mounds of earth indicating, according to travellers of good authority[89], the remains of ancient buildings. From the conveniency of passing the Tigris in its neighbourhood, this Nineveh became early a place of considerable traffic; and, as a commercial city, it remained to the reign of Claudius the Roman emperor.[90] But Nineveh, raised

Had that been the case, it was easy to foresee that a powerful nation would be eager to punish its rebellious vassals.

[88] Genesis, c. x. v. 11, & 12. in Michaelis' Translation.

[89] Della Valle, Niebuhr, &c.

[90] Tacitus, Annal. l. xii. c. 13. A. D. 50. His expression, vetustissima sedes Assyriæ are words highly applicable, but not in the sense which he intends them.

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and fortified by Ninus in the great Babylonian plain, was destined to a far shorter though incomparably more brilliant existence; since it was founded seven hundred years later, and was totally demolished[91] six centuries before Christ. When the Assyrians, under Ninus, became extensive conquerors, they built, according to Asiatic maxims, this their great strong-hold and capital in the district alone calculated for such prodigies of architecture and populousness[92], as Nineveh, Babylon, and after them Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Bagdad; successive seats of empire, so nearly contiguous, that they arose, not figuratively on the ruins, but literally from the materials of each other.

Completion of Ninus' conquests, consequences thereof. B.C. 1230.

I now proceed to explain the transactions of the Assyrians, and of the principal nations connected with them either in war or in commerce: and for the sake of greater perspicuity, shall refer to the building of Nineveh as a precise and important æra. Many centuries before that event, the virgin soil of Asia, new and warm from the hands of nature, is represented as teeming with

[91] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 737. with whom Diodorus agrees, says that after the defeat of Sardanapalus and the dissolution of the Assyrian empire, the great Nineveh "immediately disappeared," which disappearance is confirmed by the impressive language of the prophets Nahum and Zephaniah, denouncing the utter desolation and complete destruction of Nineveh. See Nahum, iii. 19. & Zephaniah, ii. 13. & 14. But the lesser Nineveh, or Mosul, continued to exist thousands of years afterwards.

[92] At Arbil, in the finest district of Atur, grain gives an increase only of fifteen, whereas at Bagdad, the increase is twenty times as much. Niebuhr, vol. ii. p. 279.

men and animals.[93] The vast central plains inviting to agriculture and a settled life, abounded with well-cultivated fields, and with populous and peaceful cities guarded by the sanctity of temples rather than the strength of walls. Both productive and commercial industry had attained a high degree of improvement; and the mode of carrying on traffic by great caravans conducted by officers of their own choice, produced that experience in travelling and that accurate knowledge of remote countries, which had a tendency to facilitate the march and subsistence of armies. In this state of things, well-concerted schemes of ambition were formed; and the most aspiring and wiliest usurpers found instruments excellently fitted to their ends, in the fierce Nomadic tribes amidst the sands of Arabia on one side, and the deserts of Scythia on the other, who, not yet sufficiently powerful or populous to conquer for themselves, and only solicitous for slaves and plunder[94], were easily tempted to fight for more politic allies aiming at permanent as well as extensive conquest.[95] At the head of his native subjects, reinforced by many Arab tribes[96] under a chief named in Greek Ariæus, the Assyrian Ninus thus overran great part of Asia, and adopted measures for holding in sub-

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[93] Diodor. l. ii. c. 5. Conf. Genesis, c. xxvi. v. 12.

[94] Δωρους και λαφυρους. Diodor. l. ii. c. 3. Conf. Herodot. l. iv. c. 17.

[95] Justin, l. i. c. 1. well marks the distinction. The Nomades, contenti victoria, imperio abstinebant. Ninus the Assyrian, on the other hand, magnitudinem quæsitæ dominationis continua possessione firmavit.

[96] Diodorus, l. ii. c. 1. Compare what is said above, p. 33.

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jection many cities and provinces east of the Euphrates[97], flourishing in arts and industry, and long connected in commercial intercourse with each other.[98] Successful in all his undertakings, the conqueror built a city named from himself[99], in the valuable isthmus between the Euphrates and the Tigris[100], and which attained its utmost magnitude in the age of its founder.[101] This report is not incredible; for Ninus was accompanied to the chosen site of his new capital, by a great oriental army with many women and many servants, like Nebuchadnezzar, who afterwards enlarged Babylon to unrivalled greatness, and like the Tartar prince who in the thirteenth century erected a new city contiguous to Pekin, greatly exceeding London on its present extended scale.[102] The neighbouring strong-holds of Assyria[103], not excepting ancient Babylon, were drained to supply Nineveh; habitations were granted to all foreigners in the service, who wished to repose from their military labours; in a word, none were excluded from the immunities of a place destined at two remote periods, to be the residence of the two longest dynasties that ever

[97] Herodot. l. i. c. 95. [98] Diodorus, ibid.

[99] Diodorus, l. ii. c. 11. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 737.

[100] Diodorus, l. ii. c. 3. Conf. Herodot. i. 95.

[101] Εκτισε πολιν. Ibid. The words cannot apply to the enlargement of an old city.

[102] Staunton's Embassy to China, vol. ii. p. 146. 4to. edit. Ispahan and other great capitals in Persia, had a similar origin. Chardin, Otter, &c.

[103] Κατα δε βαβυλωνιαν ησαν αλλοι πολεις αξιολογοι. Diodor. l. ii. c. 1.

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reigned in the East, I mean the kings of the House[104] of Ninus, and the Abassides, Caliphs of Bagdad.

Greatness of his capital, and advantages of the surrounding territory.

The district, to which those capitals appertained, owed its pre-eminence to the two rivers by which it is watered and enriched, not principally by spontaneous inundation, like that of the Nile in Egypt, but by the more stubborn means of hydraulic engines, and unceasing manual labour.[105] Both the Euphrates and Tigris take their rise in the Armenian mountains, the Euphrates being formed by two main streams, of which the one holds its tortuous course from

[104] The expression sounds modern, but is as ancient as Herodotus, l. i. c. 107.

[105] Herodotus, l. i. c. 193. Irrigation was commonly performed by small canals, diverted from the parent stream by dams, and distributed among the fields at the season when the water rose. These dams cut the bed of the river, when small; but in great rivers, partial embankments were made, which, without stopping the general current, sent part of it into the canal, which was afterwards divided, in the same way, into more minute rills. Xenoph. Anabas. l. ii. p. 283. In countries less favoured than Babylonia, still more artificial means were employed. The principal of these was a sort of conduit, now called Kaunaut by the Persians; and by the Afghans, Cauraiz. Mr. Elphinstone has described it very particularly in his account of the kingdom of Caubul. In the Kaunaut, the water is obtained by sinking wells, and the spot from whence it issues must always be at the foot of a slope extending to a hill. When the spot is fixed on, a very shallow well is sunk, and another of greater depth is made at some distance up the slope. A succession of wells is thus made, increasing in depth as the ground ascends; but so managed that a subterranean passage, connecting them, has a declivity towards the plain. This passage, or gallery, is generally no larger than to allow the maker to work; but Mr. Elphinstone had heard of a Cauraiz in Persian Khorassan, through which a horseman could ride, with his lance over his shoulder. Account of Caubul, p. 304.

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the lofty northern declivity pointing to the Euxine, and the other flows directly from mount Abas, the central and highest region in Armenia. The Tigris, on the contrary, collects its numerous rills from those southern descents, whose smaller elevation and warmer aspect occasion a speedier melting of the snows, and render the periodical swellings of that river many weeks earlier than those of the Euphrates.[106] Of the two flowing boundaries inclosing Babylonia, the Tigris is the more rapid, has the loftier banks as well as the deeper bed, and, in winter, rolls down the greater body of water. Its pre-eminence is still more visible after the first thaws of spring[107]; but, as the season advances, and the snow begins to melt in those northern and higher regions which feed the Euphrates, this latter stream acquires a decided superiority.[108] It overflows its level banks; and its dominion over the adjacent country is confirmed by a circumstance, which, though little noticed by ancient historians, greatly contributed to that singular fertility, which, if any natural advantages could resist Tartar desolation, Persian anarchy, and Turkish tyranny, would in all ages have entitled Babylonia to boast the greatest

[106] The Tigris swells in March and April: the Euphrates in June and July. Conf. Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. vii. c. 7. and Foster's Geographical Dissert. on Xenophon's Expedition.

[107] The swelling of the Tigris is then sixteen feet in height. Eyles Irwin's Travels.

[108] Strabo, c. xvi. p. 742. The Euphrates forces a passage through Taurus twelve miles in length, at a place called Elegia. The wonder-loving Pliny is on his own ground when he describes the battle between the mountain and the river. Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 24.

cities in the world. For more than forty miles above the site of Bagdad, and throughout the whole territory southward to the sea, the plain between the two rivers slopes with so gradual a declivity, first from the Euphrates to the Tigris, and afterwards from the Tigris to the Euphrates, that it presents in the utmost perfection two vast hanging gardens; with the inestimable advantage in that adust climate of being easily watered by canals drawn from the higher to the lower stream. The whole of Babylonia was immemorially intersected by these artificial channels [109], varying in magnitude from rivers fit to sustain heavy vessels down to such minute streamlets as the Greeks drew along their fields for the culture of millet. [110] Not only in the intermediate peninsula, but in the bordering territory beyond both rivers, the industry of man had reclaimed vast tracts of contiguous desert. [111] Ten leagues west of the Euphrates, there are still marks of the great ancient canal, which had flowed five hundred miles in the same direction with the parent river, again to rejoin it near its wide mouth. [112]

[109] Strabo, l. ix. p. 502. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 193.

[110] Or rather pannick, a plant of the millet kind. Xenoph. Anabas. l. ii. p. 283. How wonderfully does Xenophon's description agree with that in Ezekiel, in his prophecy against Nineveh! "The waters made him great, the deep set him on high, with her rivers running round about his plants, and sent out her little rivers unto all the trees of the field." Ezekiel, xxxi. 4. Words characteristic of the site of Nineveh in the Babylonian plain. But of this more hereafter.

[111] Travellers from Aleppo to Bassora have long remarked ruins of cities, owing their existence to this artificial fertility. Della Valle, Ockley, Ives, &c.

[112] Niebuhr. t. ii. p. 223. Other travellers make the canal begin at Anbar, half-way between Hit and Babylon, while Edrisi, p. 197., carries it to Thapsacus, 200 miles above Hit, and 500 above Babylon.

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This advantage on the western side of the Euphrates, was balanced on the east of the Tigris, by Susis, or Susiana, a rich alluvial district like the Delta of Egypt, and nearly of the same magnitude. The capital, Susa, derived its name from the variety of beautiful lilies [113] conspicuous among the alluring ornaments of its river, the flowery Eulæus. The antiquity of the city is lost amidst the clouds of fable; and, as it stood within an hundred miles of the Persian gulph, and nearly at the equal distance of two hundred from Babylon and Ecbatana, its central situation helped to perpetuate its prosperity through a long succession of dynasties and empires. According to the Grecian mode of estimating fertility, the returns in Susiana amounted to an hundred and often two hundred fold. [114] Grains of the finest sorts; dates, cotton, linen were enumerated among its products; and history despaired to reveal the immemorial establishment of those valuable manufactures in cloth of gold and damasked steel, for which it has continued famous to the latest and worst of times, when alternately a prey to Persians from Shiraz, and Turks from Bassora. [115] Tyranny will at last, however, do its work; and, according to our latest travellers in Susiana, the eye becomes fatigued with a continued chain of deserted villages. In a subsequent part of this work, we shall be brought back to Susis, and called to

[113] Stephanus de Urb. in Voc. Susa, and Athenæus Deipn. l. xii. p. 513. In modern Persian, "Sus" means "beautiful, agreeable;" an easy transition.

[114] Strabo, l. xv. p. 731.

[115] Edrisi, p. 122. et seq. and Otter, vol. ii. p. 50. et seq.

describe its rivers and geography, when it became the scene of military operations between the dexterity of Eumenes and the energy of Antigonus; two of the ablest among Alexander's captains. It is enough at present to remark, that this flat alluvial district formed a continuation of the rich Babylonian plain, through which, in addition to other advantages, there was the utmost facility of communication by land and water.

The proper Babylonia bore away the palm of fertility from Egypt and even from Susis.[116] In the language of Herodotus and Strabo, it restored with an increase of an hundred and three hundred[117] fold, all the finest kinds of grain with which it was sown, or, perhaps, planted. The leaves of wheat and barley were four fingers broad; and Herodotus is unwilling to describe the stalks of millet and sesame, lest he should incur the reproach of exaggeration. The whole country was adorned with palm trees, which presented the triple offerings of bread, honey, and wine[118]; fruits were in the same season succeeded by new flowers; and the soft warm soil, strongly impregnated with nitre, required only a sprinkling of water to be converted, in a few weeks, from an arid waste into a green paradise.

[116] Herodot. l. i. c. 193. et Strabo, c. xvi. p. 742. Conf. Aristot. Politic. ii. 4.

[117] A crop of corn in Egypt still yields on an average from twenty-five to thirty measures for one; in extraordinary years the land gives a produce of fifty for one; instances have occurred where one hundred and fifty times the seed sown has been reaped. Wilson's Expedition to Egypt, p. 225.

[118] Strabo mentions an Oriental poem celebrating 360 uses of the palm, l. xv. p. 742.

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In materials for building, Babylonia surpassed all other countries.[119] It every where afforded a viscous clay, fit to be formed into the hardest bricks, either when they were baked in the furnace, or simply dried in the sun; and the naphtha or bitumen, the firmest of all cements, was found, at convenient intervals, from the eastern extremity of Susis to Hit, a town on the Euphrates, eight days' journey above Babylon.[120] For the timber usually employed in carpentry, the Babylonians often substituted their native cypress, without neglecting the reeds and osiers growing profusely on the marshy banks of their rivers. But the currents of these rivers would bring them seasonable supplies of the most serviceable forest-trees from the thick woods in Armenia.

With men and materials at command, Ninus raised a city, which is said to have been four hundred and eighty stadia, or forty-eight miles in compass.[121] It was built after the fashion of the greatest Asiatic cities to the present day, with spacious gardens, large reservoirs of water, and, as it should seem, with several wide pastures for cattle.[122] But of the magnitude of Assyrian cities, and of the means by which their numerous inhabitants were subsisted, at once comfortably and cheaply, I shall have occasion to speak hereafter, when I come to treat of Babylon, which

[119] Herodot. l. i. c. 179. and Xenoph. Anabas. l. ii. p. 282.

[120] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 743. Conf. Herodot. ibid.

[121] Diodorus, l. ii. c. 3. Above twice the circuit of Palimbothra, the capital of the Brasii, in India. Arrian, Indic. Hist. c. x.

[122] Jonah.

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though of the same circuit with Nineveh, about forty-eight British miles [123], was by much the larger city; since Babylon was a regular square of twelve miles, whereas Nineveh was an oblong, measuring fifteen miles in length, and only nine miles in breadth. [124] It is sufficient for my present purpose to remark, that the quadrangular form of these successive capitals of Asia, their precise agreement in circuit, their straight streets, and regular symmetry, plainly indicate their common origin in the encampments of vast armies, which, as we learn from respectable authority, not only formed their models in point of architectural arrangement, but supplied one of the chief sources of their populousness. [125]

His queen Semiramis.

In the fulness of years and glory, Ninus was succeeded, or supplanted, by his queen Semiramis, a woman whose boldness of spirit had already entitled her to share the diadem. This martial princess endeavoured to extend her empire by the conquest of India, an enterprize unfortunate, according to Greek historians [126], but which, were Indian testimony admissible [127], should seem to have been crowned with signal success. The whole story of Semiramis is in-

[123] According to Major Rennell, 10 stadia are nearly equal to a British mile. Geography of Herodotus, p. 31.

[124] Conf. Diodorus, l. ii. c. 3. and Herodotus, l. i. c. 178. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 743. [125] Diodor. ibid.

[126] Strabo, l. xv. p. 687. speaks as if she had died before carrying her designs against India into execution. Arrian says that she died before the object of the expedition was effected. Arrian, Indica.

[127] The poetry of the Indians, for they have no history, is said to specify on a variety of occasions the attention of their ancient princes to pay a stipulated tribute to the great kings of Assyria. See Vincent's Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, p. 60.

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deed blended with fable; yet the consenting voice of antiquity long celebrated her renown, confirmed, it was said, and perpetuated by everlasting monuments, extending at wide intervals over the finest regions of the East; vast mounds, lofty obelisks, stupendous mausoleums and palaces; more useful roads, canals, bridges, and emporiums.

And son Ninyas.

Ninyas, the son of Ninus and Semiramis, strangely degenerated from both his parents in point of martial spirit. His empire, however, was held together by contrivances that indicate more refinement than is, at any future time, discernible in the great monarchies of the East. While the sovereign resided in his vast palace amidst beautiful gardens, or rather parks, which the Babylonians called paradises [128], great bodies of soldiers encamped in the neighbouring districts. They were variously armed after the fashion of the respective provinces from which they came, all tributaries to Nineveh; and they were commanded by generals in whom Ninyas or his ministers, who had bound them by good offices, could implicitly confide. When the soldiers, thus appointed and officered, had performed their annual service of guarding the court and capital, they were relieved by new levies belonging to the same provinces, which levies, at the year's end, again made way for a third draught of military successors. By means of this rotation, the controuling army, though

[128] The great city Sitace; vast, populous, with its beautiful paradises, must have stood near the site of Nineveh. Xenoph. Anabas, l. ii. p. 283.

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uniformly the same in its mass, as an instrument of authority, was changed too often in its parts, to become an engine of rebellion; and the security, resulting from so judicious an arrangement, is said to have been increased and confirmed by the minute partition of provincial power among satraps, generals, intendants, and judges. [129]

The policy of Ninyas was adopted and maintained for the space of four centuries by a line of seventeen princes [130], whose mild and pacific reigns, leaving no traces of blood behind them, have escaped the notice of history. At the end of that period, Pull, King of Nineveh, and the eighteenth successor of Ninyas, assumed the command of his own armies, and crossing the

Transactions of the Assyrians to the reign of Senacherib, B. C. 712.

[129] Diodorus, l. ii. c. 21.

[130] This passage of history is, indeed, liable to objection. How can it be otherwise, when ancient testimonies are irreconcileable? My narrative, however, is founded on notices in Herodotus, who, himself, wrote an Assyrian history; in Dionysius of Halicarnassus; and in Appian of Alexandria; writers of the highest credit. These authorities ascertain the æra of Ninus and of the building of Nineveh, the progress and direction of his conquests, the countries over which they extended, the time of the dissolution of the empire, and of the destruction of its capital. Against well-attested facts, conjecture, founded on likelihoods, has but little weight. The "can it be believed?" "peut on croire," of Voltaire and his followers, is a convenient argument with the ignorant, but has been proved deceitful in instances innumerable; and is, at bottom, but the reasoning of a child, who judges of all things from the very few with which he is acquainted. Facile pronunciant, qui ad pauca respiciunt. Ctesias is believed to have a great mixture of falsehood in his narrative; which is not, therefore, to be rejected wholly, or treated as allegorical fiction. In former times, learned men were much employed in extracting history from fable; in the present, many ingenious authors, by a retrograde progress and perverse industry, have been equally diligent in converting ancient history into mythology, and modern history into romance.

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Euphrates, levied contributions on Syria. His son, Tiglath-Pileser, conquered Damascus, a Syrian city of great antiquity and opulence, slew its king Rezin, and carried the most distinguished portion of his subjects into captivity.[131] During the same expedition, he treated with equal severity the Israelites beyond Jordan, consisting of the Rubenites, the Gaddites, and half-tribe of Manasseh; tearing many of these unhappy men from their kindred and country, and forcibly transplanting them to the banks of the Gozan[132], now Ozan, a river which rising in the central parts of Media, forces its way through the mountains which divide the Medes and Caspians, descends in a full and foaming torrent to the plain of Ghilan, and through this rich and romantic province flows majestically eastward in a navigable course to the great Caspian lake.[133] Nineteen years after Tiglath-Pileser's desolating expedition, his son, Shalmanezer, invaded Israel on this side Jordan, plundered its cities, and carried with him into captivity all such Israelites as were distinguished by their rank in life, their spirit or their ingenuity. Hosea, who reigned over Israel in Sa-

[131] 2 Kings, c. xvi. v. 9.

[132] 1 Chronicles, c. v. v. 26. Conf. Josephus Antiq. l. ix. c. 13.

[133] Olearius and Hanway. Both travellers passed the Gozan and its cataracts 180 miles from the Caspian. It is called Kazilosen in the latest maps: it divides the mountainous chains of Tarem and Elhurtz. Ghilan, through which it flows, is surrounded by mountains, whose sides are covered with valuable timber. The irriguous valleys are perfumed with flowers, and produce the finest fruits, not excepting citrons and oranges. Grapes grow wild in the mountains, and hang from trees in festoons.

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maria, followed the conqueror in chains to Nineveh, while the depopulated Samaritan cities[134] were planted with Assyrian colonies, particularly from the imperial district of Babylonia.[135] Senacherib, who succeeded to Shalmanezer, purposed to treat Judah, as his ancestors had done Israel, and grasped, in his ambitious dreams, not only the whole of Syria, but also Egypt and Ethiopia. In the prosecution of this bold design, he lost his great army, and thereby endangered his old possessions in the East, while he laboured to extend the recent usurpations of his family in the West. With the reign of Senacherib, we first attain the light of circumstantial and concordant history. He is the first king of Assyria mentioned in Scripture, whose name is also preserved in a Greek writer[136]; and his expeditions against Judæa and Egypt are highly interesting both for their incidents and for their consequences. These consequences terminated in the demolition of the great Nineveh, and the establishment of a new empire in the still greater Babylon, whose dominion, though confined by the Medes on the East, extended towards the south and west, over what was destined to be the future region of Saracene, or Arabian power. In ef-

His wars—their important consequences.

[134] The cities chiefly were depopulated as containing the descriptions of persons above specified. Conf. 2 Kings, c. xvii. v. 24. c. xviii. v. 11, 12. and c. xxiv. v. 14. That the removal of the whole people did not take place, appears from Ezra, c. iv. v. 7.

[135] Josephus Antiq. x. 9.

[136] Conf. 2 Kings, c. xviii. and Herodotus, l. ii. c. 141.

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fecting this revolution, scarcely less memorable than either the Macedonian or the Mahommedan conquest, many destructive invasions were made, many bloody battles were fought, and many obstinate sieges were patiently endured on one side, and perseveringly prosecuted on the other. But knowing by name only the actors in those perturbed scenes, their exploits, however important in themselves, glide like a dull dream over the wearied fancy. To remedy this evil, too often experienced by students in ancient history, we must endeavour to obtain some distinct knowledge of the parties at variance, by turning our attention to arts, commerce, and those concomitant labours of peace which furnished the materials of warfare, and which presented tempting objects of ambition, at an interval of six centuries, to the arms first of a Ninus, and then of a Nebuchadnezzar.

Transition to the history of the arts of peace.

War has been called the mother of arts; and from this harsh mother much has been learned.[137] Accordingly a judicious narrative of wars cannot fail to unite many scattered rays of information, not more gratifying to a liberal curiosity, than essential to the just apprehension, and therefore to the right management of national concerns. Yet commerce offers a subject scarcely less fruitful, especially when distant countries, in-

[137] Εκ θεων πεπρωμενον εστι τοις πολεμοις ου ανθρωπους γεγενεσθαι. Xenoph. Hellen. l. vi. p. 591. The military philosopher, Xenophon, thus thought war, as useful, fated by the gods: under the lower Greek empire, the philosophical emperor Leo, An. Dom. 900, upbraids the Saracens for holding a similar doctrine. Vid. Leon. Tactica, p. 809.

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stead of communicating feebly by their shores, were deeply penetrated by crowded caravans from each other.[136] In this great inland traffick, we shall see the foundations of Asiatic opulence at the æra of the first great monarchy; we shall discover the causes of that abundance, not only of necessaries, but of precious and far-fetched conveniences, which Ninus is said to have met with in many of his eastern conquests; we shall discern how the keen appetite for foreign luxuries occasioned wonderful assiduity in the manufacture of domestic produce; and we shall perceive that those countries, which, through the effect of good management, operating on a soil naturally fertile, were best provided with food, and most enriched with objects of real convenience and use, found no difficulty in procuring the spice of India, the perfumes of Arabia, the amber of Prussia, the gold of Ethiopia, the silver of Spain, and the tin of Britain. These six great articles, which either the universal consent of mankind or the wants peculiar to particular times and places rendered objects of general demand, were, according to the uniform testimony of antiquity, produced most perfectly and most abundantly at the farthest extremities of the commercial world[137]; they were stored up, however, in greatest plenty in places near to its

[136] The troops of Tema and Sheba, or Saba, are renowned in that sacred poetry coeval with, or preceding the most antient history. Job, c. vi. v. 19. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 781.

[137] Herodot. l. iii. c. 106. and 114.

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Commercial communication through Asia—its high antiquity proved.

centre, and employed or consumed with most profusion in Egypt and Babylonia.[140]

That some kinds of spice, which grow only in the East Indies, were used in Egypt fifteen centuries before Christ, appears from the cinnamon and cassia[141] mixed in the holy oil, that was prepared by the Israelites soon after their delivery from Egyptian bondage. It is also well known that Adel and Yemen, two parallel districts on the western and eastern sides of the Arabian gulph, early availed themselves of the precious metals procured for their drugs, dyes, above all for their frankincense, to purchase such quantities of Indian spices, that the cities near the entrance of the Red Sea were deemed principal emporia[142] of articles indispensible as antiseptics wherever the earth is deluged by periodic rains, inundated by great rivers, and even wherever the ordinary work of agriculture, as happens in many countries of the East, must be accompanied with irrigation. It is impossible to determine when this maritime traffick began, but easier to conjecture by whom it was carried on. From the earliest accounts of Hindostan, its natives appear to have religiously abhorred even a temporary removal from their country[143]; neither curiosity nor interest could tempt them on remote voyages. But very different maxims prevailed among the Sabæans[144], a people in-

[140] Herodot. l. i. & ii. passim. [141] Exodus, c. xxx. v. 23. & 24.

[142] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 778. [143] Arrian, Indic. cap. ix.

[144] These are Homer's well-initiated Ethiopians inhabiting the extremities of the world. Odyss. l. i. v. 25. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 1. and Strabo, l. i. p. 35.

habiting both sides of the Red Sea, and from whom the enterprising Phœnicians were descended.[145] It may be presumed, therefore, that the Sabæans were the chief agents in a trade peculiarly lucrative to themselves, because the spices which they imported were essentially necessary to many nations around them. But does the first transient notice of spice as an article of commerce, warrant the opinion that it was obtained solely or chiefly by sea seventeen centuries before the Christian æra? At this early date, Joseph's brethren were decided as to the mode of exercising their unnatural barbarity, by the appearance of an Arabian caravan, "with their camels from Gilead, bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, and going to carry them down into Egypt."[146] The balm, as well as the myrrh or ladanum, were productions from the neighbourhood of Gilead, a mountainous region inclosing the north-western districts of Palestine, since branches of Gilead extended to the Anti-Libanus.[147] But the spicery named first, as the main article, was never supposed to grow in Palestine, or in Syria, or in any part of Asia on this side the Indus. By what means then had it come to Gilead, so as to be brought down from thence into Egypt? The slightest attention to geography will shew that it could not have been transported from the above-mentioned districts of Adel or Yemen, since, on this supposition,

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[145] See above, pp. 32 & 35. [146] Genesis, c. xxxvii. v. 21. 25.

[147] Galaad Montibus Libani copulatus. Hieronym. in Ezekiel, l. vii. c. 18.

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the Ishmaelites or travelling Arabs who conveyed it, must have pursued a route extravagantly circuitous.[148] Had they come from Adel or Yemen, their direct road to Thebes or Memphis, and other great Egyptian cities, where the spices were to be consumed, lay on the west side of the Arabian gulph, and led through Axum, Meroë, and other Ethiopian stations or staples which will presently be described; not to mention that an article which had found its way to Adel or Yemen by shipping, would naturally have been forwarded to Egypt by the same cheap mode of conveyance. It should seem, therefore, that the spices transported thither from Gilead, seventeen centuries before the Christian æra, bear testimony to an extensive communication through central Asia at that early period.[149] The useful intercourse of nations had taken then even a wider range: the Indo-Scythians extended

[148] Mr. Bruce seems aware of this difficulty when he says, "For reasons not known to us the Israelites went and completed their cargoes at Gilead." Bruce's Travels, vol. v. p. 19. He maintains, however, the opinion combated in the text, but on no solid ground; for his illusion concerning the vast extent of the maritime commerce between Ethiopia and India at this early period is dispelled by a decisive passage of Strabo, l. ii. p. 115. proving that even under the Ptolemies, when navigation had attained much comparative proficiency, the maritime traffic in spices bore a small proportion to the inland. Conf. Strabo ubi supra, and Bruce's Travels to discover the source of the Nile, vol. i. p. 373. and vol. v. p. 19. Quarto Edit.

[149] In Africa and parts of America far ruder than Asia in the age of Joseph, necessity produces and maintains very extensive commercial communications. See Hearne's Journey, undertaken by order of the Hudson's Bay Company 1769. Conf. African Researches, and Mungo Park's Travels.

it to many regions beyond the Indus[150]; and the Phœnicians traded with their tempting trinkets to those coasts of Europe[151] where silver, tin, or amber could be obtained in exchange. But the operations of domestic industry and foreign traffic, appear to have been carried on with peculiar activity during the four centuries and a half that elapsed from the warlike Ninus to the rapacious Pull. During that long period, a peaceful succession of eighteen kings of Nineveh allowed a free and uninterrupted intercourse through the Eastern world, so that the reigns of those princes whom historians, delighting only in the splendour of conquest, have degraded into sluggards and voluptuaries, are precisely the worthiest of commendation in the whole endless series of Oriental dynasties.[152]

Egyptian emporia, preceding Abram's journey thither. B.C. 1921.

Among the principal emporia or staples linked together in this commercial chain, we shall find a great uniformity of institutions and manners. The trading cities in Egypt appear to have been the first that were united under one government, and that many centuries before the reign of Ninus in Assyria. This antiquity of their monarchy the Egyptians owed not entirely to their superior civilization, but rather to the nature of

[150] Ælian Hist. Anim. l. iv. c. 6. and Ptolem. Geograph. l. i. c. 11. Conf. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieget. v. 1080.

[151] Herodot. l. i. c. 1.

[152] This will appear hereafter in examining the commerce of Tyre; a city once concentrating the pursuits of the East and West. The southern route from Assyria to India, by Saranga and Arachosia, should seem to have been early frequented, and to have been opened anew by Alexander, after he had subdued the predatory nations who interrupted it. Arrian, Indic.

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their country, (the alluvions and valley of the Nile,) which, by its definite boundaries, had a tendency to fall under one sovereign power. To this state it appears to have been reduced when Abram, by command of the Almighty having removed from Ur of the Chaldees to Sichem in the district afterwards called Samaria, was driven by a famine in that neighbourhood with his household and his wife Sarai into Misraim, or Egypt, a kingdom already noted for fertility in grain. The few notices revealed to us[158], are rich in information. Egypt is governed by a sovereign of the common name of Pharoah, a title of pre-eminence like that of Cæsar or Sultan, distinguishing the master of a populous and central kingdom from the petty princes around him, his roving satellites in the Syrian and Libyan deserts. As essentials of grandeur, Pharoah had his palace and his haram with a splendid crowd of courtiers, eager to rise in place by anticipating his commands, and pampering his appetites. Abram being apprehensive that the fairness of Sarai, a native of northern Mesopotamia or Armenia, might provoke the licentious desires of the Egyptians, and expose himself to danger, concerted with his wife, that she should be described as his sister. But this device, contrived to save the life of Abram, had a tendency the more to expose the person of Sarai to disgrace. The nobles of Pharoah recommended her to their sovereign; she was received into the haram; and her supposed

[158] Genesis, c. xii.

brother was, on her account, enriched with cattle and servants, if not magnificent gifts for a great king to bestow, yet most useful presents for a pastoral patriarch to receive. It would be to rob of just praise a prince discreet, even in his despotism, not to add that Pharoah, when he discovered the beautiful Chaldæan to be Abram's wife, restored her, with a kind reproof to her husband[154], and then dismissed both of them in safety with their attendants and effects.

Sacerdotal families in Egypt and Babylonia—their authority supported by specific localities.

The condition of Egypt, as united under one king in the time of Abram, throws back to a very remote antiquity the transactions of the Egyptians before this union, when according to Greek historians, Elephantina, Thebes, Memphis, and other great cities were governed apart, and only connected with each other in commercial intercourse. According to the priests, indeed, ruling over several of those cities, innumerable centuries were assigned to the dominion of the gods[155]; for, in the name of the gods whom they respectively worshipped, various families of priests exercised a jurisdiction revered by their subjects as a real theocracy, analogous to the theocracies[156] of Greece copiously described in the former part of this history. But specific localities gave to the sacerdotal families in Egypt and Babylonia a hold on the mind peculiarly

[154] "Why saidst thou she is my sister; so I might have taken her to me to-wife," or better, "have brought it into my thoughts to take her." See Michaelis, Genesis, c. xii. v. 18. & 19.

[155] Herodot. l. ii. Diodor. l. i. passim.

[156] Hist. of Ancient Greece, vol. i. c. 2. throughout.

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powerful, and a passage of Isocrates, hitherto unnoticed by writers on this subject, affords the best key for unlocking the concealments of Babylonian and Egyptian policy. In a discourse fraught with manly sense, flowing in a vein of the purest Atticism, he tells the Athenians that while "their religious ceremonies were conducted with order and propriety, the influences of the heavens operated without confusion and without terror, uniformly favourable to the labouring of the ground, and the reaping of its fruits." [157] In Egypt and Babylonia, the productions of the earth depended, as elsewhere, on the influences of the Heavens, but depended on them there, in a manner more visible and more striking, than in any other country that belongs to the subject of ancient history. When the hand of the Almighty operates slowly and with unvaried regularity, its action is apt to pass unregarded, though then really the most sublime. But the sudden inundations of the Nile and Euphrates, dispensing alternately the greatest benefits and the greatest mischiefs, are phænomena which no indifference can overlook, which no stupidity can disregard. Great, but without such greatness as is too vast for comprehension, with sufficient constancy to excite expectation, and yet with a degree of instability productive of anxiety and deep interest,

[157] See Isocrates Areopagit. and my Translation of Lysias and Isocrates, p. 475. et seq. "Nevertheless he left not himself without witness, in that he gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness." Acts, xiv. 17.

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these palpable and rapid changes on the face of nature could not fail to excite attention, even in the rudest minds, to the causes concerned in such extraordinary and momentous effects. But these important changes in the lower world are visibly connected with the vicissitudes of the seasons, and the revolutions of the heavenly luminaries, which luminaries were on this account early exalted into gods, with various families of priests for their vicegerents and ministers. In Ancient Egypt all professions were hereditary, as they still are in India; and in the former country, the sacerdotal cast had immemorially acquired such pre-eminence[158] in knowledge above the other casts or races, whether shepherds, husbandmen, artificers, or soldiers, that attainments incapable of being measured, were by the many deemed boundless. The Egyptian priests had ascertained the sun's annual course[159]; their year was sidereal, and regulated by Sirius[160], the brightest star of heaven; and they were expert at calculating eclipses of the moon, which, being skilful to foretell, they were believed able to produce. The word in our Bibles rendered "Wizzard[161]" literally and properly denotes a darkener

[158] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 787.

[159] Exodus, c. xii. v. 2. xxiii. 16. xxxiv. 22.

[160] The theory of Sirius was particularly connected with their rural year, as will be shewn hereafter. Ptolemy has preserved an observation of the heliacal rising of Sirius on the 4th day after the summer solstice, which makes the observation remount to the 2250th year before the Christian æra. Petavii Uranolog. Conf. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 806. and Aristot. Metaphys. l. i. c. 1. p. 806.

[161] Deuteronomy, c. xviii. v. 10.

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of the moon. Can it then be matter of surprise, that those should be thought to hold much confidential intelligence with heavenly powers, who could not only predict but controul their operations, and at will heighten their splendour or deepen their obscurity? Accordingly we find that sacerdotal families, both in Egypt and Babylonia, had reared a fancied theocracy to be administered by themselves, on the foundations of real knowledge in astronomy, and of those imaginary supernatural sciences unalterably connected with it in the East.[162]

Egyptian priests—their attainments.

But the widening sphere of their activity, (I speak particularly of the priests of Egypt,) extended itself to all those occupations and pursuits most conducive to the improvement of society. They were not only conversant with the celestial motions, regulating the rise and inundations of the Nile; they were not only astronomers and seers, but geographers, engineers, architects, and physicians, directors of great undertakings in agriculture, and protectors through the sanctity of their temples, of

[162] The text will be illustrated by the following incident. When Mr. Bruce arrived at Chendi, (near the ancient Meroë, which will be spoken of presently,) he found the people "much alarmed at a phænomenon, which, though it occurs every four years, had by some strange inadvertency, never been observed even in this serene sky. The planet Venus appeared shining with an undiminished light all day. The people flocked to me from all quarters to know what it meant, and when they saw my telescopes and quadrant, could not be persuaded but that the star had become visible by some correspondence and intelligence with me, and for my use." Bruce's Travels, v. iv. p. 531. In China, where opinions are as unalterable as in Ethiopia, the prediction of eclipses still continues to be a powerful engine of government. Staunton's Embassy, v. ii. p. 93.

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that extended commerce which, as the history of all ages attests, necessity will often produce and maintain among remote and barbarous nations.[163] When in the language of antiquity, Egypt passed from the jurisdiction of Gods to that of men[164], her priests did not lose their prerogatives: they were amply endowed with lands[165]: they were perpetual and indispensable counsellors to the king[166]; even the extraordinary merit of Joseph must derive lustre from his marriage into the family of Potipherah[167] priest of On, or Heliopolis; they filled the places of governors and generals as well as those of ministers and judges; in one word, they continued to perform the same functions under earthly sovereigns chosen from their own body, which they had formerly exercised in the name of their heavenly protectors.[168]

Concerning the origin of the sacred families which acted this important part, there is so little historical information, that, in the enquiry from whence they came, I shall neither bewilder myself, nor have the presumption to detain my readers. The priests of Babylonia are traced

[163] Herodot. l. iv. c. 154. to c. 200. Comp. Mungo Park's Travels, African Researches, and Samuel Hearne's Journey with North American Indians, &c. to northern ocean, anno 1769—1772, both inclusive.

[164] Herodot. l. ii. c. 143 & 145. [165] Genesis, c. xlvii. v. 22.

[166] Exodus, c. xix. v. 6. Conf. Diodorus, l. i. c. 29. l. iii. c. 6. and Strabo, l. i. p. 24.

[167] Genesis, c. xli. v. 45.

[168] Ωστε περι μεν Αιγυπτον ουδε εξεστι βασιλεα χωρις ἱερατικης αρχειν, &c. Plato in Politic. p. 550. Edit. Ficini. He adds, that a king not belonging to the sacerdotal cast, was a king by force only, not right: a strong proof of what is called in scripture, "the prerogatives of priests," Exodus, c. xix. v. 6.

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with little show of reason to the Chaldæans or Chalybians, of whom we have above spoken; and the priests of Egypt have, with small probability, been derived from Abyssinian Troglodites; a people, as it should seem, that must have been unalterably condemned, by the baneful qualities of their soil and climate, to the same condition of wandering barbarity, in which they are actually found.[169] But though the primitive stock of those venerated priests be unknown, history makes us acquainted with several of their branches or brethren, who preserved, as will be shewn, their hereditary characteristics, down to the bright age of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Their brethren in Ethiopia.

The sandy ocean of Africa contained many ancient wonders in its vast bosom, of which the greatest was Meroë, a broad island, compared in form to a shield[170], between the thirteenth and eighteenth degrees of north latitude, washed on its eastern and western sides respectively, by the Astaboras and the Nile.[171] Its capital, called also Meroë, stood near the site of the modern Chendi[172], was immemorially a great city[173], and so anciently connected with Thebes in Egypt, that the citizens of these places conjunctly[174], each of which was then governed by its own magistrates, built the far-famed temple of Jupiter Hammon, on a rich speck of the leopard's skin[175],

[169] Bruce's Travels, vol. iv. p. 388.
[170] Diodorus, l. i. c. 33.
[171] Bruce's Travels, v. iv. p. 539. Conf. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 9.
[172] Bruce, ibid. Conf. Strabo, l. ii. p. 133. & l. xvii. p. 790.
[173] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 29. [174] Id. l. ii. c. 42.
[175] Εοικυια παρδαλει. Strabo, l. ii. p. 130.

ten days' journey north-west of Thebes, and now clearly proved to be the Oasis of Siwah.[176] The Astaboras, now Takazzé, washing Meroë on the east, is periodically joined by a still more eastern stream flowing from Tigré in Abyssinia, and called Mareb, "the obscure," because it hides itself one part of the year in the sands, afterwards emerging in the rainy season to join the Takazzé.[177] The Nile enclosing Meroë on the west, is, in like manner, joined fourscore miles south of Chendi by the Astapus, a more western river, flowing from remote and unknown sources, and which, as it is very deep, and preserves during the whole year an undiminished stream, deserves to be regarded as surpassing the Abyssinian Nile, both in the mass of its waters, and the length of its course.[178] Of this river Astapus[179], the main component part of the Egyptian Nile, none of the inquisitive antients were able to discover the source, and it has still concealed its head from the curiosity of the moderns.[180]

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Encompassed by watery boundaries so interesting in history, Meroë was celebrated for its profusion of precious metals, and of gems still more

Meroë, its theocracy and ancient splendour.

[176] Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 577. et seq.

[177] Bruce, v. iv. p. 539.

[178] Conf. Bruce, v. iv. p. 516, and Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 437.

[179] The Astapus is called the White river; the Abyssinian Nile is called the blue river from the comparative clearness of its waters. Bruce, vol. iv. p. 516 & 539.

[180] The Abyssinian sources of the Nile, which Mr. Bruce boasts of as his discovery, had been described by modern missionaries: they were known to the Greeks as will be seen hereafter, in the age of the Ptolemies: and even in that of Herodotus. Vid. l. ii. c. 30, 31.

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precious.[181] It abounded beyond all countries in ebony; and with this valuable wood, it abounds to the present day.[182] In the flourishing age of the Ethiopians, it is said to have been defended by upwards of two hundred thousand soldiers, and enriched by double that number of industrious artizans.[183] But the circumstance, especially deserving regard, is, that it remained a theocracy or sacerdotal government down to the learned age of Ptolemy Philadelphus, when king Ergamenes of Meroë, who had imbibed enough of Greek philosophy to liberate him from cowardly superstition, but too little to teach him either humanity or good policy, massacred[184] the collective body of priests, ministers of the golden temple, who had long and wisely governed both prince and people. Having committed this enormity, the usurper coerced by the arm of power a nation that had been immemorially governed by the mereforce of opinion.[185] Before a revolution thenceforth ruinous to Meroë, that island may be considered as the subsisting model of a government, anciently very prevalent, and which without arms, and with few corporal punishments[186], overawed the

[181] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 821.
[182] Bruce, v. iii. p. 651.
[183] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. iv. c. 129.
[184] Diodorus, l. iii. c. 6.

[185] Diodor. ibid. The kings of Meroë, like the Lamas of Thibet, should seem to have been mere puppets in the hands of the priests. According to Diodorus, they were so completely dependent on them, that at the command of the priests, they were always ready to end their lives.

[186] Ουτε δωλοις ουτε θια: When a Meroite had committed any great crime, the magistrate sent to him the symbol of death; and the

minds of men and concentrated their exertions, taught them to rear temples and form sacred enclosures, haunts indeed of superstition, but seats also of industry and commerce, and which by the labours of peace had adorned many parts of the ancient continent with great cities before the iron age of conquerors and destroyers. In a subsequent part of this work, we shall see other models of sacerdotal government subsisting in Lesser Asia down to the reign of Augustus.

Abyssinian traditions confirmed by history and monuments.

The traditions of the Abyssinians, often of little value in themselves, are corroborated by history and monuments, when they affirm that their capital Axum, and to the south of Axum, Azab or Saba, were anciently renowned for religion and traffick. Both these cities were intimately connected with Meroë, and Meroë itself stood in a similar connection with Thebes in Egypt, since the Thebans and Meroites established conjunctly the colony of Ammonium in Libya.[187] The historical account of this establishment, as well as the near relationship[188] among all those

guilty person retired to a private apartment, and became his own executioner. Diodorus. The Jesuits in Paraguay never exercised over their votaries such unbounded dominion.

[187] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 49.

[188] This relationship asserted in the Abyssinian traditions, (Bruce's Travels, v. i. p. 408, &c.) is often alluded to in Scripture: "Great pain shall be in Ethiopia when the slain shall fall in Egypt." Ezekiel, c. xxx. v. 4. Again, "when a fire is set in Egypt, in that day shall messengers go forth through the dry waste, to make the careless (better the secure) Ethiopians afraid." Ezekiel,

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remote cities, not to mention Elephantina, This, and Memphis, is strongly attested in the uniformity of their still subsisting remains; every where that massive Egyptian style, unrivalled in solidity and durability: huge pillars of stone, roofed with long parallel beams of the same unperishing material; and these either traversed by shorter ones, or placed contiguous to each other, and thus presenting stupendous blocks thirty and sometimes forty feet long.[189] The same relationship is attested in the agreement of Ethiopian and Egyptian hieroglyphics. That mode of writing, which, after the invention of alphabetic characters, came to be confined in Egypt to sacred purposes, still continued to be employed in all ordinary transactions in Ethiopia.[190] This latter country, having preserved its ancient theocratic government, also retained the ancient picture-writing or symbols, which the priests of Thebes and Meroë had found highly useful, not in the affairs only of religion, but in those of common life, particularly in commerce. By casting an eye

c. xxx. v. 9, in Michaelis' translation. Again, "the labour of Egypt, the merchandise of Ethiopia," &c. Isaiah, c. xlv. v. 14. In describing the armour of the Ethiopians above Egypt, Herodotus says, that their arrows were pointed with a stone, instead of iron, and so hard that they employed it in carving their seals, l. vii. c. 67. Could this stone have been made use of for graving not only the Ethiopian but Egyptian obelisks?

[189] Conf. Pocoke, p. 86. & 92. Browne's Travels, p. 19. et seq. & Bruce's Travels, vol. i. p. 121. et seq.

[190] Diodorus, l. iii. c. 4.

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on the map of Africa, the reader will perceive that the various cities, above-named, form two distinct chains of staples or stations on opposite sides of the Nubian desert; one northward in the line of Elephantina, Thebes, This, and Memphis; another southward in the line of Meroë, Axum, Assab or Saba. Carriers were not wanting to connect the remotest emporia on opposite sides of the sandy ocean: the troops from Tema and Sheba, Arabian and Ethiopian Nomades, whose commercial expeditions are conspicuous in the earliest records of the East. [191]

According to a justly celebrated Abyssinian traveller, whose information derives peculiar importance from its agreement with that of books which he had never happened to read [192], the Abyssinians immemorially traded, by caravans, through their southern provinces, with countries abounding in gold; and it is worthy of remark, that this commerce on the eastern coast of Africa, was transacted in the same singular

[191] Job, c. vi. v. 19.

[192] This observation was formerly made by me in 1790, in a criticism on Mr. Bruce's Travels, which excited some attention both at home and abroad. The Abyssinian notices concerning their golden commerce, I found confirmed by Agatharchides of Cnidus apud Photium Biblioth. Cod. ccl. This made me search for confirmations in antiquity of other reports prevalent among that people: and the fruit of my researches led into the train of thought which runs through this survey, with regard to the vast extent and high importance of commerce by caravans. The same subject has been since treated at much length, and with great ability in Mr. Heeren's work, intitled, Ideen über die Politik den Verkehr und den Handel, &c. above cited.

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manner[193], afterwards adopted by the Carthaginians in dealing for the same metal on the coasts of the Atlantic. The arrivals, of the Abyssinian caravans and of the Carthaginian ships, were equally announced by great fires; their cargoes were stowed in places which experience suggested to be the fittest for this purpose; the negroes came with their gold-dust, and deposited such a quantity as appeared to be a fair price: if the foreign traders approved that price, the gold was carried away and the merchandise left in exchange: if they thought the valuation too low, the negroes brought more gold; but never carried away the goods, until the price of them had been accepted by their foreign visitants.[194] This dumb traffic subsists between the Libyans and Ethiopians to the present day.[195]

Sabæa.

The countries just spoken of, Egypt and Ethiopia above Egypt, are separated by the Red Sea from Arabia, a vast triangle whose sides are marked by that sea and the Persian gulph, and whose basis is washed by the Indian ocean. The desert regions, towards its centre, resemble the sandy Sahara in corresponding latitudes of Africa. But in many parts nearer to the coast, and particularly at Sabæa[196] on the Red Sea, and Oma-

[193] Herodot. l. iv. c. 196. Conf. Cosm. Indicopleust. apud Montfauc. Nov. Collect. tom. ii.

[194] Herodot. l. iv. c. 796.

[195] Histoire des Voyages, tom. ii. p. 294. and Shaw's Travels, vol. i. p. 392.

[196] Sabæa, on the eastern side of the Red Sea, nearly corresponds to Yemen.

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num [197] on the Persian gulph, Arabia admits the culture of vines and of palm-trees; and, from participating in these ordinary benefits, was naturally viewed by men, as they emerged from the gloom of the neighbouring wilderness, with a delight heightened by contrast, and described with transports stronger and more glowing than the greatest insulated beauty is able to inspire. [198] It was called the "*Happy* Arabia," which epithet Sabæa more particularly deserved as the land of frankincense, an article of inestimable value among nations with whom perfumes were favourite and habitual luxuries, and which, being highly prized by themselves, were offered in vast profusion on the altars of their gods. But the culture of frankincense was not confined to Sabæa, the modern Yemen: it extended to the opposite side of the Arabian gulph, over a territory in Ethiopia now called Adel, five hundred miles in length. Adel and Yemen had their respective capitals known to strangers by the common appellation of Saba; which name, as it prevailed in other parts [199], may be conjectured to signify any great staple of frankincense. This main object of ancient commerce occupied the stationary peasant in its culture, and the travelling shepherd in its transport; and so much abounded on both sides of the Red Sea, that it was sometimes used by the natives for firewood. [200]

[197] The ancient name is still retained in modern Oman.

[198] Ἡ δὲ Ἀραβίων εὐδαιμονεστάτη, &c. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 778.

[199] Josephus, Antiq. Judaic. l. ii. c. 5. [200] Strabo, ibid.

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Syrian and Phœnician staples.

But another article equally recommended by luxury, and demanded by imperious necessity, was wanting in both Ethiopias, as Adel and Yemen were sometimes called.[201] This article is spice, in all its different kinds, essential as a preservative against putrid maladies in all warm countries, especially those frequently laid under water, either by the natural floods of rivers, or by artificial irrigations for the purposes of tillage. Pepper was conveyed, as we have seen, from India to Egypt by caravans, as early as the age of Joseph. To obtain the same commodity by sea, the Sabæans gradually explored the coasts between the Arabian and Persian gulph; became the first navigators on the Erythræan sea, and thus rendered the two Sabas emporia for the aromatics of the coast of Malabar as well as for the spices of Taprobana or Ceylon; so that the happy Arabia, in addition to its native perfumes, early breathed foreign odours of a still superior quality. The traditions of the Abyssinians concerning the high antiquity of this extensive maritime traffic, receive countenance from important notices in sacred and profane history. When Abram, according to the injunction of the Almighty, migrated from northern Mesopotamia or Armenia to the neighbourhood of the Mediterranean sea, he found "the Canaanite already in the land," of whom, in Scriptural language, Sidon is called "the first-born;" in other words, the first colony

[201] Vid. Michaelis ad Isaiah, c. xlv. v. 24.

planted by Canaanites on the Mediterranean coast. Who those Canaanites, the builders of Sidon, were, we know distinctly from Herodotus. They were the tribe of Sabæans called Homerites; an ingenious people, conversant with astronomy and medicine [202], above all devoted to the culture of their language and of poetry, for which they had competitions and assemblies resembling the four sacred games of Greece. [203] Their name Homerites denotes in Arabic either the palm-tree or the purple colour, and the name Phœnicians, it is well known, has the same double signification in Greek. These Homerites or Phœnicians transported themselves gradually from the happy Arabia or Sabæa, stopping occasionally at various harbours on the Red Sea, from the last of which halting places, called afterwards Phœnicum Oppidum, they travelled northwards to the Mediterranean, and established themselves on that part of the coast which became so famous under the name of Phœnicia, derived from its new inhabitants. The incidents attending this colonization are unknown, but the purpose, for which it was effected, speedily and visibly declared itself in the commercial exertions of the Phœnicians, whose shores, seventeen centuries before Christ, are said to have been covered with ships as with a garment [204]; and

[202] Pocoke, Specileg. Hist. Arab.

[203] Schultens, Præfat. ad Monument. Vetust. Arab.

[204] Genesis, c. xlix. v. 13. which Michaelis translates, "mit schiffen bekleidet." Herodotus, l. i. c. 1. says of the Homerites or Phœnicians, that at their first settlement on the coast of the Mediterranean ἀνεῖσα ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι ἐπιθεσθαι, &c.

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who, shortly after that period, appear from profane writers, to have exchanged in their markets the metals of Spain and Britain for all the most coveted productions of the East and South.[205] Even before this early date, the migration of Abram above-mentioned points to a subsisting commercial communication between the countries around the Mediterranean Sea and those of Upper Asia. In the age of that patriarch, Damascus already flourished.[206] Emessa or Hems, Epiphania or Hamath, and Hieropolis the temple of the Syrian goddess on the right bank of the Euphrates, were stations or emporia remounting to immemorial antiquity. It should seem, therefore, that travelling traders between Upper and Lower Asia already explored the routes which commerce was destined thenceforward to pursue, and perhaps had discovered those hidden secrets of the wilderness, which enabled them boldly to plunge through the sandy ocean of Palmyra or Tadmor, a station not established, but enlarged and strengthened by Solomon[207], and adorned, under the first successors of Alexander, with those prodigies of architectural magnificence, totally unnoticed by ancient authors, but clearly proclaiming their own story, even in their ruins; ruins still attesting the magnitude of commerce carried on by

[205] Herodot. l. ii. c. 163. l. iii. c. 3. Strabo, l. iii. p. 224. Diodorus, l. iv. c. 17. and Aristot. Opera, vol. i. p. 1163. Compare Gesner de navigationibus extra columnas Herculis, annexed to his edition of Orpheus, and Heeren in his Ideen, &c. above cited.

[206] Genesis, c. xiv. v. 15.

[207] 1 Kings, c. ix. v. 18.

caravans, since to this solely, Palmyra owed its opulence and splendour.

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Babylon, Bactra, and Pessinus, in reference to the three great divisions of Asia.

Having given a general account of the cities round the Red Sea, "works of the wonderful strength of Egypt and Ethiopia[208]," and having surveyed also those in Assyria, which in process of time became still more wonderful, it remains to speak of the marts of traffic and superstition in Ariana and the peninsula of Lesser Asia. In each of these great regions, in the midst of savage ferocity and rude barbarism, the routes of commerce were marked with opulence and elegance: great cities subsisted and flourished, protected through the influence of superstition rather than by the strength of arms; under priestly magistrates "whose eye was their law, and whose tongue was their oracle[209]," warlike Nomades mixed in salutary intercourse with peaceful artizans[210]; and on the shores of the Euxine and Caspian, as well as in the central route before described through Asia, there were many bold and useful undertakings, and many indubitable proofs of very high civilization.[211]

[208] Nahum. c. iii. v. 8. & 9.

[209] On him their second providence they hung,
Their law his eye, their oracle his tongue,
He from the wond'ring furrow call'd the food,
Taught to command the fire, controul the flood, &c.
Essay on Man, Epist. ii.

[210] Stephanus de urb. Artic. Asia.

[211] The enterprize, ascribed by Greek mythologists to the Argonants, of opening a passage for the stagnant waters of the Araxes, and thereby gaining a fine plain and a free navigation to the Caspian, indicates intelligence as well as boldness. Strabo, l. xi. p. 53. The immemorial linen manufactory of the Colchians was considered as

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But as general description, how well soever it may be authenticated, never supersedes, in history, the necessity of particular and precise facts, I shall, in reference to the threefold division above given of Asia, having already spoken of Babylon in Assyria, now give some account of Bactra in Ariana, and of Pessinus in Lesser Asia.

Some account of Bactra,

Bactra is renowned in the middle ages under the name of Balch, as the capital[212] of the warlike kingdom of Khorassan, and the seat of such sullen magnificence as was then not unfrequently displayed by Saracens and Tartars. It enjoyed earlier and fairer fame as the head[213] of a province dismembered from the empire of the Seleucidæ, Syrian successors of Alexander, sixty-nine years after the death of that conqueror, and two hundred and fifty-five years before the Christian æra. In the preceding chapter of this work, we have seen the importance by him ascribed to the intermediate territory between Scythia and India, and the comparatively powerful garrisons which he stationed there. The Greek Theodotus, who commanded in Bactra under Antiochus Theos, threw off his

a proof of their Egyptian descent. Herodot. l. ii. c. 105. Conf. Strabo, l. xi. p. 498. They were a commercial colony established by the Egyptians on the Euxine.

[212] It was the chief of the four royal residences; to wit, Balk, Herat, Maru, and Neisabour. See D'Herbelot, Artic. Khorassan. The space marked by these cities is a trapezium about the extent of France, and in a finer climate.

[213] Justin, l. xli. c. 4. and Strabo, l. xi. p. 516. & l. xv. p. 686.

allegiance to that prince, and asserted independent sovereignty. From this time forward, Bactra, in the rank of a kingdom, subsisted an hundred and twenty-nine years until the Grecian dynasty was swept away by a resistless torrent of Scythians, flowing from the confines of China into the countries on this side the Jaxartes.[214] Before this sad catastrophe, Bactra acquired under Theodotus, and enjoyed under his five Grecian successors a high degree of splendour as the capital of Ariana, and the commercial rendezvous of nations. Its enterprising traders made themselves masters of various strong-holds in India, and particularly of Pattala, an emporium built, as we have seen, by Alexander at the apex of the Indian Delta; they carried on an extensive and advantageous intercourse with what was then called the kingdom of the Greeks, comprehending Assyria, Syria, and many provinces in Lesser Asia; while their own crowded markets were frequented by powerful caravans from Scythia and India.[215] SECT. II.

By the brighter lines of comparatively modern history, it seemed fit to restore the dim features of Bactra as it appears on the remote eastern horizon, twelve hundred and thirty years before the Christian æra. At that early period, this city long flourishing as it is represented in arts

[214] Strabo, l. xi. p 511. De Guignes Mem. sur la Bactriane in Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. vol. xlii. 8vo. edit. The French academician, who derived his notice of the subversion of the Greek kingdom of Bactra from Chinese history, did not know that Strabo's account of that matter perfectly coincided with the annals of China.

[215] Strabo ubi supra, and Bayer de Histor. Reg. Græc. Bactrian.

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and industry, formed one of the most important[216] conquests of Ninus and his Assyrians, when, with the assistance of Arabian Nomades, they established the first great monarchy. Before this æra of war and desolation, Bactra is celebrated in the uniform traditions of Asia[217] and Europe, as the seat of science as well as of commerce, governed by Zoroaster, whom some writers call a king, others a high-priest; doubtless because he united both characters; and to whom all authors of any credit ascribe pre-eminent power, while they concur in assigning to him the most venerable antiquity.[218] His name might be assumed at various times by different teachers among the fire-worshippers, or magi; for this kind of superstition spread from Bactra to Media, and from thence to Persia; it might in particular be usurped by an impostor in the time of Darius Hystaspis, who is said in the wild romances of modern Persia to have reformed the

[216] Diodorus, l. ii. c. 6. and Justin, l. i. c. 1.

[217] The historians of Persia make the foundation of Balk, the city of Zoroaster, remount to the year 3209 before Christ. Conf. D'Herbelot Biblioth. Orient. Article Balk, and Bailli Astronomie Ancienne, p. 354. This is the oldest astronomical æra of any, since that of the Indian monarchy corresponds with the year 3101 before Christ; that of China with the year 2952; and that of both Egypt and Chaldæa with the year 2800. I have no faith, however, in history founded solely on astronomy, whose phænomena may by calculation be extended indefinitely backward as well as forward. My purpose is answered by showing that with regard to the antiquity of Bactra, the traditions of the Orientals concur with better sources of information.

[218] See the authorities collected by Stanley, Oriental Philosophy; by Fabricus, Bibliothec. Græc. l. i. c. 36. p. 243. and in Moyle's Works, vol. ii. p. 19.

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religion of his country, and to have first taught the Persians to worship in temples. But such fables are totally unworthy of regard, since we have the decisive authority of Xenophon, who had viewed the Persians, not merely with the eye of a soldier, that their religion remained the same and unaltered[219] from the age of Cyrus, founder of their dynasty: a cloud of witnesses also attest that the Persians neither worshipped in temples nor ever erected such edifices during the existence of their empire[220]; and the practice of temple-worship they should seem to have adopted slowly and reluctantly, in their humiliated state, through the persuasion or authority of their Grecian conquerors. With the Persian Zerdusht we are not in this early part of history in any manner concerned: but in the Bactrian Zoroaster, whose name bears a reference[221] to his proficiency in astronomy, we recognize a faithful agreement with the picture above given of the Babylonian and Egyptian priesthood; the same attainments in knowledge, and the same application of them; for the maintenance, indeed, of his own authority, but also to the conspicuous benefit of those over whom it was exercised.[222]

The same rank which Bactra held in Ariana, Pessinus appears to have early acquired in Lesser

and of Pessinus,

[219] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 204. & p. 238. et seq.

[220] Herodot. l. i. c. 131. Cicero de Leg. l. ii. c. 10. Dinon. apud Clemen. Alexand. in Protrept. p. 56.

[221] Diogen. Laert. in Proem. and Suidas ad Voc.

[222] Hermipp. apud Arnob. advers. Gent. Conf. Strabo, l. i. p. 24.

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Asia.[223] Pessinus stood in the finest plain of Phrygia, which was anciently the most important, as well as largest province in the Peninsula. It was washed by the river Sangarius, and in the near vicinity of the castle and palace of Gordium, revered for its mysterious knot involving the fate of Asia, and which had remained for upwards of a thousand years untied, when it was finally cut by the sword of Alexander.[224] Pessinus was thus situate in a district of high celebrity, and on the great caravan road formerly traced. This road in approaching the sea-coast split into three branches, leading into Mysia, Lydia, and Caria; small but important provinces, which shone in arts and industry many ages before their winding shores were occupied by Grecian colonies. From Lydia, then called Mæonia, Pelops carried into Greece his golden treasures, the source of power[225] to his family in the peninsula to which he communicated the name of Peloponnesus. To the Lydians and Carians, many inventions are ascribed, bespeaking much ingenuity and early civilization.[226] The coast of Mysia was embraced by the venerable kingdom of Priam, the Hellespontian Phrygia; and the more inland Phrygians, who were said to have colonized that maritime district, pretended on grounds, some of them solid, and

[223] Pessinuntem ipsum, sedem domiciliumque matris Deorum; quam reges omnes qui Asiam Europamque tenuerunt, semper summa religione coluerunt. Cicero pro Sextio.

[224] Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. i. c. 59.

[225] Thucydides, l. i. p. 6. [226] Herodotus, l. i. c. 94. & 171.

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others extremely frivolous[227], to vie in antiquity with the Egyptians themselves. The three nations of Phrygians, Lydians, and Carians, were intimately connected with each other by the community of religious rites, as well as by the ties of blood and language. They accordingly exhibited a striking uniformity in manners and pursuits, which, to a reader conversant with Roman history, may be described most briefly by observing, that the principal features of their character are faithfully delineated in the effeminacy, ingenuity, and pompous vanity of the Tuscans, a kindred people, and their reputed descendants.[228]

These industrious and polished but unwarlike inhabitants on the coast of the Ægæan were connected by many links with Upper Asia, but particularly by Pessinus, the ancient capital of the Phrygian kings[229], and at the same time the first and principal sanctuary in those parts of the mother of the gods, thence called the Pessinuntian[230] Goddess, and more frequently the Idæan Mother, Cybelé, Berecynthia, Dindymené, names, all of them, derived from her long established worship on neighbouring mountains.

[227] Herodot. ibid. Conf. Timotheus apud Arnob. advers. Gent. l. v. and Lucretius de Natur. Deor. l. ii. v. 612. et seq.

[228] Herodot. l. i.

[229] Diodor. l. iii. c. 59. Amm. Marcellin. l. xxi.

[230] Ex τῦ πεσσωτος αγαλματος. Herodian, l. i. c. 25. Of that statue, or rather symbol, which descended from heaven, Livy speaks, l. xxix. c. 10, 11. B. C. 205. It was to the Romans then hovering over Asia, what the Gordian knot had been to Alexander: and a religious piece of machinery as easily overthrown by them.

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The festivals of Cybelé are selected in poetical description[231] as among the most showy and magnificent in paganism: and both the commerce and the superstition of Pessinus continued to flourish in vigour, even down to the reign of Augustus.[232] But, in his age, the ministers of the divinity, though they still continued magistrates of the city, had exceedingly declined in opulence and power[233]; and instead of being independent sovereigns with considerable revenues, might be described in modern language in a work less grave than history, as a sort of prince bishops, vassals and mere creatures of Rome. To the west of Pessinus, the city Morena in Mysia, and to the east of it, Morimena, Zela, and Comana, in the great central province of Cappadocia, exhibited institutions exactly similar[234] to each other, and all nearly resembling those of the Phrygian capital. In the Augustan age, all these cities still continued to be governed by sacerdotal families, to which they had been subject from *immemorial*[235] *antiquity:* they all stood on the great caravan road through Lesser Asia; and in all of them the times marked by festivals and processions, were also distinguished by great fairs, not only frequented

[231] Qualis Berecinthia mater
Invehitur curru Phrygias turrita per urbes.
Æneid. vi. 785.

and Lucretius, l. ii. v. 623.
Horrificæ fertur divinæ matris imago, &c.

[232] Strabo, l. xii. p. 574. [233] Id. ibid.
[234] Strabo, l. xi. p. 537. & l. xii. p. 559.
[235] Strabo loc. citat. & l. xiv. p. 672.

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by neighbouring nations, but also numerously attended by traders from Upper Asia, and even by distant[236] Nomades. Conformably with these circumstances in their favour, the routes of commerce traced a clear and distinct line of civilization and wealth, thus visibly contrasted with the rudeness and poverty of many remote parts of the peninsula; with the savageness of the Isaurians and Pisidians; with the half-barbarous Bithynians and Paphlagonians[237]; in a word, with all those divisions of the country, which lay beyond the genial influence of commerce upheld by superstition, and of superstition enriched, embellished, and confirmed, by the traffic which it protected.

[236] Strabo loc. cit. and Stephanus de Urb. voc. Ασια.

[237] The transactions of all the nations in Lesser Asia, barbarous as well as civilized, are introduced in the following work in connection with the general history of the empire.

SURVEY

OF

ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS.

SECTION III.

Reasons for entering into a more particular Account of the Arts. — These best exemplified among the Egyptians and Phœnicians: — I. With regard to the Augmentation and Improvement of the Articles of Food. — II. The Composition and Embellishment of the Articles of Raiment. — III. The Means of procuring solid and secure Habitations. — Egyptian Architecture: — I. Temples. — II. Mausolea. — The Labyrinth and Tomb of Osymandyas. — III. Obelisks. — IV. Pyramids. — Reign of Sesostris. — Different Races in Egypt. — Senacherib's Invasion. — State of Judæa and Egypt at that Period. — Greatness of Tarako, the Ethiopian. — Destruction of the Assyrian Army. — Revolt of the Assyrian Provinces. — Nineveh demolished by Cyaxares and Nebopolassar. — Babylon the new Capital of Assyria. — Jealousy of Necos King of Egypt. — He gains the Battle of Megiddo. — Invades Mesopotamia, and garrisons Circesium. — Nebuchadnezzar associated in Government with his Father Nebopolassar. — He forms an Engine of Defence and glorious Victory. — Battle of Circesium.

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Reasons for entering

THE operations of commerce described in the preceding section, being carried on by crowded caravans, are more open to observation, than the

highest efforts of industry and ingenuity in such useful or agreeable arts as are commonly exercised in the privacy of domestic life. When the productions, indeed, of these arts remain, in a tolerably perfect state, they recount impressively their own history; and turn our attention with delight to the energies of those noble minds by whom they were contrived and created. But, when the destructive hand of time has obliterated the works themselves, their authors will be robbed of due praise; and the nations, which nursed and cherished them, will be divested of those characteristic features independently of which, their wars, victories, or defeats, can never become a matter of serious interest with posterity. Here then it is the duty of the historian to interpose his utmost diligence, in collecting all the scattered notices on record, with regard to whatever forms the object of ingenious contrivance or honourable pursuit. From this more intimate acquaintance with remote nations, attention will be awakened to their concerns: real sympathy will be excited for their sufferings; and our fancies, being thus prepared for the scenes exhibited to view, will invest with form, and adorn with colour, the dry and dim skeletons that, in the page of ancient history, shock in perpetual conflicts of unheeded warfare. The discussion also is essential to a distinct survey of the various countries, which, after submitting to the valour of Alexander, were to become the objects of his enlightened policy.

SECT. III. ing into a more particular account of the arts.

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Nations concerned in the revolution, by which Babylon supplanted Nineveh.

In connection with the rise of Nineveh, and the magnificence of that first great capital of Asia, I had occasion to speak of the high-minded Ninus and Semiramis, with their mixed army of Assyrians and Arabians. But, in the revolution which undermined the power of Nineveh, and caused it to be finally supplanted by Babylon, the city chosen[1] by Alexander for the head of his empire, all those eastern nations are signalised, that derive celebrity either from their prowess or their wisdom. It will be necessary in particular to make known Senacherib the Assyrian, and Tarako the Ethiopian; Belesys, or Nebopolassar, the Babylonian; Arbaces, or Cyaxares[2], the Mede; Necos the enterprising king of Egypt; and Nebuchadnezzar the more adventurous and more renowned king of Babylon. In opposition to the erroneous notions concerning the extent of the ancient Assyrian empire, this king of Babylon will appear to have been the first prince beyond the Euphrates, who consolidated his dominion over Aram on this side the river; that is, the Proper Syria. The same conqueror, as is well known, gained Jerusalem after a siege of eighteen months, and dragged its inhabitants into captivity; he also overcame, after a siege of thirteen years, and totally demolished, the great commercial city of Tyre on the continent, a place infinitely surpassing in magnitude and

[1] Strabo, l. xv. p. 731.

[2] These names belonged, respectively, to the same persons.

importance insular Tyre, which succeeded to its name, and which, in the page of history, commonly usurps its renown. SECT. III.

In prosecuting the vast subject before me, I shall begin with the Egyptians and Phœnicians, concerning whose institutions and inventions, there are details equally respectable for their authenticity, and instructive by their copiousness. Both nations were dreadful sufferers in the conflict that established a new empire, and raised up a new capital in Asia: both survived their disasters, and became, in the hands of Alexander, principal agents in effecting his noblest and most useful purposes. Egypt, besides, under the brother of that conqueror, the first Ptolemy, acquired and long maintained a decided pre-eminence among all the new Greek kingdoms erected in the East. The regular and connected annals of Egypt will be embodied in subsequent parts of the present work: the observations, which immediately follow, are of a preparatory nature, affording a succinct view of the antiquities of a country, of which, as a Greek kingdom, I shall endeavour to collect a clear and complete history.

Arts cultivated by those nations best exemplified among the Egyptians and Phœnicians.

When the transactions of Egypt first connect themselves with those of Greece, the inheritance of the Pharaohs had fallen into the hands of twelve petty princes, who, like the Beys of modern times, combated each other, and distracted their common country. About the middle of the seventh century before Christ, Psammetichus, one of the twelve, was enabled, through the assist-

Intimate connection formed between Egypt and Greece. Olymp. xxx. 1. B.C. 660.

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ance of Greek pirates, Ionians and Carians, to crush his competitors, and to assume undivided sovereignty. [3] Having conquered Egypt by Greeks, the gratitude of Psammetichus conspired with good policy, towards establishing his benefactors in camps endowed with lands, on the Pelusiac or eastern branch of the Nile; from which settlement their descendants removed about a century afterwards to the capital Memphis, that they might serve as body [4] guards to king Amasis, another illustrious usurper. From the time of Psammetichus, but especially in the forty-four years of Amasis's reign, the Greeks and Egyptians maintained a closer intimacy with each other, than ever prevailed between any two nations of antiquity, that stood not decidedly in the endearing relations of metropolis and colony. The youths of Egypt were taught the Greek tongue [5]; commerce was industriously cultivated between the two countries; and in perpetual succession of time, the philosophers Pythagoras and Plato [6], the historians Hecatæus [7] and Herodotus [8], with many intervening travellers as studious of knowledge [9] as their trading fellow-citizens were greedy after gain, visited the venerable mother of inventions and of arts, and

[3] Herodot. l. ii. c. 151, 152.

[4] Ibid. l. ii. c. 178. et seq.

[5] Id. ibid.

Diogen. Laert. in Pythagor. et Platon. et Strabo, l. xviii. p. 806.

[7] Hecatæus was a great traveller, and had probably collected the fruits of his travels in the περιηγησει Ασιας mentioned by Stephanus Byzant. de Urb. Voc. Αβαρνος.

[8] Herodot. l. ii. c. 43.

[9] Diodorus, l. i. s. 96.

endeavoured to disrobe the concealed majesty of religious and civil wisdom, for which the Egyptians had been renowned from the first dawn of tradition. Before entering however under such guides, the palaces and temples and factories of Thebes and Memphis, and from connections that will presently appear, those of Axum, Saba, Nineveh, Bactra, and many other remote cities, it will be prudent to carry with us lights from a more hallowed shrine, to dispel the dark vapour of illusion with which we might otherwise be surrounded.

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State of Egypt as illustrated in the story of Joseph. B.C. 1728—1635.

Two centuries after the journey of Abram into Egypt, of which we have already spoken, the simple story of Joseph exhibits a genuine picture of real virtue, more impressive than ever was produced from the mere combinations of fancy. The lovely frankness, it is well known, of the young shepherd, instead of conciliating and rivetting, as it ought to have done, the affections of his brethren, provoked their jealousy and hatred, and subjected him to the misery of being sold to an Arabian caravan, carrying spiceries into Egypt.[10] Through extraordinary endowments bestowed on him by the Almighty, the unhappy slave who had been purchased for twenty shekels of silver[11], was raised to offices and honours, clearly characterising the authority of grand vizier, already introduced, it should

[10] Genesis, c. xxxvii.

[11] The ordinary shekel is valued at half a crown; that, in the time of Joseph, is thought to have been of less weight. Michaelis Anmerk. Genesis, c. xlv. v. 22.

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seem, into this eastern monarchy. Pharaoh surrounded his neck with a golden chain as a badge of dignity, arrayed his body with vestures of fine linen, adorned his hand with his own ring or signet, and made him ride in a chariot appropriate to the man next in place to the king, and who in effect exercised the whole kingly power.[12] In the officers also of the royal household, particularly the captain of the royal guards, entrusted with high criminal jurisdiction, we perceive the still prevalent and unalterable customs of the East; though the slow punishment of a slave for the imputed enormity of tempting the fidelity of his master's wife, indicates a degree of forbearance and caution, a faint ray of civilization, long extinct in all those unhappy countries. Through the whole narrative, there are not any indications of the profusion of precious metals ascribed by profane writers to Egypt at a somewhat later period.[13] The small price paid for the person of Joseph, his single cup of silver, and the three hundred pieces of that metal, which the dispenser of royal munificence bestowed on his beloved Benjamin, affords reason to infer, that the golden treasures of Ethiopia had not yet been ransacked with very successful diligence[14], and that the Phœnicians had not yet

[12] The man who is the Lord of the land spoke roughly to us, Genesis, c. xlii. v. 30. In 1 Maccab. c. ii. v. 53. Joseph is called κυριος τε Αιγυπτε.

[13] Diodorus Siculus, l. i. sect. 49. et seq.

[14] Agatharchides de Mari Rubro apud Phot. Biblioth. p. 1339. et seq.

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diffused in great abundance the silver of Tarshish or Tartessus over the eastern world.[15]

Revolution in the interval between Joseph and Moses — and state of Egypt at the æra of Jewish emigration. B.C. 1491.

The transactions of Abram and Joseph afford a glimpse of Egypt as united at very early periods, under one great monarchy; but the third and most important view of that country in Scripture, is given at the æra of Hebrew deliverance from Egyptian bondage. The children of Israel had been reduced into that wretched condition under the dynasty of shepherds, accumulated hordes of Ethiopian Nomades, who had invaded and conquered Egypt at a period[16] between the age of Joseph and that of Moses. In this revolution, every thing directly flowed in the ordinary current of oriental transactions. It was, and has always continued the perpetual misfortune of civilized communities in that division of the world, never to have attained a proficiency in arms, or adopted a style of warfare, qualifying men resident in cities and cultivating sedentary arts, steadily and successfully to resist the occasional irruptions of neighbouring Nomades, to whose undisciplined and headstrong chiefs the conquest of flourishing cities only supplied the means of exasperating, by the irritations of voluptuousness, their precipitate frowardness and native ferocity.

[15] Aristot. de Mirabil. Opera, tom. i. p. 1163. Conf. 1 Maccab. c. viii. v. 3. and Diodorus, l. v. s. 35.

[16] Conf. Exodus, c. i. v. 8. and Herodotus, l. ii. c. 100. The new king, "who knew not Joseph," nor his merits towards the Egyptian nation, well accords with the notices in profane history, concerning the king of a new dynasty.

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Under a prince of this character, known by the common appellation of Pharaoh or Sultan, the Hebrews were subjected to the cruellest and most capricious vexations. In the fertile triangle stretching from a summit at Heliopolis, near the site of the modern Cairo, towards the Mediterranean on one side, and the Red Sea on the other, the small tribe of Hebrews containing in it only sixty-eight males, had grown to a nation of two millions and a half of souls[17], since the fighting men alone amounted to six hundred thousand, or, according to a nicer computation, to six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty persons.[18] To reduce this dangerou multitude of shepherds and soldiers, Pharaoh tasked them with hard labour; he condemned them to provide materials for his vast buildings; and many of them were employed in rearing new and stronger walls round Pithom and Raamses[19], ancient fortresses containing the royal magazines. Another still viler expedient, of which the tyrant made use, to intercept the formidable populousness of the Israelites, was, his cruel order to the midwives to destroy their infant males[20]; a transaction as usually understood, wearing an air of improbability, yet, on a nearer examination, entirely consistent with the cus-

[17] The Israelites inhabited the "best of the land." Genesis, c. xlvii. v. 6., that is, the fittest for pasturage: in which district the Consul Maillet (Descript. de L'Egypte) says, "the grass grows to the height of a man, and so thick that an ox may feed a whole day lying on the ground.

[18] Conf. Exodus, c. 12. v. 37. and Numbers, c. i. v. 46.

[19] Exodus, c. i. v. 11. [20] Id. c. i. v. 15. et seq.

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toms and institutions of the Egyptians, represented with much uniformity by authors who differ perpetually and widely about their chronology and history. In ancient Egypt, medicine in general, and several of its branches, were distinct and hereditary professions, exercised under precise and severe regulations, for the observance of which by their substitutes, the heads of its different departments were amenable to the magistrates.[21] This explanation will remove our surprise that Pharaoh should have addressed only two midwives, as if two only had been needful in so great a nation; and it gives a natural turn to their excuse for not executing the king's atrocious orders, namely, that the Hebrew women being livelier than the Egyptian, were delivered without the intervention of any public assistants.[22] The extraordinary interpositions of the Almighty, which blasted all the designs of this detestable tyrant, are recorded in that history, with which, from our youth, we are most familiar. But it is worthy of remark, that of the wonderful phænomenon which enabled the Israelites to pass the Red Sea in safety, the memory is preserved in a pagan historian, who authenticates it by reference to a different source of information, even that of the actual inhabitants of the district at the time in which he wrote.[23] It must also be observed that Pha-

[21] Aristot. Politic. l. iii. c. 2. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 65. & Isocrat. Busirid. Laudat.

[22] Δημιοργοι.

[23] Conf. Diodorus, l. iii. sect. 40. & Exodus, c. xix. Diodorus wrote in the time of Julius Cæsar and Augustus. He had travelled

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raoh's army, which perished in that sea in his furious pursuit, consisted of chariots and horsemen; because horsemen in the sense of cavalry were not used by the Greeks till eight centuries after this period, that is, five centuries after the war of Troy; and both cavalry and chariots ceased in process of time to be employed by the Egyptians, in consequence of the perpetual intersections of their country by canals, which rendered troops of both kinds altogether unserviceable. [24]

Division of the subject.

The minute intersections of the Delta, doubtless, contributed in Egypt towards agricultural and commercial prosperity. Yet, at the æra of the Jewish emigration, wonderful exertions had been already made, both for multiplying the necessaries of life at home, and for procuring its accommodations from abroad. In treating of the attainments and enjoyments of the Egyptians, I shall consider the three main articles, of food, clothing, and habitation. The last of these will lead me to their ornamental architecture; and this, again, will be found intimately connected with all their noblest discoveries in the arts and sciences. I begin, as necessity requires, with a brief survey of the country.

into Egypt, and received his information concerning the awful event in the text from Ichthyophagi, inhabiting that part of the coast where it happened. It had been handed down to them by unvarying tradition from their ancestors, that the sea at a certain time dried up to the bottom, and again suddenly returned to its ancient channel.

[24] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 108.

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Egypt described.

From the mouths of the Nile and the Mediterranean, Egypt extended in length five hundred and thirty miles to Syené and the tropic of Cancer, comprehending in its breadth the mountains on both sides the river, as far as the Red Sea on the right, and the sands of Libya on the left. In its utmost dimensions, the country falls short of the extent of Great Britain: yet, before it was ravaged successively by the kings of Nineveh and Babylon, and permanently oppressed by the civil and religious persecution of Cambyses and his Persian successors, its populousness may be fairly estimated at eight millions of industrious inhabitants.[25] To the ancient Cercasorum, a place situate a few miles below the ancient Memphis and the modern Cairo, the Nile flowed in an unbroken stream, then dividing itself into three principal branches, the two outermost of which infold the triangle of Lower Egypt, the fertile Delta. The apex of the triangle at Cercasorum[26] is distant a hundred miles from its base, the waving coast of the Mediterranean; and the sides are the Pelusiac and Canopic branches of the Nile, whose mouths are two hundred miles asunder. Anciently the whole of the Delta was richly cultivated: but tillage is now confined to the inmost district, and to the valley of the Nile, a long strip of land reaching to Syené, generally about twenty miles broad, overflowed yearly by the river, and en-

[25] Josephus de Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 26. Conf. Diodor. l. i.
[26] Herodot. l. ii. c. 15. & 17.

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riched by its fattening slime.[27] Homer is thought to have pointed to the cause of this annual inundation when he characterizes the Nile, as a river fed by the showers of heaven.[28] Under the Sixth Ptolemy, surnamed Philometor, Agatharchides of Cnidus surveyed Ethiopia above Egypt with the eye of a philosopher, and confirmed the authority of Homer, by describing the incessant rains in Ethiopia from the summer solstice to the autumnal equinox.[29] As early as May, torrents often descend from the Abyssinian mountains, swelling all the rivers of which the Nile is the common receptacle. Their influence reaches Egypt in the middle of June, when the waters visibly accumulate, and, towards the beginning of August, overflow their banks. From the middle of August to the end of October, the Delta wears the appearance of a great lake, its numerous cities peering[30] at intervals above the watery surface, like the Cyclades and Sporades in the broad Ægæan.

Agriculture of the Egyptians. B.C. 1490.

The depositions from this temporary lake form so rich a mould, that the husbandman is exempted from all the more laborious operations of agriculture. Instead of ploughing and harrowing the ground, his industry needs only be

[27] Strabo is never more graphical than in his description of Egypt, l. xvii. p. 786. Compare the moderns, Maillet, Pocoke, Browne. The last-named traveller seems inclined to limit too much the extent of the annual floods. Browne's Travels, p. 352.

[28] Odyss. l. iv. v. 581. as explained by Aristotle in Strabo, l. xvii. p. 790. Conf. Aristot. Meteorol. l. i. c. 14. and Apollonius, Lexicon Homer. voc. διεκτεος.

[29] Agatharchides apud Diodor. l. i. §. 97.

[30] Herodot. l. ii. c. 97.

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exerted on the softer element of water; which being diverted by canals, or scooped by machines, is equally and easily distributed over the adjacent country.[31] In Egypt, the grain sown in the beginning of November ripens in less than five months, and is generally cut down and deposited in granaries before the first of April.[32] During the same season pulse follows grains, and fruits are succeeded by new flowers. In seconding the liberality of nature, man was industrious; and the duty of agricultural industry was enforced by various maxims of religion, particularly the sacred execration denounced against shepherds[33], those tigers as we have seen in war, but drones and sluggards in peace. Tillage, as well as other momentous concerns, continued immemorially under the priestly families, who had of old taught their subjects to drain the marshy Delta, since the smaller mouths of the Nile long bore evident marks of the patient labour which had been necessary to open and maintain them.[34] The building of Memphis is ascribed to Menes, the first individual who, himself a priest, concentrated[35]

[31] D'Anville in his Egypte Ancienne et Moderne, p. 23, &c. computes the cultivable land of Egypt at 2100 square leagues. The land really in tillage does not now exceed twice that number of square miles: yet the Delta alone contains about 10,000 square miles, and was anciently in a state of the highest cultivation. So dreadfully has Egypt been afflicted by tyranny and anarchy.

[32] Plin. N. H. l. xviii. c. 37. Conf. Maillet, Description de l'Egypte, et Relation de Paul Lucas.

[33] Genesis, c. xliii. v. 32. & c. xlvi. v. 34.

[34] Aristot. Meteorol. l. i. c. 14. All the smaller branches of the Nile, he says, were χαραδοιητα.

[35] Herodot. l. ii. c. 4. & 99.

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in his own hands the whole priestly authority, which he should seem, however, to have exercised in conformity to the will of his former equals and brethren. From the time of Menes, Memphis continued to be the seat of the Pharaohs; and from the site of that city, near the top of the Delta, its foundation must have been accompanied with contrivances for regulating the Nile's inundation, though the lake Mœris, formed, it is said, for this important use[36], owes its name to a prince who reigned only four generations, that is, a hundred and thirty-two years, before the taking of Troy.

Arts relative to the improvement— I. Of food.

Upwards of three centuries before that important æra, the Egyptians in the time of Moses raised great varieties of grain; wheat, barley, and rye.[37] Their gardens produced a profusion of legumes, cucumbers, and melons[38]: and, though the soil is unfavourable to trees, figs and pomegranates abounded in the days of Moses[39], and grapes even in those of Joseph.[40] At that early period, however, wine was not an usual beverage. Pharaoh's butler took the grapes, and pressed them into Pharaoh's cup; clearly indicating that the natural juice was drank simply with water, and preferred to fermented liquor in a warm climate, and by a people peculiarly attentive to rules of health.[41] Of beer, which

[36] Diodorus, l. i. s. 51. and Herodot. l. ii. c. 101. & 149. But see Major Rennell's note, Geography of Herodotus, p. 504.

[37] Exodus, c. ix. v. 31, 32.

[38] Numbers, c. xi. v. 5.

[39] Numbers, c. xx. v. 5.

[40] Genesis, c. xl. v. 9. et seq.

[41] Herodotus, Aristotle, Diodorus Siculus, and Isocrat. Busirid Laudat.

appears soon afterwards to have become the common drink of the working classes, I find not any mention in the books of Moses: though the invention of beer, a preparation far more complicated than wine, is assigned[42] to the reign of Osiris, the most venerable of those idols in whose name the Egyptians were long governed by priests, the god's earthly vicegerents.

As an article of food, the Egyptians should seem to have paid particular attention to fishes. The lake Mœris above-mentioned, about fifty miles south of Memphis, and two hundred miles in circuit, produced twenty-two different kinds, the catching and curing of which employed innumerable hands. From the profits accruing on this branch of industry, a queen of Egypt is said to have received daily the value of two hundred pounds sterling for the expence of her toilet and perfumes.[43] This queen, whose luxury was supplied by the sale of other luxuries, some historians make anterior to Mœris who gave his name to the lake. Let us suppose that the curing of fishes in Egypt was a lucrative traffic fifteen centuries before the Christian æra; at the same time, calling to mind the edict of Charles V. emperor of Germany, an equal number of centuries after that period, for erecting a statue to George Bukel, for his valuable discovery of curing herrings, and we shall be

[42] Diodorus, l. i. s. 15.

[43] Diodorus, l. i. s. 52. Conf. Herodot. l. iii. c. 92.

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ready to conclude with the philosopher that many inventions, even of vulgar use, have been often lost and often recovered.[44]

II. Of clothing.

In procuring materials for clothing, the Egyptians discovered not less ingenuity. The fine vesture in which Joseph was arrayed[45] may be supposed to have consisted of byssus or cotton, since this substance is extracted from a nut, immemorially growing in Egypt, and there formed into raiment.[46] But at the æra of the Jewish emigration, Egypt abounded also with yarn from flax[47]; a manufacture of greater intricacy than that of cotton, since instead of a soft down easily separable from its covering, the tough filaments of flax must be disengaged from the friable and useless wood which they inclose, by maceration in water, and successive manual operations of considerable difficulty. Of the decorations which different stuffs received from dyeing and embroidery, conspicuous proofs appear in the sacerdotal vestments of the Hebrews and the inner hangings of the tabernacle, in which we find not only the simpler employments of those arts, but ingenious complications of them into pieces of exquisite workmanship. Among a profusion of brilliant colours may be discovered the coccus[48] of the Greeks or kermes of the Arabs, the deeper scarlet tint obtained

[44] Aristotle, passim.

[45] Genesis, c. xli. v. 42.

[46] Pollux, Onomastic. vii. 13.

[47] "And the flax was bolled," that is, had risen in stalks. Exodus, c. ix. v. 32.

[48] Κοκκινον διπλουν. Exodus, c. xxv.

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from cochineal[49], and the still richer Tyrian dye from the neck of the Palagea[50]; as the colour, translated blue or violet[51], proceeds from the blacker blood of the Sepia or Cuttle-fish. The cochineal, mentioned in this list, was brought by the Indo-Scythians, of whom we have already spoken, to the great staple of Bactra; there it was purchased by the Assyrian caravans; and, by the routes formerly described[52], brought down from Syria into Egypt. The greater part of this shining dye stopt short, however, in Assyria, to supply the vast manufactories of cloth established successively, as will be seen hereafter, at Babylon and Borsippa.

III. With regard to solid and magnificent dwellings.

But of the three necessaries of life,—food, clothing, and habitation, the last was most magnificently provided for amongst a people, who, in the chain of mountains bordering on the Red Sea, enjoyed invaluable materials for building. In this endless range, for it extends far beyond the straits of Babelmandeb to the unexplored regions of Southern Africa, fine granite and marble were ordinary and little regarded productions: the mountains teem with porphyry, alabaster, and the hardest basalts; and, on their sides towards the Nile, many natural declivities facilitate the conveyance of these rich produc-

[49] Michaelis, from the root of the word, infers that the Hebrews knew cochineal to be the production of an insect. Anmerk. Exodus, c. xxv. v. 4. He might have cited the θηρια ερυθρα ὁστερ κοκκαβαρι of Ctesias, Indic. c. xxi.

[50] Plin. N. H. l. ix. c. 36. and Amati de Restitut. Purpurarum, p. 30.

[51] Ὑακινθον, Septuagint.

[52] See above, p. 34.

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tions to the water's edge.[53] Of this advantage, the Egyptians availed themselves to rear public monuments unparalleled in solidity and grandeur; among the ruins of which, because no private dwellings appear, it has been rashly concluded that none of great value were ever to be found, and that the habitations of the ancient Egyptians, like those of the present wretched tenants of the soil, consisted of earthen huts, slightly covered with palm-trees.[54] We know, on the contrary, from good authority, that even in Thebes, the first capital of Egypt, many private houses were worthy of that magnificence which shone in public edifices.[55] In early ages, indeed, magnificence, like knowledge, was confined to the few: but exertions in laborious undertakings are never more vigorous or more successful, than when the artful few direct the patient industry of thoughtless and submissive millions.[56]

Egyptian architecture—I. Temples.

The subject of Egyptian architecture naturally divides itself into temples, mausolea, obelisks, and pyramids. The three first mentioned remount to immemorial antiquity: pyramids, as will be seen presently, have a far

[53] Bruce's Travels to discover the Source of the Nile, vol. i. p. 176. et seq.

[54] Bruce, ibid.

[55] Diodorus, l. i. s. 45. The private houses being lofty, and composed of perishing materials, have totally disappeared: the low massive vaults and temples, the obelisks and pyramids, are stamped with stupendous durability.

[56] The period at which this most perfectly took place is the true age of Anakim; the age not so much of giants as of gigantic undertakings.

later origin. I begin with temples, which, as above proved, were destined not solely to sacred, but to many important civil purposes. It has been conjectured with some probability, that the tabernacle of the Jews in the wilderness, might give the general outline of Egyptian temples.[57] This venerable sanctuary of worship to the living God, in opposition to the vilest, but, from its associations, the most bewitching idolatry, was merely a portable temple for, as yet, a Nomadic nation.[58] It is described in all its parts with a circumstantial minuteness, which those will most approve, who can best estimate the importance of definite weights and measures to a people just emerging into civil and settled life. According to the sacred penman[59], the tabernacle consisted of an inner structure, which he calls the house; and an outer, which he calls the tent or court. The house was covered with curtains of fine linen; with blue and purple and scarlet. It was ten cubits high and as many broad, supported on acacia pillars, and divided by a veil into two apartments; the one looking towards the east, called the holy place, twenty cubits in length; the other looking towards the west, called the most holy, only ten cubits in length. Both divisions were overhung with fine linen, and this linen was covered externally with camlet or hair cloth, and this hair cloth again shielded by two layers of leather, the one of rams' skins dyed

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[57] Spencer in Dissertat. de Tabernac. Origin. p. 660. first edit.
[58] Josephus, Antiq. Judaic. l. iii. c. 5.
[59] Exodus, c. xxvi. throughout.

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red, the other of badgers' skins. The rams' skins dyed red had already travelled, it should seem, to Egypt from Morocco, and the pillars of Hercules, where they have been manufactured from the remotest antiquity.[60] The badgers' skins formed the outermost covering of all, and were judiciously chosen for completing the whole work, since the Arabs, who make shields and shoes of this substance, boast of the former as musket proof, and are said to undervalue the latter, if they do not last them fifteen years.[61] The holy house, itself a rectangle, was surrounded by a larger rectangle, called by Moses the court or tent; whose two larger sides were hung with curtains of fine linen, an hundred cubits long, and the two shorter sides hung with curtains extending respectively the length of fifty cubits.[62]

The temples of Egypt had three distinct parts, corresponding to the divisions of the tabernacle: that is, the tent, the holy place, and the most holy.[63] The tent of the Hebrews answered to the sacred and solid inclosure of the Egyptians, always distinguished by a marble pavement, about one hundred feet broad, and three or four hundred in length. This magnificent avenue, which the Greeks called Dromos "the course," was ornamented on each side by a row of sphinxes,

[60] Herodotus, l. iv. c. 185.

[61] Michaelis ad Exod. c. xxvi.

[62] Exodus, c. xxvii.

[63] The two parts collectively are called νεως; the outer corresponding to the holy place is called προναος; the inner corresponding to the most holy is called σηκος. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 805.

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reposing at the distance of commonly thirty feet asunder.[64] The course led directly to the body of the temple, whose approaches were rendered awful by a long series of lofty and sounding porticoes. The body of the temple consisted of two parts, the larger corresponding to the holy place, and the smaller to the most holy. Both these apartments were enclosed by walls of the same altitude with the temple, and called wings, because they hovered around or embraced that august building, expanding from it on both sides towards the sacred inclosure. These walls or wings were carved with large idols in the hard Tuscan style, or earliest sculpture of Greece.[65]

Their idols.

The Grecian traveller, who thus delineates the general form of Egyptian temples, was astonished to find their sanctuaries or shrines altogether destitute of gods in the human form. Notwithstanding their high attainments in arts and sciences, the Egyptians, indeed, appear to have for ever wallowed in the vilest superstitions, even the grossest of all, that of brute worship. Though they were formed into a nation, as we have seen, from a coalition among the trading towns on the north of the Nubian desert, and from a variety of tribes living by different pursuits, and with a wide diversity of customs and rites, yet this strange mode of idolatry was the grand characteristic of the whole. Such wonderful concurrence in a matter seemingly so extravagant, points to a colonization flowing with

[64] Strabo, ibid.

[65] Id. ibid.

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the Nile from the inland mountains of Africa, where brute worship commonly prevailed, and still continues to prevail[66]; and this suspicion is corroborated by history, which places the first great settlement, or city, at Elephantina, the southern extremity of Egypt; the second at Thebes or Diospolis; and then northwards[67] in succession, at This, or Abydus, Heracleopolis, and Memphis, which last, situate only twenty miles above the apex of the Delta, contained

[66] It is an ingenious conjecture of Warburton's (Divine Legation, B. 4. sect. 4. p. 168.), that brute worship originated in hieroglyphics; in which the figures of animals were employed as representatives of the gods. Yet this conjecture is rather disproved by a wider acquaintance with savage nations. Many Negro tribes, destitute of hieroglyphics, and writing and carving, of any kind, worship animals, nay, reptiles; punishing with death those who hurt them even casually. See Bryan Edwards's Hist. of the West Indies, 4to. edit. vol. ii. p. 77. With a view to confirm his system, Warburton observes that, "the Egyptians also worshipped plants; for plants too were made use of for explaining the history of their gods," p. 167. he cites Juvenal, Satyr. xv.

Felices populi,
Quorum nascuntur in hortis numina,

and, as far as I can discover, no other authority can be cited besides this hasty ebullition of an angry satirist. That the Egyptians derived their animal worship from the interior of Africa is indicated in Scripture. The Hebrews are forbidden in Leviticus, c. xvii. v. 7. "to offer sacrifices to *devils*." Michaelis translates *satyrs*, the largest kind of Apes; and I believe rightly, for I find the superstition of satyr-worship prevailing to an extraordinary degree, in a part of Africa pervaded by exploring detachments of Agathocles, tyrant of Sicily, during his memorable invasion of Africa, that will be related in a subsequent part of this work.

[67] The sites of three successive capitals, Thebes, Memphis, and Alexandria, point to the same general conclusion. As we descend in the order of time, Egypt becomes less connected with Ethiopia, and more connected with the Mediterranean. The line of commercial and political connection flowed from south to north.

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the palace of the Pharaohs, though Thebes continued, many centuries after Moses, to surpass the new capital in opulence and magnitude.[68] The building of Memphis and Heliopolis, cities near the top of the Delta, was accompanied with the draining of Lower Egypt, after which useful labour, cities of great note arose in that rich alluvial district: Tanis, Bubastus, Mendes, Sebennytus, Sais, Canopus, the last of which was nearly contiguous to Aboukir, a name familiar and pleasing to British ears, and was a considerable emporium, distinguished by a great annual fair[69], before Alexandria arose in its neighbourhood, the common rendezvous of nations, and queen of the commercial world.

Varieties thereof.

In the principal temples which adorned and protected the innumerable cities of Egypt, there seems to have been a rivalship of hereditary priesthoods; strange diversities of worship, and unaccountable collisions of superstition. Some cities sacrificed sheep, but abstained religiously from goats; others reversed this practice.[70] Some hunted crocodiles, others held that monster in veneration.[71] All of them, however, worshipped the bull, after that emblem of creative power became the god of Memphis, the supreme capital of the kingdom; and all abominated the hog[72], excluding swineherds from

[68] Aristot. Meteor. l. i. c. 14. Conf. Manethon apud Syncell. Chronic.

[69] Aristot. Œconom. Opera, l. ii. p. 509. Edit. du Val.

[70] Herodot. l. ii. c. 42. & 46.

[71] Aristot. Œconom. ubi supra. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 69.

[72] Genesis, c. xlvi. v. 34. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 47. & l. iv. c. 186.

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social communion; doubtless in compliance with the great maxims of the priestly governors of Egypt, to draw their subjects from the idleness of pastoral, to the industry of agricultural, life. Amidst much capricious variety, the genius of polytheism, delineated formerly in reference to ancient Greece[73], remained however unalterable, modelled, indeed, by local circumstances, and fortified in Egypt by the zeal of priests, consisting of distinct races or casts, and actuated by family as well as personal considerations, in extending their credit with the multitude. Although all the Egyptian idols were represented either in the general form, or at least with some prominent characteristic of inferior animals, yet the Greeks easily discovered their own Jupiter at Thebes; their Apollo, at Heliopolis or On; their Vulcan, at Memphis; their Diana, at Bubastus; and at Sais, the blue-eyed goddess their favourite Minerva.[74] All these fanciful images bore a reference to the beneficent powers of nature[75], or rather of its Great Author: they most of them admitted of interpretations, agricultural or astronomical; some of a general kind, others applicable only to the meridian and soil of Egypt. Thus the hawk-headed Osiris denoted either the sun or the Nile[76], two sources of fertility entitled in that country to equal

[73] History of Ancient Greece, chapter ii. throughout.

[74] Herodot. l. ii. passim.

[75] Fragilis et laboriosa mortalitas in partes istas digessit, infirmitatis suæ memor, ut portionibus quisque coleret, quo maxime indigeret Plin. Nat. Hist. L. ii. c. 7.

[76] Plutarch de Isid. & Osirid.

honours; and the barking Anubis, for which no parallel was found in the mythology of Greece, signified Sirius[77] or the dog-star, whose heliacal rising warned the longing Egyptians of the Nile's approaching inundation. SECT. III.

That great periodical event, which suspended useful labours, was the favourite season for religious festivity. The festival of Diana's temple at Bubastus, continued even in later times, after Egypt had long smarted under Persian oppression, to be celebrated by seven hundred thousand persons[78], whose boats in long order covered the Nile, and whose licentious merriment at every city on their way, dissipated all perception of actual inconveniences in the gladdening prospect of promised abundance. Festival at Bubastus.

Near to all the Egyptian cities, the solidity and magnificence of mausolea excited the veneration of natives, and the wonder of strangers. The peculiar pains bestowed in adorning those sepulchral monuments, originated in the belief that the soul still continued after death to be deeply interested in the treatment of its earthly companion[79]; on which account dead bodies were carefully embalmed, that they might be preserved from corruption and deformity. In the neighbourhood of Memphis, the burying-ground was viewed with particular attention by Greek travellers. The numerous sepulchres II. Mausolea.

[77] In the language of the inhabitants in the Isle of Meroë, Seir still signifies a dog. Bruce's Travels.

[78] Herodot. l. ii. c. 60.

[79] Diodorus, l. i. s. 51. Conf. Servius ad Æneid, iii. 7.

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belonging to that capital, were approached only by one passage, which led to hollow caverns and flowery meadows, to scenes of loathsome desolation and fields of verdant pleasure; and the arrival at such contrarieties of habitation by the same common avenue, the dreary lake of death, is supposed to have given birth to the Greek fables concerning Charon, Acheron, Elysium, and Tartarus.[80] Even the Pyramids in the same neighbourhood, of which we shall speak presently, may be viewed as mausolea under a certain aspect; since, among the Egyptians, who spoke and wrote by metaphors and images, no symbols could be better chosen than those unperishing edifices to express the unalterable stability of the grave.[81] But among all the buildings in Egypt, the labyrinth or sepulchre of the kings, and the tomb of Osymandyas, were regarded by the Greeks as the greatest prodigies both of labour and of skill.

The Labyrinth.

The labyrinth, a few miles south of the lake Mœris, at the city of Crocodiles, afterwards called Arsinoë, is erroneously ascribed to the twelve kings[82] immediately preceding the reign of Psammetichus. This prince began to reign six hundred and sixty years before the Christian æra: but the labyrinth near Arsinoë was imi-

[80] Diodorus, l. i. s. 96. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 123.

[81] Diodorus, l. i. s. 51. says, και τας μεν των ζωντων οικησεις καταλυσεις ονομαζουσι, &c. "The Egyptians called the habitations of the living caravansaries, because they are useful but for a short time; whereas the tombs of the dead they called eternal mansions, because they are to serve us for ever."

[82] See above, p. 133.

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tated by Dædalus of Crete, above twelve centuries before Christ, in an intricate edifice, which he erected in that island, at the expence of the elder Minos.[83]. This Egyptian monument is referred therefore with some probability to Mendes, the contemporary of Minos; though our authority for this fact is weakened by the inconsistency of Diodorus, who also assigns for the author of this stupendous piece of architecture, Marus, a prince more ancient than Mendes; and, in another passage, even Menes the supposed founder of the Egyptian monarchy.[84] The work therefore belongs to that early antiquity which produced the boldest exertions of the Egyptians; the subjugation of the Nile's overflowing tide, the formation of the lake Mœris, the building of Memphis, and the draining by fit channels the marshy Delta. The labyrinth which rivalled those labours, and which Herodotus prizes far beyond the Pyramids, consisted of twelve nearly contiguous courts, roofed with solid marble, and surrounded with white marble peristyles. Of these twelve courts, six faced the north; and other six, the south: the gates of the corresponding courts were opposite to each other, and the whole number was comprehended within one wall of massy stone. This quadrangular inclosure of courts and galleries, whose shortest sides extended a stadium in length, comprehended fifteen hundred dwellings or houses, roofed with different kinds of

[83] Diodorus, l. i. c. 47. et seq. [84] Ibid. c. 96.

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valuable stones, and as many subterranean apartments into which strangers were not allowed to enter, because they were sepulchres of kings and sacred crocodiles.[85] But all, above ground, might be viewed without obstruction, and occasioned in the beholder a pleasing astonishment by the intricacy of the passages from the houses to the courts, and from one court or one house to another, and then to elevated porticoes, each of which was ascended by ninety steps[86], affording, from their open summits, a wide prospect of surrounding fields of marble.

Astronomically explained.

From hints afforded by Strabo[87] and Pliny, it seems improbable that the labyrinth was originally destined for sepulchres. It might appear rather to have been a temple dedicated to the sun, and the seat of political superstition, founded on astronomy. In conformity with this notion, the twelve courts bore a reference to the twelve signs of the Zodiac, the houses above and below ground, denoted the two hemispheres above and below the horizon: the ninety steps by which each portico was ascended, represented the quadrant of a great circle; the winding passages might express the intricate revolutions of the planets; and even the number of three thousand apartments, (fifteen hundred above and as many below ground,) might seem clearly connected with a conclusion of the Egyptian

[85] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 148.
[86] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxxvi. c. 13.
[87] Strabo, l. xxvii. p. 811.

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astronomers, adopted, it is said[88], by the Greeks, that the precession of the equinoxes advanced a degree of a great circle in the space of one hundred years, and therefore required precisely three thousand years to advance thirty degrees, that is, a whole sign of the zodiac.

That the labyrinth was sometimes employed for interments we have the authority of ancient writers. This destination of it was indicated also by a pyramid two hundred and forty feet high in its neighbourhood.[89] But its connection with astronomy is confirmed by another monument of the same kind, and not less stupendous, in the nome or district of Thebes; and called the tomb of Osymandyas. This structure contained also, besides a sepulchre, courts and porticoes, some of them, instead of pillars, supported by animals twenty-four feet high, and formed from single blocks. The tomb itself presented images of equal durability, being constructed with stones eight cubits long:

This confirmed by the tomb of Osymandyas

[88] Conf. Ficin. in Platon. de Republic. l. x. p. 744. and de Legib. l. iii. p. 803. According to the principles in the text, the Annus Magnus, or Platonic year, will be obtained by multiplying three thousand, expressing the time in which the equinoxes advance one sign, by the number twelve, denoting the twelve signs of the zodiac: the Platonic year will therefore contain thirty-six thousand solar years, which number is precisely what it did contain. But this specious theory is not reconcileable with facts: the precession of the equinoxes is about 50″ yearly, and the secular precession, instead of 1°, is 1° 23′ 45″. The earliest zodiacs all begin with Aries, and the equinox is now thrown back only to the beginning of Pisces, which indicates a period of no more than 2150 years. This subject will be discussed hereafter, in speaking of the Alexandrian school, and the great Hipparchus, who flourished 162 years before Christ.

[89] Herodot. ibid.

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the roof was azure, bespangled with stars; but the colossal figures of Osymandyas and of the females of his family, surpassed every thing most admirable. The statue of the king, in a sitting posture, was formed of the stone called pyropæcilos[90] from the flaming colours with which it blazed. A block of peculiar beauty, without the smallest crack or blemish, had been carefully selected for the material of this huge colossus, whose foot exceeded in length seven cubits. It deserved to be an emblem of the sun, and that it really was such, appeared from the golden circle with which it was encompassed, divided into three hundred and sixty-five cubits, each cubit denoting a corresponding day of the year, and describing in its sculpture the current aspect of the heavens, and the accompanying events on earth, according to the fanciful predictions of Egyptian astrology.[91]

III. & IV. Pyramids and obelisks.

The trite subject of obelisks and pyramids, I shall consider under one view, because the specific distinctions between them have been greatly mistaken by popular writers.[92] They agree in being quadrilateral figures, whose sides point to the four winds of heaven. But the obelisks are pillars of granite of a single piece, from fifty

[90] Diodorus, l. i. c. 47. with Wesselingen's note. Conf. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 8.

[91] Diodorus, l. i. c. 49. Of all our travellers, Paul Lucas alone was believed to have seen this monument, Voyage, vol. ii. p. 119. But Mr. Gibert, Mem. de l'Acad. vol. xxx. p. 241. denies also to him that honour.

[92] Among others by Diderot. See L'Encyclop. Article "Egyptiens."

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to one hundred and eighty feet high; and their perpendicular height measuring nine times the length of one side of their base. The pyramids, on the other hand, are enormous edifices of freestone, (one only is mentioned of brick[93],) whose breadth commonly equals the length of their sloping sides[94], and always exceeds their perpendicular altitude. The obelisks remount to immemorial antiquity, and are found in every part of Egypt. The builders of all the principal pyramids are mentioned as living a little before or after the Trojan war[95]: and these monuments are confined to a particular district, namely, that of Memphis or Memf; to the north-west of which you see the three greater pyramids; and to the south, about threescore smaller ones.[96] The greatest of all the pyramids, according to Herodotus, reached eight hundred feet in height, and contained precisely as many in each side of its quadrangular base. Our most accurate measurements make the base 693 English feet broad, and the sloping sides the same number of feet long, but differences in the account are unavoidable from the perpetually shifting mounds of sand, by which the pyramids are surrounded. These huge masses still bear evident marks of the simple contrivance by which they were raised. They consisted of distinct courses of stone, gradually diminishing as they rose in elevation. Light

[93] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 136. [94] Ibid. l. ii. c. 125.
[95] Ibid. l. ii. passim.
[96] Conf. Pococke, Perry, Greaves, Bruce, Maillet, &c.

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machines of wood, easily manageable, placed on the first or largest course, served to raise the materials necessary for constructing the second, and thus successively until the whole was completed.[97] In several of the pyramids, our travellers have discovered chambers, galleries, and subterraneous cells[98]; such varieties might naturally be expected in sepulchres. The three more enormous masses were raised after the war of Troy[99]; and the first and greatest of the three by Cheops, whose tyrannical reign of forty years commenced shortly after that æra. This unworthy prince was the first native king of Egypt, who, in quitting due reverence for the gods and their ministers, at the same time fearlessly relinquished the maxims of humanity and justice.[100] Through his oppressive government, the public prosperity, long boasted as unalterable, received a fatal shock; his unhappy subjects were impoverished and exhausted by incessant and useless toils, and particularly in raising this gigantic prodigy of architecture, which was completed in twenty years by the uninterrupted exertions of 400,000 men tasked in succession to the odious work.[101] The value of their consumption in radishes, onions, and garlic, was engraved in Egyptian characters on the pyramid, and amounted to sixteen hundred

[97] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 125.
[98] Bruce's Travels, vol. i. p. 41. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 124.
[99] That is, B. C. 1184, and Cheop's reign commenced 1178, B. C.
[100] Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 124. and Aristot. Politic. l. i. c. 11.
[101] Id. ibid. and Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 12.

talents of silver.[102] How vast then, adds the historian, must have been their expenditure, during the same space of time, in food, clothing, and particularly, in iron implements of labour![103] SECT. III.

The obelisks are productions not less wonderful by their difficulty than the pyramids, and far more respectable in their use. When we consider that the obelisks consisted of single blocks of granite, some of them an hundred and fifty, and even an hundred and eighty feet high, and reflect on the successive operations of hewing them unbroken from the quarry, of transporting them safely to the most distant parts of the country, of adorning the hard stone with sculpture, often two inches deep, and rearing such huge pillars into the sky with a precise adjustment of their sides to the four winds of heaven[104], we shall feel a new interest in favour of the Egyptians, as a people who illustrated the utmost extent of the human powers in works unrivalled in their own kind, and whose grandeur is scarcely surpassed in any other.[105] The first obelisks remount to immemorial antiquity; and might serve for gnomons far more perfect than the natural shadows of trees and mountains.[106] They were early prostituted, it has Various purposes served by the obelisks.

[102] The Egyptian talent exceeding the Babylonian by twenty minæ, the sum may be estimated at 415,000*l*.

[103] Herodot. ibid.

[104] See Memoir de l'Acad. des Sciences pour 1710, Artic. Eloge de Chazelles.

[105] Plin. N. H. l. xxxvi. c. 9. [106] Plin. ibid.

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been said, to the purposes of superstition.[107] They frequently were used for ornaments to palaces and temples. They might sometimes be employed to convey instruction to the multitude, on moral[108] as well as physical subjects; and they contained in their hieroglyphics a history ambiguous from the nature of the character in which it was written; perhaps hyperbolical in itself, and certainly full of exaggeration, as it was usually interpreted.[109]

Reign of Sesostris. B. C. 1430.

The most celebrated of those exaggerations is the Egyptian account of the reign of Sesostris, which commenced above fourteen centuries before Christ, and is said to have lasted forty years.[110] This great prince appears to have repaired the disasters in Egypt, accompanying the emigration of the Israelites. At the head of a few of his countrymen, enterprising like himself, and of numerous hordes of Arabian and Ethiopian Nomades[111], whom his valour and

[107] Zoega de Origin, &c. Obelisc. and above, p. 151.

[108] This use of obelisks or pillars was adopted in Greece. See History of Ancient Greeee, vol. ii. c. 13. Mr. Bruce's notion that the gravings on obelisks contained astronomical observations is well founded: but he contradicts history in confining the use of these gravings to astronomy only. Comp. Bruce's Travels, vol. i. p. 414, &c. and Diodorus, l. i. c. 56. and Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 60.

[109] Almost every thing said by the ancients or moderns on the subject of obelisks is collected, without distinction, in a folio volume, De Origine et Usu Obeliscorum auctore Georgio Zoega Dano. Romæ, 1747.

[110] Aristotle places Sesostris many years before Minos. See History of Ancient Greece, vol. i. c. 1. Herodotus makes him precede by a century the foundation of the Assyrian empire, 1230 years B. C. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 95. l. ii. c. 106. and Aristot. Politic. l. vii. c. 10.

[111] Diodor. l. i. c. 53. Conf. Herodotus, l. ii. c. 110.

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generosity attracted to his service, he over-ran and plundered Lesser Asia and Syria [112], in which territories monuments of his victories were shewn after the lapse of a thousand years. [113] Ambitious of every kind of glory, Sesostris overcame the deep-rooted aversion of the Egyptians to a sea-faring life. He encouraged all the arts, erected many temples, strengthened the fortifications of his kingdom; and, after a long and splendid reign, withdrew himself by a voluntary death from blindness and old age, which appeared intolerable calamities to a mind softened by a long and smooth course of unvaried prosperity. [114] On the basis of these facts, several of which are well attested, the Egyptian priests raised a fabulous superstructure, which magnified the actions of Sesostris above the poetical exploits of Hercules and Bacchus. His imaginary trophies were diffused over India and Scythia; the Arabian gulph was navigated with four hundred ships of war; another great fleet commanded the Mediterranean [115]; and his obelisks told, according to the priests, of the hundred myriads [116] of warriors whom he commanded, of the kings whom

[112] Herodotus speaks positively as to his statues in a district of Syria, l. ii. c. 102. & 106.

[113] Herodot. ibid. Strabo makes the duration of his statues in Ethiopia four centuries longer, since he says, "they were shewn there in the age of Augustus," l. xvii. p. 790. Both Strabo and Arrian reject his fabulous expedition into India. Conf. Arriani Indica, c. v. and Strabo, l. xv. p. 686.

[114] Diodor. l. i. s. 54. et seq. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 107. et seq.

[115] Diodor. ibid.

[116] Ἑκατον μυριαδας. Strabo,

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he had dragged in triumph, and of the annual tributes which he levied from the vanquished and inslaved[117] nations of the ancient world. That Egyptian vanity might be flattered in every part of the narrative, the fierce Nomades, whom the same testimony had assigned as the instruments of his victories, were thrown as it were into the back-ground of the fable, and the whole honour is ascribed solely to Sesostris and his Egyptian companions; all born on the same day with himself, carefully trained with him to martial exercises, and of whom seventeen hundred accompanied him in the fortieth year of his age, on his great Indian expedition.[118] But this number, it has justly been observed, implies at least ten thousand births in Egypt on one day; three million six hundred and fifty thousand in one year; and therefore raises the populousness of that kingdom to upwards of sixty millions of souls: a populousness altogether impossible in such a country, and not only unwarranted, but contradicted by all ancient authority.[119] After this remark, it would be trifling with the reader to animadvert on Sesos-

[117] Tacitus, Annal. l. ii. c. 60. In Tacitus, the king's name is Rhamses; but Valesius observes Iste Sesothis (Sesostris) trinominis fuit, teste Manethone. The Egyptian kings, like the Assyrian, had often different names at different periods of their reign. Scaliger ad Euseb. Num. 530.

[118] Diodor. ibid. He reports this, but cannot well be supposed to have believed it; especially after what he had said of the vain lies of the Egyptian priests, l. i. c. 29.

[119] Conf. Diodor. l. i. s. 19. and Josephus de Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 16.

tris's wonderous ship of cedar, four hundred and ninety feet in length, covered externally with gold, and on the inside with silver.[120] His nautical improvements left at least no traces behind them. We hear nothing for many following centuries of Egyptians in the Mediterranean: the navigation of the Arabian gulph was thenceforth left to the nation from whom its name was borrowed; and until the dynasty of Psammetichus raised up, as we have seen, by Greeks, Egypt is never mentioned as possessed of any naval power, or carrying on, by its own ships, any maritime commerce.

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Having endeavoured as briefly as possible to describe the antiquities of a country, whose more authentic history will be related in following parts of this work, I shall conclude the present subject by examining whether the ancient Egyptians, of whose ingenuity and intelligence so much has been said, were in reality woolly-headed Negroes. Such an inference has been drawn from an extraordinary passage of Herodotus, in which he alleges their black colour and crisp hair as reasons for believing that the Colchians, inhabiting the eastern shore of the Black Sea, were a colony from Egypt.[121] It is remarkable that the historian himself makes light of these arguments, and considers, as much stronger points, the practice of circumcision common to

Different races of men in Egypt.

[120] Diodor. l. i. c. 57.

[121] Herodot. l. ii. c. 104. The same conclusion has been drawn from monuments, particularly from the Ethiopian features of the celebrated Sphinx. Bruce, Denon, and other travellers.

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the two nations, and their agreement in the same peculiar mode of weaving linen.[122] The fact appears to be, that the Egyptians were a mixed people, that had coalesced into a nation from different casts or families, as their country had grown into a kingdom, from different nomes or districts. Historians, indeed, have sometimes considered these divisions as nice arrangements of legislative wisdom; yet no two authors are agreed as to the number of casts[123] or nomes[124], or as to the different trades or professions respectively exercised in them. Authority, indeed, was not necessary to induce the hardy mountaineers on either side the valley of the Nile, or even the feebler races inhabiting the marshes which bordered on the Delta, both which districts are unfit for tillage, to betake themselves to a pastoral life. In several less fruitful parts on either bank of the river, as well as on the lake Mœris, fishing was the hereditary trade, because it proved the most profitable. The cast of sailors was introduced and maintained through the commercial intercourse on the Nile, easily navigable for upwards of five hundred

[122] Ibid. and c. 105. Their peculiar mode of weaving alludes to what the author says, l. ii. c. 35. that other nations pushed the woof upward, the Egyptians downward: from which Junius de Pictura Veterum, l. i. c. 4. concludes that the Egyptians were the first people who wove sitting.

[123] The great authorities, Herodotus and Diodorus, differ materially. The former, l. i. c. 164. makes seven casts: priests, soldiers, graziers, swine-herds, artificers, interpreters, sailors (meaning watermen on the Nile).

[124] Diodorus says, "Sesotris divided Egypt into thirty-six nomes," l. i. c. 54.

miles from Syené to the Mediterranean, and in the navigation of which the Egyptian mariners were accustomed to avail themselves of a north wind to surmount the force of the stream in returning to Syené. The trading vessels were called Baris, carrying fifty tons and upwards; they were made of a thorny shrub, and the only ships that could be constructed from native materials in a country equally destitute of wood and iron.[125] Herodotus says, that the cast of interpreters descended from Ionians and Carians first settled in Egypt in the reign of Psammetichus.[126] Yet the patriarch Joseph, a thousand years before the reign of Psammetichus, already spoke by an interpreter to his brethren[127]; and men conversant with different languages could not fail to turn to account this attainment in a country which, at that early period, was the centre of the great caravan commerce between Asia and Africa, and the principal subdivisions of the latter between Libya and Ethiopia.[128] As the Egyptians subsisting by agriculture, by far the most numerous and respectable[129] portion of the community, did not willingly quit their native country, this extended intercourse was carried on chiefly through Arabian and Ethiopian Nomades.[130] With regard to the inhabitants of

[125] Herodot. l. ii. c. 96. [126] Ibid. c. 154.

[127] Genesis, c. xlii. v. 23.

[128] Genesis, c. xxxvii. v. 25. Isaiah, c. xlv. v. 14. Ezekiel, c. xxx. v. 4. & 9.

[129] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 160.

[130] Genesis, Isaiah, and Ezekiel, ubi supra.

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Egypt, it was in some measure a passive commerce, that people producing indeed many of the articles exchanged in it, but patiently waiting till other nations purchased and transported them. Through the excellence of its husbandry, Egypt speedily became the granary of surrounding countries; and from the earliest times, the varied labours of its looms [131] found their way to the markets of Greece, and even to the coasts of the Atlantic. In a country originally peopled by different tribes, and which afterwards long continued to be the conflux of nations from Asia and Africa, with regard to both of which continents it is so peculiarly situate, that ancient historians and geographers hesitated to which of the two it ought in propriety to be assigned, we might naturally expect to meet with a wide diversity of inhabitants, too variously combined for distinct classification. The extremes, however, may be fixed on one hand, in the stout, stubborn, and woolly-headed Ethiopian; and on the other, in the delicate, flexible, and ingenious inhabitant of the Delta: a weak, dark race, with long lank hair, resembling nearly [132] the natives of kindred

[131] Conf. Scylax Peripl. p. 129. and Thucydid. l. i. p. 5. edit. Francofort. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 35. and Isaiah, c. xix. v. 10. The "weberstühle" in Michaelis' translation, agrees with the conjecture from the words of Herodotus, that the Egyptians wove sitting. How could Mr. Bruce in opposition to all authority say, "Solomon decked his bed with coverings of tapestry of Egypt! Egypt had neither silk, nor cotton manufactory, nor even wool; Solomon's coverings, therefore, though he had them from Egypt, were an article of barter with India." Travels, vol. i. p. 118.

[132] Arrian, Indic. Hist. c. vi.

alluvions formed by the Indus and the Ganges.[133] Between these limits, the great intermediate body of the nation appears to have fluctuated; a nation, that with much to recommend it to the attention of posterity, might have deservedly excited a yet deeper interest, had not its improvement been thenceforward rendered stationary, not merely through external causes that will be explained in the following work, but through the difficulties of its hieroglyphical writing and its superstitious abhorrence of innovation. It has the glory, however, of emerging above the ocean of time, as the first regular monarchy described in authentic history; and should the polished kingdoms of Europe ever experience the sad fate that has befallen the far greater eastern continent, when all their noblest monuments had mouldered into dust, the matchless works of the Egyptians would even then survive, and still bear testimony that civilization had once existed in an ancient world. SECT. III

Under the successors of Alexander, Syria, in its general acceptation, became a kingdom more powerful than Egypt, and the proper Syria contained in it the Hebrews and Phœnicians, the Connection of this survey.

[133] Juvenal describes them graphically, but ill-naturedly —

Imbelle et inutile vulgus
Parvula fictilibus solitum dare vela phaselis,
Et brevibus pictæ remis incumbere testæ.
Satyr. l. xv. v. 126.

And before

Terra malos homines nunc educat atque pusillos,
Ergo Deus quicunque aspexit, ridet et odit. v. 70.

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two most interesting nations of Asia. According to my proposed method, I should proceed, therefore, to the description and history of Syria, under which head the arts and commerce of Phœnicia would deserve particular attention, as illustrating the state, not only of that small district, but of many great countries around it, during the six centuries which elapsed from the reign of Ninus to that of Nebuchadnezzar. But, as the Phœnicians had not any share in the transactions which immediately follow in the course of my narrative, and as the Jewish history requires only to be alluded to in a work of this nature, I shall delay my particular survey of Syria, until the invasions and sieges of Nebuchadnezzar naturally direct the reader's curiosity to that country, particularly to the ancient greatness of Tyre; the strenuous industry, bold enterprize, and wonderful attainments of the Phœnicians.

Senacherib's expedition against Judæa and Egypt. B. C. 710.

In deducing the revolutions of the Assyrian empire, we reached firm historic ground with the reign of Senacherib, whose expedition against Judæa and Egypt is highly memorable both in its circumstances and in its consequences. Egypt was then governed by Sabacus, an Ethiopian [134], who had granted his alliance to Israel shortly before the remainder of that nation had been transplanted by Shalmanezer into Media.[135] Judah, however, still confiding in Egyptian aid, refused to surrender its freedom; in consequence of which refusal, Senacherib invaded that district

[134] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 137.

[135] See above, p. 96.

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with a vast army. Having over-run the country and taken several fenced cities, he sent his lieutenants to chastise king Hezekiah in Jerusalem, while in person he advanced southward and laid siege to Pelusium, the key to Egypt. No moment could have been chosen with a better prospect of conquering both kingdoms; Judah was then afflicted with epidemic sickness[136], and the once prosperous Egypt had become "the staff of a broken reed piercing the hand that leaned on it."[137] The Nile, which is the source of health as well as wealth to that country, having failed in the former year to bring its watery tribute from Ethiopia, the canals had degenerated into pestilent ditches, and the territory, adjacent to the sea, had been converted into a marine marsh.[138] The labour of the husbandman perished for want of refreshing moisture: famine and despair assailed the fishermen of the Nile, and of the lake Mœris, and the numerous classes of artizans[139] crowding the industrious cities of Thebes and Memphis. The warlike Sabacus, alarmed by religious terrors[140], abdicated the government; and Sethos, high-priest of the Memphian god Phthas, stepped into the vacant throne, with just cunning enough

[136] 2 Kings, c. xviii. v. 24. & c. xx. v. 7, 8.

[137] 2 Kings, c. xviii. v. 26. [138] Isaiah, c. xix.

[139] Isaiah, c. xix. In the translation of Michaelis before me the "Weberstühle" is conformable to the circumstance which I above-mentioned, that the Greeks wove in a standing posture, whereas the Egyptians sat at their work.

[140] Herodot. l. ii. c. 139.

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to attain power, but without wisdom to exercise it honourably or usefully. His unseasonable rapacity resumed many lands held by military service, about ten acres by each family, and thereby offended the martial casts or clans, at a time when the zeal of this militia was essentially requisite to the public safety.[141] He was obliged, therefore, to throw himself into his frontier strong-hold of Pelusium, with a motley rabble raised on the spur of the occasion, and consisting chiefly of tradesmen and mechanics.

Jerusalem summoned.

Before besieging that key to Egypt, Senacherib had spent a short time in taking Lachis, or Lachish, on the southern frontier of Judæa. While employed in the war there, a detachment was sent to Jerusalem. Its commanders proceeded to the walls of the place, under which they were met by Hezekiah's ministers. The Jews were exhorted to send presents in token of submission to the great king, the master of nations, against whose arm no power on earth or in heaven would defend them. The deputies, consisting of the high steward, the chief judge, and the public secretary, intreated the Assyrian generals to cease from speaking in Hebrew, and to employ their own Syrian dialect, lest their discourse might be understood by the Jewish soldiers on the walls. But Rabshekeh replied in a loud voice, and in the Jews' language, that he had not been sent to the king only, or his ministers, but rather to the people at large, to

[141] Herodot. l. ii. c. 141.

destroy their vain trust in a contemptible prince and his perfidious counsellors. [142]

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The Jews, according to Hezekiah's command, kept silence; and the Assyrians hastened to give an account of their reception to Senacherib, who, having left the neighbourhood of Lachish, had proceeded to attack Libnah or Pelusium. [143] Into this place Sethos had thrown himself, as we have said, with an inconsiderable and ill-composed army; but was encouraged, as he afterwards gave out, to expect deliverance by a vision from Phthas, whom the Memphians exalted above all gods, and whom the Greeks sadly degraded by transferring to him the name of their own Vulcan, an able artist indeed, but a secondary and even ridiculous divinity. We are not informed of any human or divine means used by the priest Sethos, for repelling or removing the Assyrian assailants. But Senacherib, we know from Scripture, had not lain long before Pelusium, when a rumour reached his camp [144], that totally disconcerted all his measures. A prince called Tirhakoh in Scripture, Tearcho and Taracho by the Greeks [145], had, during the disasters of Egypt, been making great conquests in Ethiopia on both sides of the Red Sea. Availing himself of the caravan roads, through the broad continent of Africa, he had pursued his

The rumour of Tarako's march raises the siege of Pelusium. B.C. 710.

Tarako's greatness.

[142] 2 Kings, c. xviii.

[143] Conf. Isaiah, c. xxxvii. v. 8. Herodot. l. ii. c. 141. Joseph. Antiq. l. x. c. 1.

[144] Isaiah, c. xxxvii. v. 7.

[145] Conf. Isaiah, ibid. and Strabo, l. i. p. 61. & l. xv. p. 686.

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victorious career to the shores of the Atlantic, and northwards to the pillars of Hercules.[146] Many Nomadic nations of Ethiopia and Arabia had united under his wide-spreading dominion; and he had already performed more extensive and more difficult journies, than the march which report now ascribed to him, of penetrating through the desert which joins the two cultivated regions of Arabia, namely Sabæa and Omanum[147], and then proceeding from the latter, along the western shore of the Persian gulph, into the rich Babylonian plain[148], and to its capital Nineveh, the proud centre of Assyrian power. Upon learning this alarming piece of intelligence, Senacherib determined to return with all possible expedition to the defence of possessions that formed the strength, the ornament, the rich kernel of his empire.[149]

Agreement of sacred and profane accounts of the destruction of the Assyrians. B. C. 710.

In his way homeward, he once more sent Rabshekeh with a letter to Hezekiah, expressing in that boastful pride which is often a cloak to cowardice, "what the kings of Assyria had done to all lands, by destroying them utterly[150]:" and, as if he had been apprized of the promises made to the Jews by the prophet Isaiah[151], asking in a tone of contemptuous menace, "Did the gods of the nations deliver those whom my

[146] Strabo, ibid. [147] See above, p. 33.

[148] See 2 Kings, c. xix. v. 7. Isaiah, c. xxxvii. v. 9. with Michaelis' notes.

[149] This part of history is intelligible only on the supposition that Nineveh had the site, which, for reasons above given, I have presumed, contrary to received opinion, to assign to it.

[150] Isaiah, c. xxxvii. v. 11. [151] 2 Kings, c. xix. v. 7.

fathers destroyed; Gozan, Karan, Rezeph, and the children of Eden who were in Telassar?" Where is the king of Hamath, and the king of Arphad, and the king of the city of Sephervaim, Henah, and Ivah?[152] The event which terminated Senacherib's expedition is related in the following words:—"The angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred and fourscore and five thousand;" the morning shewed to the terrified king and his attendants only a hideous heap of carcases.[153] Of the sudden destruction of the Assyrians, prophane history gives such an account, as, taken in a literal sense, wears the appearance of a childish fable. Herodotus relates, that vast swarms of field-rats gnawed to pieces in one night their bow-strings, quivers, and shield-straps, and thereby leaving his men defenceless, subjected Senacherib to a disgraceful rout.[154] The disastrous fate of their enemies, the Egyptians ascribed to the prayers of king Sethos, of which they alleged, as a convincing proof, the statue of that prince in the Memphian temple of Vulcan, holding a rat in his hand, and with the following memorable inscription:—"Let him who beholds me, learn piety to the gods."[155] In the childishness, however, of this story, we shall perceive the strongest confirmation of the relater's veracity, if we reflect that among the Egyptians, the rat was the hieroglyphic for de-

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[152] Isaiah, c. xxxvii. v. 12, 13, 14. [153] Id. ibid. v. 36.
[154] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 141.
[155] Herodot. ibid. Conf. Isaiah, c. xix. v. 20, 21, 22.

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struction[156]: and that Herodotus, according to the prevalent fashion of his times in relating the history of Egypt, ascribed to the sign, the power of the thing signified.[157] By a far more sublime metaphor, the Jews referred this signal catastrophe of their enemies to divine agency; by which they were accustomed to explain the havoc made by warring elements, the hot pestilential simoum, the swift destroying blast which, in the Asiatic as well as African deserts, often proves fatal, in a single night, to vast multitudes of the human species.[158]

Baladan's letter to Hezekiah.

That the plague was on this occasion the instrument employed by the Almighty for punishing a blood-thirsty king, derives some probability from the prevalence of the malady at that time in Jerusalem. Hezekiah himself appears to have been attacked by its worst[159] symptoms, and was saved from death by the particular interposition of Providence, for which he returned his acknowledgements in the temple on the third day. Of his *sudden* recovery, a circumstance also agreeing with the well-known nature of the plague, a sign had been given by bringing back the shadow ten degrees on the dial of Ahaz; concerning which astronomical

[156] Horopoll. l. i. p. 50. [157] See above, p. 68.

[158] 2 Samuel, c. xxiv. v. 15 & 16. Jeremiah, c. li. v. 1. For the Simoum wind, see Thevenot, and Bruce's Travels, passim, particularly Thevenot, part ii. b. i. c. 20. & b. ii. c. 16. See also Pocockii Specimen. Histor. Arabum, p. 35, &c. and Al Beidawi, cited in Sale's Preliminary Discourse to the Koran, p. 8.

[159] 2 Kings, c. xx. v. 7. et seq. It had raged in Samaria a few years before Senacherib's disaster. Josephus, l. ix. c. 14.

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wonder, Baladan, general of the troops belonging to Babylon, and also hereditary chief of the Chaldæan priests[160], the earliest cultivators of astronomy, and comparatively great proficients in that science, might naturally be expected to desire accurate information. To gain this end, he sent a congratulatory letter to Hezekiah on his recovery. The letter was accompanied with presents; and in its superscription, a clear intimation is afforded of the troubles[161] that assailed Assyria in consequence of the disaster of Senacherib. Baladan, who in civil matters had hitherto held only a dependent jurisdiction[162], like many other priestly vassals of whom we have already spoken, assumed the title of king of the Babylonians, in defiance of an odious and disgraced tyrant, from whom, about the same time, the Medes, Armenians, and other great nations, ventured also to revolt.[163]

He assumes the title of king of Babylon. Revolt of the Medes.

At his return to Nineveh, Senacherib could not fail to be provoked at finding the vanity of the rumour which had deceived him. He was enraged to madness at the rebellion of his subjects: but a tyrant after the loss of his army is a serpent without its sting. He vented however his merciless rage against the smaller prey that

Senacherib murdered. B. C. 709.

[160] 2 Kings, c. xx. v. 12. Conf. Diodor. l. ii. c. 24.

[161] "Senacherib's estate was troubled." Tobit. c. i. v. 15.

[162] 2 Kings, c. xvii. v. 24. Senacherib's predecessor appears there as king of Babylon, as well as of Nineveh. Conf. Diodor. ubi supra.

[163] Herodotus, l. i. c. 95. & Moses Choronens, l. i. p. 22.

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he was still able to devour, particularly the Jews in Nineveh[164], whose brethren had occasioned his misfortunes. But in the short space of fifty-five days, he was slain by the conspiracy of his two elder sons, in the temple of his god Nisroth.[165] Their parricide was only useful to the public; for the youngest brother, Esarhaddon, at the unanimous request of the court and country, mounted the vacant throne.

Esarhaddon's glorious reign. B.C. 709—668.

The character of Esarhaddon fully justified the general predilection in his favour. His valour and generosity[166] together with the vast treasures still contained within the palace of Nineveh, speedily supplied him with a new army. We are not informed of the means which he employed, either by war or negociation, for reducing the rebellious provinces. But, from the moment of his elevation, we hear nothing more of an upstart monarchy in Babylon, under a priest who aspired to be the equal of his king.

His invasion of Palestine.

The parricidal brothers of Esarhaddon had fled to Armenia; and, as they are said to have received lands[167] from the king of that country, the rebellious satrap who had fortified himself amidst the mountainous sources of the Euphrates and Araxes[168], must already have assumed the royal title. For recovering the allegiance of

[164] Tobit. c. i. v. 18, 19, 20.

[165] 2 Kings, c. xix. v. 36. & 37. and Moses Choron. ibid.

[166] "The great and noble Asnapper," his name in Ezra, c. iv. v. 10.

[167] Moses Choronens, ibid. [168] See above.

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Armenia, and the incomparably finer province of Media, Esarhaddon trusted to the renown of his arms in prosecuting the war in which Assyria was already involved with Egypt and Syria. In the latter country, Assyrian garrisons still kept possession of many strong holds; and particularly of Azotus or Ashdod, which had been one of the five capital cities of the Philistines[169], and was the principal key to Syria on the side of Egypt. Tarako, the great Ethiopian, whose name had been terrible in those western[170] countries, was no more; and his resistless Nomadic followers, with the loss of their general and paymaster, lost also their union and discipline, and fell asunder with a rapidity equal to that with which they had been assembled. Sethos reigned in Egypt through the interest of the priests and the favour of the multitude; for his unjust treatment of the soldiers was too provoking ever to be forgiven by them.[171] In this posture of affairs, Esarhaddon directed his arms westward. It should seem that he made a further and considerable transportation of mutinous Israelites[172]; which confirms what has been already observed, that the removal of the whole people from their country had never been intended by the kings of Assyria.[173] The principal *Citizens* had been transplanted, men who might prove dangerous at

[169] 1 Samuel, c. vi. v. 17.
[170] Western in regard of Nineveh and Assyria.
[171] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 141. [172] Ezra, c. iv. v. 7.
[173] See above, p. 96.

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home by their intrigues, and useful abroad by their skill in arts and adroitness in affairs. But the fields had been still left to the vine-dressers and husbandmen; many of whom now mutinying against a foreign yoke, were forcibly dragged in captivity to the East, and more submissive peasants from the Assyrian territories, particularly Babylon and Cutha, substituted in their vacant fields.[174] Judah was next assailed by Esarhaddon with more decisive success than had yet attended the Assyrian arms in that kingdom. The impious Manasseh, who had strangely degenerated from his father Hezekiah, was defeated in battle, pursued, made captive among the thorns, and carried in fetters to Babylon.[175] But adversity so greatly improved the character of this Jewish king, that he became a new man; and the sincerity of his repentance under the just chastisement of the Almighty, was followed by the peculiar favour of Esarhaddon, who could not fail to discern the advantage that might accrue to his Egyptian expedition from placing a warlike and active prince, bound to him by the highest obligations, in the vassal throne of Palestine. Manasseh was therefore reinstated in the kingdom of Judah, and received in addition that of Israel, holding both

Defeats Manasseh, and accepts him for his vassal.

[174] Prideaux justly observes, that Esarhaddon could not have done this, if he had not been king of Babylon; but he forgets that he had denied Shalmaneser to be king of Babylon, though that prince also planted Samaria with Babylonians. 2 Kings, c. xvii. v. 24. Conf. Old and New Testament connected, B. i. p. 42.

[175] 2 Chronicles, c. xxxiii. v. 11.

countries as homager to the great monarch of Assyria, and transmitting them in that form, after a reign of fifty-five years, to his son the generous and ill-fated Josiah.[176] SECT. III.

Of Esarhaddon's Egyptian expedition, which, according to the vulgar estimation of merit, is the main source of his glory, we know only that he sacked the ancient city of Thebes, called in Scripture the populous No[177]: a capital built "by the infinite strength of Egypt and Ethiopia," and celebrated from remote[178] ages for that magnificence which still shines in its ruins.[179] Such an event indicates the deep wounds[180] inflicted on Egypt during the reign of Sethos, in consequence of which that kingdom remained a prey, for twenty years, to divisions and anarchy until the aristocracy of twelve kings not less turbulent than that of the Beys in modern times, devolved into the single hand of Psammetichus.[181] His Egyptian expedition.

The predatory conquest of Egypt only attests Esarhaddon's power; his goodness is illustrated in his behaviour towards the two branches of the Hebrews, whether remaining in their native country, or transplanted to Nineveh and other cities of the East. The atonement which he made to that nation for the cruelties of Senacherib, affords no small proof that his general government united lenity with firmness.[182] It His firm yet mild government.

[176] Chronicles, ibid. and Josephus, Antiq. x. 4.
[177] Nahum. c. iii. v. 8. with Michaelis' notes.
[178] Homer, Iliad, l. ix. v. 382.
[179] Norden's Voyage and Plates, No. 102—115. inclusive.
[180] Isaiah, ibid. [181] Herodot. l. ii. c. 151. et seq.
[182] Tobit, c. i. v. 21, 22. Ezra, c. iv. v. 10.

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must have been conducted with great ability, since during his long reign we hear little of the troubles of the empire, which began under his father, and which revived with dreadful effect under the government of his son.

His son Nebuchadonosor—war with the Medes. B. C. 667.

Nebuchadonosor, for this is the name or title of the son of Esarhaddon, was involved in an obstinate and bloody war with the Medes. This great nation had immemorially subsisted in many distinct and warlike clans, scattered over the finest province of Upper Asia, each patriarchal tribe inhabiting its populous village, and for the most part fertile valley.[183] The Medes had long sent their proportion of troops and tribute to Nineveh, although a people circumstanced as they were, would be easily tempted to withhold these contributions on every prospect of impunity. The misfortunes of Senacherib formed a crisis favourable for rebellion. The Medes expelled their Assyrian viceroy, and acknowledged no authority but that of their own judges, heads each of his respective tribe, of which that governed by Dejoces was distinguished by its valour and numbers, as was their judge himself by his pre-eminence in wisdom.[184] Through the equity and promptitude of his decisions, Dejoces drew the causes of neighbouring clans to his tribunal, and was chosen king of the Medes

Dejoces king of Media. 700 B. C.

[183] Herodotus, l. i. c. 96. and Strabo, c. xi. p. 520. et seq. The valleys wind into endless length, but seldom exceed ten or fifteen miles in breadth. The soil is excellent, and the means of irrigation abundant. The ruins of towns and aqueducts every where attest the once flourishing state of this much depopulated country.

[184] Herodot. ibid.

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through his ability in exercising one of the most indispensable functions of royal power. We know not by what means he contrived to avoid hostilities with Esarhaddon; but we are informed that the successor of this great prince invaded Media, defeated and slew Dejoces, and sacked his upstart capital of Ecbatana. Phraortes, the son of Dejoces, assuming the command of the Medes, became in turn the aggressor; drove the Assyrians from Media; wrested from them Persis, the proper Persia; and perished in an expedition against Nineveh, the bulwark of their empire.[185] But Cyaxares, the son of Phraortes, lived to revenge the death of his father and grandfather on the effeminate son of Nebuchadonosor, the last Assyrian king of the house of Ninus. Before the reign of Agradotus[186], who assumed the name of Cyrus, there was not any prince in Ariana, that is, in any of the countries east of mount Zagros, that equals the historic fame of this illustrious Mede. To Cyaxares his countrymen acknowledged themselves indebted for harmonizing their formerly ill-appointed armies into regular bodies of pikemen, cavalry, and archers. With such improved instruments of victory, he extended his dominions northward to the Euxine and the river Halys, assailed Assyria, now encompassed with his arms, and, though interrupted unseasonably by the hurricane of Scythian invasion[187], resumed his warfare against Nineveh with fresh ardour.

Defeated and slain. B.C. 646.

His son Phraortes slain in besieging Nineveh. B.C. 626.

Cyaxares renews the war.

[185] Herodot. l. i. c. 102.

[186] Strabo, l. xv. p. 729.

[187] See above, p. 60.

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Sardanapalus besieged in Nineveh—his history.

That city and empire was then governed by Sardanapalus, a name coupled in our fancies with the utmost extravagance of effeminacy and profligacy. Amidst the first transactions to which the indolence of this voluptuary gave occasion, we read of an attempt to rifle, by means of a mine that should extend to the heart of his palace, the vast subterranean [188] treasures, which his ancestors had collected from the spoils of vanquished enemies. [189] We next find the revolt of Nebopolassar [190], the hereditary chief of the Chaldæan priests at Babylon, and as such also the hereditary satrap of that important district [191], who seems to have been encouraged by the careless sottishness of Sardanapalus to resume the royal title which his father Baladan had usurped, after the disgraceful defeat of Senacherib. To maintain this independence, the revolted priest, who is described as a person of much cunning and dexterity [192], courted the friendship of Cyaxares, and obtained an alliance with that prince, whose object, issue, and incidents, so perfectly coincide with those of the far-famed conspiracy between Belesys the Babylonian, and Arbaces the Mede [193], that it is impossible, on a careful com-

The history of Nebopolassar and Cyaxares, the same with that of Belesys and Arbaces.

[188] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 150. [189] Isaiah and Nahum, passim.

[190] Euseb. Chronic. p. 46. and Syncell. Chronograph. p. 210.

[191] During the dominion of the house of Ninus over Assyria, the hereditary priests of Babylon maintained a subordinate royalty in that city, agreeing in nature, as we shall see, with the power of the sacerdotal δυναται in Lesser Asia under the Macedonian and Roman empires. Conf. Strabo, l. xv. p. 557. Diodorus, l. ii. s. 23. and 2 Kings, c. xviii. v. 2.

[192] Diodorus, l. ii. s. 28. [193] Diodorus, ibid.

parison, not to regard it as one and the same transaction [194]: a transaction ever memorable, since it fulfilled the prophecies against Nineveh, and demolished a great capital, and the most durable empire that ever subsisted in the ancient world.

The seeming contradictions reconciled. Nineveh taken by the Medes. B.C. 606.

In completing the object of his Assyrian warfare, Cyaxares had great difficulties to encounter. The art of attacking fortified places was still extremely imperfect. Psammetichus, king of Egypt, had availed himself of the disorders in the Assyrian empire for gaining Azotus, the principal Assyrian bulwark on the Mediterra-

[194] According to the received chronology, Arbaces and Belesys destroyed Sardanapalus and his capital 820 years before Christ. Strabo and Diodorus speak positively as to the immediate and total destruction of Nineveh ηφανισθη παραχρημα. Yet a century after this pretended demolition, the prophet Nahum denounces against Nineveh the wrath of heaven. See Nahum, c. ii. & c. iii. throughout, and particularly c. iii. v. 8. which ascertains the Chronology. These prophecies, however, confirm Herodotus's account, the more likely in itself to be true, because he wrote a particular history of Assyria, according to which Nineveh was destroyed by Cyaxares and the Medes 606 years before Christ. Herodot. l. i. c. 106. Conf. Tobit, c. xiv. v. 15. and Judith, c. i. v. 16. Of Belesys, whose name usurps the place of Nebopolassar, we know nothing. Prideaux, in his Old and New Testament connected, v. i. p. 2. supposes him to be Nabonassar the first king of Babylon in Ptolemy's canon: But of this first king of Babylon (a high priest most probably who affected kingly power), we have not a single particular in history, except the æra called by his name, agreeing with the year 747 before Christ. Instead of Cyaxares and Nebopolassar, independent princes, we find, indeed, in Ctesias (apud Diodor. l. ii. s. 28.) Arbaces and Belesys revolted satraps. But as such Ctesias would find them represented in the courtly annals of Persia which he copied, if the Persians, as is said, flattered their latter kings as the lineal and perpetual successors of the universal monarchs of Asia. Conf. Daniel, c. ix. and D'Herbelot, Artic. Persis.

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nean, but had conquered the place only through a continued blockade of twenty-nine years[195]: and Sardanapalus, king of Nineveh, though a slave to beastly appetites, prepared with the fierceness also of a wild beast to defend his polluted den.[196] At the head of a great army, he is said to have thrice repelled the invaders. But a single defeat reduced him to the cowardly resolution of shutting himself up within his walls; while his forces, still more numerous than those of the enemy, were committed to his general Salaiman, for thus the Greeks wrote the Assyrian name of Shalman or Solyman.[197] The canal joining the Euphrates and Tigris was dyed red[198] with the blood of this general and his army. But Sardanapalus still deemed himself secure in virtue of an ancient prophecy, that the city should not be taken "until it was hostilely assaulted by the river."[199] In the third year of the siege, this ænigma was explained; for the Euphrates, swollen to fury by an unusual contribution of melted snows from Armenia, destroyed a portion of the walls two miles in extent, and Nineveh was reduced "to a pool of water."[200] The despairing tyrant then knew all to be lost: set fire to his palace; and perished in the vast

[195] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 157. [196] Diodorus, l. ii. s. 25.

[197] Id. s. 26. Conf. Nahum, c. i. v. 137. with Michaelis's notes.

[198] Diodor. ibid.

[199] Εαν μη πρωτερον ὁ ποταμος τῃ πολει γενηται πολεμιος. Diodorus, l. ii. s. 26. Conf. Nahum, c. ii. v. 6. "The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved."

[200] Nahum, c. ii. v. 8. in Michaelis's translation. Conf. Diodor. l. ii. s. 27.

funeral pile of his empire, with his women and eunuchs, his trinkets and treasures.[201] SECT. III.

Babylon becomes the capital of Assyria. B.C. 605.

The Medes thus became, more decidedly than before, the great dominant nation in the East. But Nebopolassar, their useful ally, was confirmed in the usurped kingdoms of Babylonia; and as Cyaxares, in resentment of his father's death before the walls of Nineveh, totally demolished that capital[202], Babylon, from a seat of commerce, of science, and of superstition, grew into a place of arms, the main bulwark of Assyrian power.[203] The near vicinity of the old and the new capital is clearly indicated in a proposal of the artful priest of Babylon, immediately after the taking of Nineveh. Desirous, it is said, of appropriating the precious metals which he well knew would be found in the ashes of the royal palace, he begged leave (on pretence of a vow made during the dangers of the siege) to transport the huge ruins to the place of his own residence, and his request was immediately granted[204]; a request which must have appeared altogether

[201] Diodor. ibid. Conf. Nahum, c. iii. v. 15. "In thy strongholds or palace shall the fire devour thee."

[202] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 737. He laboured under the common error with respect to the site of this long-ruined city. Before its total demolition, Nineveh had subsisted six hundred and twenty-four years under thirty-two kings, from Ninus to Sardanapalus, both inclusively. This chronology leaves nearly twenty years for the reign of each king: the commonly received chronology on the other hand, makes the city and empire of Nineveh to have lasted 1312 years, which gives the monstrous average of forty-one years for the reign of each sovereign.

[203] Herodotus, l. i. c. 178. Conf. l. i. c. 106.

[204] Diodorus, l. ii. s. 28.

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extravagant, had Nineveh, instead of standing within fifty miles of Babylon, with a canal of communication between them, been situate three hundred miles distant on the eastern side of the Tigris.[205]

Necos king of Egypt. B. C. 616—601.

From the time that the Assyrians carried their conquests to the shores of the Mediterranean, the Egyptians had every thing to fear from their ambition or their vengeance. Psammetichus, the kind of Egypt, who in the last stage of his reign of nearly half a century, had effected the conquest of Azotus, was succeeded by his son, the Pharaoh Necho of Scripture, and the Necos of Greek historians; a prince of deep policy and daring enterprise.

His bold undertakings — circumnavi-

Disdaining the superstitious scruples of his countrymen against a seafaring life, Necos constructed harbours and equipped fleets on the

[205] It is said in Tobit, c. vi. v. i. "And when they set out on their journey" (that is, to go from Nineveh eastward to Ecbatana and Rages) "they came in the evening to the river Tigris." An expression quite natural, if "the city of three days' journey," stood on the royal canal, the Nahrmalka, between the Tigris and Euphrates. In this neighbourhood, Xenophon found, two centuries afterwards, the great city Sitacé, Anabas, l. ii. p. 283.; and Ives describes nearly in the same position, Nimrod's Tower, as it is called, one hundred and twenty-six feet high, and one hundred in diameter. It stands nine miles west of Bagdad; consists of bricks mixed with reeds; and is on all sides surrounded with ruins; circumstances agreeing well with Diodorus's position of Nineveh in his account of the decisive battle, and also with the following words of Herodotus, "Babylonia is like Egypt, perpetually intersected by canals; the greatest, which is navigable for vessels of a large size, joins another river, the Tigris, on which was situate Nineveh," l. i. c. 95. The words naturally bring to mind the Nahrmalka and Bagdad. The expressiveness of Herodotus's style always suggests the notion which he wishes to convey.

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gation of Africa.

Mediterranean and the Red Sea; and applied to the Phœnicians, as the people best skilled in distant navigation, for persons willing to undertake a long voyage of discovery along the African coast. The Phœnicians, who, as already mentioned, had immemorially traded in Egyptian and Assyrian wares [206], had also established factories in those countries, particularly in the cities of Thebes and Memphis, the successive capitals of Egypt; and, according to custom, these factories were under the protection of temples erected in honour of the *foreign* Venus. [207] From among such colonists, or their correspondents, Necos speedily found instruments fit for his purpose. The Phœnicians took their departure from an Egyptian harbour on the Red Sea, reached and passed the straits of Babelmandeb, in the space of forty days; in that of two years sailed round Africa to the pillars of Hercules, and then pursuing their voyage two months longer through the well-known Mediterranean, returned about the middle of the third year into Egypt. [208] The principal danger in this expedition was that of starving on the inhospitable shores of the southern continent. But this difficulty was provided for. Having laid in a sufficient store of seeds, the Phœnicians sowed them at the proper seasons [209]; and as in many parts of

[206] Herodot. l. i. c. 1. [207] Ibid. l. ii. c. 112.

[208] Ibid. l. iv. c. 42. Conf. Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 682.

[209] Κατειρεσιον των γην ινα εκαστοτε, &c. Herodot. ibid.

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Africa, the corn sown in July is reaped in September, the delay in procuring food necessary to the continuance of the voyage, could not be longer than necessary for repairs and refreshments. But should three months be allowed for the stoppage each autumn, full time will remain for the completion of the undertaking within the assigned period, even at the slow rate of ancient navigation. Both the Phœnician and Greek ships seem to have avoided keeping the sea in dark nights; they both advanced at the mean rate of little more than forty British miles daily. But from the nature of their construction, particularly the flatness of their bottoms, which allowed gallies containing two and three hundred men to be easily hauled on shore, they were much better adapted to coasting voyages, than modern vessels of far inferior burden.[210]

Canal from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean.

Another undertaking by which Necos attempted to signalize his reign, was the drawing of a canal from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean: a design which Sesostris is thought to have begun, which Necos resumed but abandoned, and which Ptolemy Philadelphus, the second successor of Alexander in Egypt, is said to have happily accomplished.[211]

He marches against Assyria.

But these great enterprises did not prevent Necos from paying due attention to the important revolution, which, instead of an odious

[210] Their expedition accordingly was completely successful. "Thus was Africa for the first time circumnavigated." Herodot. ibid.

[211] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 804. Of this, more will be said hereafter.

despot dissolved in pleasure, had established in the new capital of Assyria a victorious usurper inflamed by ambition. With great activity of preparation, he collected a numerous army of warlike strangers, and unwarlike Egyptians, and being master of Azotus, the key to the holy land, marched through that country to assail on the Euphrates, the yet unconsolidated power of Nebopolassar and Babylon[212], whose allies the Medes were still fully occupied in extinguishing the embers of the Scythian war. But in the district of Samaria, Necos was encountered[213] by Josiah, king of Israel as well as Judah, in virtue of the grant of Esarhaddon to his grandfather Manasseh, but who, according to oriental maxims above explained, should seem to have considered himself as homager rather to the Assyrian nation, than to the person or family of the king.[214] He passed at least, not only as an obedient, but zealous vassal under the sovereign jurisdiction of Nebopolassar; and with a spirit congenial to the warmth with which he exerted himself for the purity of religious worship, determined to shew fidelity to his lord paramount by resisting the Egyptian invasion. But this generous prince, whose virtues deserved a better fate, was defeated and slain in the plain of Megiddo in Samaria.[215]

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Josiah, in opposing his progress, slain at Megiddo. B.C. 608.

[212] Josephus, Antiq. Judaic. l. x. c. 6.

[213] 2 Kings, c. xxiii. and 2 Chronicles, c. xxxv.

[214] In this manner, Netocris (of whom hereafter) stood in the place of the ancient kings of Assyria. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 106. and c. 185.

[215] 2 Chronicles, c. xxxv. v. 22. and Josephus, l. x. c. 15. Hero-

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Necos takes and garrisons Circesium. B. C. 602.

Necos, without halting to make conquests in Palestine, hastened by rapid marches to northern Mesopotamia, and having repelled the Babylonians, who opposed his passage of the Euphrates at Thapsacus, made himself master of the important city of Carchemish or Circesium [216], on the confluence of the Chaboras with that great river. Having garrisoned a place well situate for facilitating further conquests, he returned in a few months to Palestine, assaulted and took Jerusalem, then known by its eastern name Kadytis "the Holy," deposed the new king whom the Jews had elected, a son of their admired Josiah, and substituted in his stead Jehoiakim, another son of that much-lamented prince, on condition of annual tribute [217] valued at fifty-two thousand pounds sterling.

Renders Jerusalem tributary.

Nebuchadnezzar associated to his father's government.

The rapid success of Necos made Nebopolassar, who was himself *far* advanced in years, associate to his government his son Nebuchadnezzar, a name equally illustrious though not equally terrible in sacred and prophane history, since Greek writers, in the occasional mention of him, prefer his successful valour to that of their greatest heroes. [218] During the

dotus, l. i. c. 159. says the battle was fought at Magdolus. There is a place of this name in Antonine's Itinerary, distant 12 miles from Pelusium and the Egyptian frontier. It is mentioned under the name of Migdol, Exodus, c. xiv. v. 2. and Jeremiah, c. xlvi. v. 14.

[216] Josephus, Antiq. l. x. c. 6.

[217] 2 Kings, c. xxiii. and 2 Chronicles, c. xxxvi.

[218] Megasthenes apud Joseph. Cont. Apion. Conf. Antiq. Judaic. l. x. c. 11. and Strabo, l. xv. p. 678. He calls him Nauokodrosorus.

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transactions of Necos in Palestine, the young Babylonian had been sharpening a weapon of defence destined to be converted by him into an instrument of decisive victories and invaluable conquests.

He forms an engine of defence in Mesopotamia.—Description of that country.

The wide-spreading region of Mesopotamia, northward of the narrow but rich and populous territory contiguous to Babylon, was sometimes referred by Greek historians to the different countries from which it appeared to have been peopled. The northern parts were frequently called Armenia: the southern were ascribed to Syria; and the great central desert to Arabia. The whole tract of land formed, as it were, a great triangle, whose summit was the narrow isthmus before described; whose sides were the Tigris and Euphrates; and whose base reposed on the chain of mount Masius, its common frontier with Armenia. In the northern division and near vicinity of the mountains, we are already acquainted with the history of Zobah, or Nisibis, a city which was strongly fortified by the first Syrian successor of Alexander under the name of Antioch, and distinguished from other cities of that name by the epithet Mygdonian, from the river Mygdonius which washed its walls.[219] After the destruction of the Grecian kings of the East, Nisibis resumed its old oriental appellation, denoting a military post or place of arms, and as such, was long occupied by the Romans, forming their main bulwark

[219] Πελαγιζων το περι την τειχος χωριον. Julian, Orat. 1. de Nisib. p. 27.

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against the Parthians. Mesopotamia, in approaching the shores of its great rivers, changed suddenly from a desert to a country of considerable fertility, and was early improved by agriculture, and planted with cities, which, being enlarged and adorned by Alexander and his successors, received universally Grecian names, though really of Asiatic origin. Carrhæ, as well as Carchemis, or Circesium, of both which we have already spoken, retained enough of their primitive sound to evince their true extraction; a purer Grecian origin seems indicated in Edessa, Anthemusias, Nicephorium, Apamea, and other places of less note, though many of these also had subsisted at periods long anterior to the Macedonian dominion in Asia.

The Mesopotamian desert.

The watery and mountainous parts of Mesopotamia have undergone many changes, but the dry central region has remained uniformly the same, inhabited by roving Arabs, mixed, as we shall see, occasionally with fiercer wanderers from Scythia. The nature of the country, indeed, admitted of none but Nomades for its masters. It was a vast unvaried plain, destitute of trees and rivers, but abounding in wormwood and other strong-scented shrubs.[220] It produced vast flocks of a bird called Otis, a short and heavy flyer, yet its flesh of the highest flavour; and not smaller troops of ostriches, which, however, it was difficult to catch, so nimbly did they skim the ground, using their wings skilfully as sails to

[220] Xenoph. Anabas, l. i. p. 255. edit. Leunel.

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navigate the sandy ocean. The most desert spots of Mesopotamia were enlivened by herds of wild goats, and wild asses [221] as they are called by Xenophon, but the animal itself is described by Aristotle [222], and recognized by our naturalists in the Dsiggetai, no longer seen in those southern parts, and now frequent in the remote northern deserts of eastern Tartary. [223] The Dsiggetai outstripped the swiftest horse; but the nimble fugitive was entrapped by gins, or caught by artful and long-continued pursuit. [224] Armenia and other neighbouring provinces had recently been invaded, as we have seen, from Scythia, whose roving hordes still lay in watch, as it were, to renew their ravages in southern Asia. Master of the spoils of Nineveh, Nebuchadnezzar was possessed of a magnet calculated to attract greater swarms than ever, from this vast northern hive. They were divided into many different tribes often hostile to each other, but the name of Chaldeans was bestowed on all those whom the valour and generosity of Nebuchadnezzar drew into his service, whether because great part of them really descended from that region of Taurus called Chaldæa, whose natives the Chalybeans stood in the same relation as armourers [225] to the Scythians, that the Turks are known afterwards to have borne to

Nebuchadnezzar collects the Scythians who had fled thither.

Why called, generally, Chaldeans.

[221] Xenoph. Anabas, l. i. p. 255. edit. Leuncl.
[222] Histor. Animal. l. vi. c. 36.
[223] Pallas. Neue Nordishe Beytrage. [224] Xenoph. p. 256.
[225] Xenoph. Anabas, l. v. p. 354. and Strabo, l. xii. p. 549.

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the Tartars[226], or because a colony of those Chalybeans or Chaldæans, about a century before this period, was established in the south-western district of Babylonia, and thereby induced to betake themselves to a settled agricultural life.[227] It might naturally be expected that the great body of the nation would be called by that name already most familiar in southern Asia, and which must have prevailed from the earliest antiquity, since the sacerdotal cast in Babylon, priests of Belus, men of polished manners and high attainments[228], were connected, at least in name, with the rude mountaineers between the Euxine and Caspian, a nation more stubborn than the iron which they forged.[229] That branches of mankind so dissimilar in manners and character, really proceeded from the same stock, history does not warrant us to assert; but there is the surest testimony that the conquering Chaldees, of whom Nebuchadnezzar became general and king, were a northern people, Scythians[230] by blood and country, in their manners, habits, and merciless fury. With this instrument of victory, we shall see him establish at Babylon an empire nearly commensurate in the west and south, with what was destined to be the utmost expansion of Saracen power. The Medes, after the destruction of Nineveh, reigned

Why Nebuchadnezzar little noticed in Greek history.

[226] See above, p. 61. Conf. Abulghazi Khan Histor. Geneolog. des Tatars, p. ii. c. 5.

[227] Isaiah, c. xxiii. p. 13. Conf. Jeremiah, c. i. v. 13.

[228] Diodorus, l. ii. c. 29. et seq. [229] Xenoph. and Strabo, ibid.

[230] Jeremiah, c. i. v. 13. & c. xv. v. 12.

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without a rival in the East: and, as their incursions reached the Greek colonies on the Euxine, the name of the Medes, chiefly, is conspicuous in Greek history, while the contemporary renown of Nebuchadnezzar was far more terrible among the Jews, the Phœnicians, and other inhabitants of Syria.

Nebuchadnezzar marches to Circesium. — His army. B. C. 605.

With Cyaxares, or the Medes, through whose co-operation his father had obtained independent sovereignty, Nebuchadnezzar, it should seem, during his reign of forty-five years, had never any hostile collision. His first undertaking was the recovery of Circesium from the Egyptians, an enterprize for which, as Necos had strongly fortified the place, the style of Scythian war might appear to be ill adapted. But Nebuchadnezzar, besides being aided in the siege by his more skilful Babylonians, was one of those extraordinary men, who, like some Tartar conquerors in modern times, have rendered their barbarous followers not less persevering in industry than they are naturally prompt in action: who taught them to build walls and bridges, to construct engines of war; in a word, to perform all those laborious tasks [221], independently of which mere prowess in battle never made a great conqueror. Necos, however, had time to come to the assistance of Circesium with the united strength of his allies; Lybians and Ethiopians, cavalry and chariots, archers and spearmen, all the incongruous assemblage [222] of party-

[221] See Cherefeddeen's Life of Tamerlane throughout.

[222] Jeremiah, c. xxv. v. 9.

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coloured Africa. In the two armies respectively, the fierce Nomades were pre-eminent, Ethiopians and Scythians, hardened offspring of burning sands, and bleak deserts, prepared to join in a merciless conflict, of which the incidents are rather indicated than described, but indicated by symbols more impressive than the most circumstantial narration. The overflowing numbers of the Egyptians are represented by the inundation of their river[233]; when the tide is stayed by Nebuchadnezzar, towering like mount Tabor[234] above the adjacent plain, or Carmel resisting the sea, and bidding defiance to its raging waves.[235] The great dragon of the Nile darts forth with his rattling serpents; but the Chaldæans hew down their wood[236], bare their lurking-places, and render those wily and envenomed monsters an easy prey to the parting steel.

The battle of Circesium between Nebuchadnezzar and Necos. B.C. 605.

In this figurative language we discern the ruinous defeat of Necos. Circesium was recovered; the Egyptians were pursued through Syria; their countrymen were expelled from the strong-holds which they had occupied there: and, with the illustrious exceptions of Jerusalem and Tyre, Nebuchadnezzar gained the whole of Syria from the Euphrates to the *river of Egypt*; a magnificent name for the shallow torrent of Sihor[237], forming the common boundary of Egypt, Palestine, and the stony Arabia.

Victory of Nebuchadnezzar.

[233] Jeremiah, c. xxvi. v. 8. [234] Ibid. v. 18.
[235] Ezekiel, c. xxix. v. 3. [236] Jeremiah, c. xlvi. v. 23.
[237] Genesis, c. xv. v. 18. Joshua, c. xv. v. 4. Conf. Hieronym. in Amos, c. vi. 1 Kings, c. viii. v. 65.

SURVEY

OF

ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS.

SECTION IV.

Nebuchadnezzar's extensive Conquests in Africa. — His Invasion of Syria. — Description and History of that Country. — Babylonish Captivity. — Importance of the Jews in Macedonian History. — The two Tyres. — Commercial Connections of the Phœnicians. — Tartessus. — The Casseterides. — Ophir. — Saba. — Political State of the Phœnicians. — Their Manufactures and Inventions. — Destruction of the great Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar. — His Invasion of Egypt. — History of the East between the Reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander. — Babylon. — Magnitude, Populousness, Manufactures, Commerce, and Manners.

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Nebuchadnezzar's extensive conquests in Africa.

FROM the æra of Nebuchadnezzar's victory over Necos at Circesium, his reign of nearly half a century was distinguished by a long series of distant invasions, fierce encounters, laborious campaigns, and persevering sieges. Emulous of Tarako the Ethiopian, he spread his dominion over both sides of the Red Sea; rendered Egypt tributary, and pervaded the broad expanse of

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Africa to the pillars of Hercules.[1] In these perpetual expeditions, many a rich temple, the seat of traffic and superstition, fell a prey to his rapacious followers, and to his own unprincipled purpose of decking the new capital of Assyria with the spoils of every strong-hold whose opulence provoked his enmity. But we are informed of the event only, without learning the incidents in this remote and comparatively barbarous warfare. A deeper interest is excited by his invasion of Syria. He is the first prince who reduced into subjection all the various divisions of that country, destined collectively, as we shall see hereafter, to form a powerful Greek kingdom under the dynasty of the Seleucidæ, descendants of Seleucus Nicator the most fortunate of Alexander's captains.

His invasion of Syria.—Prior history of that country.

Long preceding this new dynasty on the banks of the Orontes, the native Syrians had cultivated arts, and attained opulence. They were tributaries to the warlike David, king of Israel; and after the misfortunes of the house of David, they submitted to the kings of Nineveh. The interval between these calamitous æras formed that period of Syrian splendour, in which Hadad and Hazael successive "kings of Syria at Damascus,"[2] having obtained a paramount jurisdiction over Jerusalem and neighbouring cities[3], were occasionally employed against them as instruments of divine chastisement.[4] During the

[1] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 637. Conf. Ezekiel, c. xxx. & xxxix.
[2] Comp. 1 Kings, c. xv. v. 20. & c. xxi. v. 1.
[3] 2 Kings, c. xiii. v. 3.

space of an hundred years, the names of Hadad and Hazael, so terrible to the Hebrews, were proportionally revered by the Syrians, who finally enrolled them among their gods, and continued as such to worship them even down to the reign of the Roman emperor Vespasian.[4] With those brilliant reigns, the glory of Damascus set: the Syrians, sunk in superstition and softness, ceased for ever to be the hunters, and continued thenceforward the unresisting prey; but the Phœnicians, long established on their coasts, and the Jews, possessing part of the inland country, will demand attention in the immediately following, and in many subsequent parts of this work; while at all times the peculiarities and prerogatives of Jerusalem give to it a real importance, surpassing the transient glory of the greatest monarchies. It is fit, therefore, briefly to describe the characteristic features of a country that continued the seat of such interesting nations and the scene of such memorable transactions. SECT. IV.

Its geography.

In the whole of its extent of four hundred miles embracing the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, Syria is roughened by snowy mountains, running for the most part parallel to the sea, and to each other, and sending forth innumerable branches, which sometimes terminate

[4] Μεγας γουν, αυτος τε ὁ Αδαδος και Αζαηλος ὁς θεοι τιμωνται. Josephus, Antiq. l. ix. c. 14. p. 404. Mr. Gibbon, therefore, is mistaken when, in speaking of deification, he says, "the successors of Alexander were the first objects of this impious and servile mode of adulation." Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. i. c. 3.

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abruptly, but oftener gradually subside into warm and well-watered valleys. Towards the middle of the broad line, Libanus and Anti-Libanus, inclosing the district of Cœlesyria, of which Damascus was the capital, rise to the height of nine thousand feet, an altitude double to that of Benneves the highest mountain in Scotland, but little more than one half the elevation of Mount Blanc, the loftiest in the Alps. The region of Libanus overtopping[5] all the country on either side, separates the waters of Syria, and thereby clearly distinguishes into large and bold groups the divisions of its geography. From the heart[6] of those mountains the Orontes flows northward fifteen days' journey, before it joins the Mediterranean: and about one half that space, the Jordan[7] runs to the south, until it mixes its sweet waters with the bitterness of the lake Asphaltites, called from its pestiferous qualities the Dead Sea.[8] The northern valley of

[5] The highest part of Libanus or Lebanon, is called in Scripture Hermon. This western chain, producing *cedars*, is separated by valleys and rivers from Anti-Libanus, called by the Arabs, Senner, that is, "the mountain of *firs*." Ezekiel, c. xxvii. v. 5. with Michaelis' notes. How could Mr. Volney in commenting on this word say, "Sennir, peutêtre, le mont Sannine." Volney, Etat Politique de la Syrie, p. 204.

[6] Orontes natus inter Libanum et Anti-Libanum juxta Heliopolim. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 42.

[7] Josephus de Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 35. He calls the mountain from whence it descends, Paneus.

[8] Mare Mortuum, a quo nihil poterat esse vitale. Hieronym. in Ezekiel, c. xlvii. v. 8. Justin. xxxvi. 3. says, "propter magnitudinem, et aquæ immobilitatem, mare mortuum dicitur." But in this he is mistaken, since the Greeks called it θαλασσα νεκρα, though that epithet is not applied by them to stagnant water. Pausanias, Eliac.

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the Orontes with all the cultivable country inland towards the Euphrates and the desert, was the portion of Syria peculiarly adorned by the Greeks, and named Tetrapolis, from its four principal cities, Seleucia, Laodicea, Apamea, and Antioch. The shorter southern valley of the Jordan, with many adjacent districts on both sides that river, formed Palestinian Syria[9], the Land of Promise. Libanus and Anti-Libanus, overhanging Cœlesyria with their waving forests, formed the lofty inland boundary between the two countries just mentioned; both of which extended at their remote extremities to the Mediterranean, but in their contiguous and more central parts were excluded from that sea for two hundred miles, by a long line of maritime cities, composing the Phœnician confederacy. Such were the divisions of a territory, inhabited by Syrians in the north, and Jews in the south, both considered as inland nations in comparison with the Phœnicians, who held possession of the more useful part of the coast, and of the only considerable harbours which subsisted in the country before the Macedonian conquest.

Inhabitants.

The Syrians had been long inured to the yoke of Nineveh, and fashioned to that softness and

[9] The expression "Syrian Palestine," or Syria of Palestine, is improper; because it implies, that Syria belongs to Palestine, and not (which is the truth) that Palestine is a part of Syria. The Greeks said "Palestinian Syria," as they did Cœle Syria, Commagenian Syria, &c. Herodotus, l. i. p. 105. Conf. Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. ii. c. 25. But in the phrase Παλαιστινη Συρια, the latter word seemed the fitter epithet on account of its termination; which has occasioned the universal error of translators.

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servitude, which made them easily admit the succeeding yoke of Babylon. The Phœnicians[10] as well as Jews had smarted under the scourge of the former tyrannical capital: and, as both nations were united in their highest prosperity, under the glorious reigns of David and Solomon, zealous and unalterable allies to Hiram king of Tyre[11], so both were levelled by Nebuchadnezzar in seemingly inextricable calamity.

Jerusalem taken by Nebuchadnezzar. B. C. 605.

Shortly after that prince defeated the Egyptians at Circesium, he besieged and took Jerusalem, made king Jehoiakim his prisoner, despoiled the temple of some of its richest ornaments, and carried into captivity to Babylon, the fairest and most intelligent youths of noble descent, to be instructed for three years in the language and learning of the Chaldæan priests, that they might be fitted to serve the king and stand in his presence.[12] From this event, historians date the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, though the misfortunes of that people did not receive their completion until eighteen years afterwards, when the temple was burned, the city desolated and demolished, and the vassal king Zedekiah dragged away in fetters, with all those of his subjects, deemed dangerous at home, or qualified to prove useful abroad to their new master.[13] None but

Completion of its calamities.

[10] Josephus, Antiq. Judaic. l. ix. c. 14.

[11] Conf. 2 Samuel, c. v. v. 11. and 1 Kings, c. v. v. 8. B.C. 1048—1014.

[12] Daniel, c. i. 2 Kings, c. xxiv. 2 Chronicles, c. xxxvi.

[13] Conf. 2 Kings, c. xxiv. v. 14. & c. xxv. v. 11, 12. and Jeremiah, c. lii.

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miserable peasants were left in the land; which remained during fifty-two years in the condition of a great farm under the stewards of Nebuchadnezzar. The meaner classes of men, still left behind in Palestine, were the less likely to create jealousy, because in the former transplantation of the ten tribes, the place of expatriated Israelites had been supplied by Cuthæans, strangers from the East[14], who, having partially joined with the natives in incongruous rites and manners, formed with them the mixed and mungrel nation of Samaritans; a nation held heathenish by the Jews, though treated as Jews by the heathens.

Jews return from captivity. B. C. 536.

A most improbable event happened, and was brought about by an instrument, and at a time clearly specified in prophecy.[15] At the end of seventy years, Cyrus restored the Hebrews to their country. As the greatest and most distinguished portion of the exiles, then reinstated in their inheritance, belonged to the tribe of Judah, the name of Jews thenceforward prevailed; and the people thus named began to be governed in their domestic concerns, chiefly by their high-priests; though completely subordinate as to their contingents in war, and their pecuniary contributions, to the great powers who held successively the empire of Asia. This form of an ecclesiastical government at home, dependent on a civil or rather military government abroad, of which we have seen several examples from Babylon to Pessinus inclusively, should appear

Their government thence forward.

How Herodotus deceived concerning them.

[14] Josephus, Antiq. l. xi. c. 14. [15] Isaiah, c. xlv. v. 1.

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to have deceived Herodotus. That historian visited Jerusalem, which he calls by its oriental name Kadytis[16] the Holy, a name still prevalent in the East. But the Jewish priests being as niggardly of truths, as the Egyptian priests had been lavish of lies, the inquisitive Greek enjoyed not any opportunity of learning the internal arrangements, the œconomy and history of the sacred city. He passes over these subjects with an otherwise incomprehensible silence, viewing the kingdom of David and Solomon with as little interest as he had formerly beheld the priestly governments (for that of Babylon was in his time abolished) of Olbus and Pessinus, of Comana and Morimena.

The accounts of them in pagan writers agree with Scripture.

With equal disregard from Greek historians[17], the Jews passed from the dominion of the Persians, to that of the Greeks and Macedonians, and continued thenceforward to yield obedience to those successors of Alexander in Egypt and Syria, who alternately swayed the politics of Lower Asia; until the ill-advised decree of conformity by Antiochus Epiphanes, the seventh[18] Syrian successor of Alexander, commanding them to comply with the established rites of Grecian superstition. Injured in this tender point, they, whose religious immunity had been the price and bond of allegiance, raised the

[16] Herodot. l. ii. c. 159. & l. iii. c. 5.

[17] Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. ii. c. 25.

[18] Antiochus's decree was issued 168 years before Christ. Nearly half a century before that decree, in the year 216 before Christ, Ptolemy Philopator was disgraced by a short-lived and disastrous regulation of the same kind, as will be seen in the sequel.

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standard of rebellion; and, in asserting not only the freedom, but the exclusive propriety and dignity of their national worship, vindicated the institutions of Moses, and precipitated the downfall of the Syrian monarchy. In this desperate warfare, their valour and perseverance awakened Grecian curiosity to still subsisting peculiarities among the Jews, as well as to their ancient and memorable history. The work of Hecatæus of Abdera, a follower of Alexander, who at an earlier period had examined the affairs of Palestine with attention and impartiality [19], is unfortunately lost, and the loss is for ever to be regretted; since the notices of other Greeks, preserved chiefly in Diodorus and Strabo, reflect but a broken and distorted image of the sacred records, although they concur in bearing testimony to the power and populousness of the Jews, their momentous transactions and extraordinary institutions.[20]

Phœnicia — inhabitants of the two Tyres strikingly distinguished from each other.

Of all nations of Asia, next to the Jews themselves, there is none more worthy of liberal curiosity than their neighbours the Phœnicians, whose irreparable misfortunes immediately followed their own. Tyre on the continent, destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, was a very different place from the small city on a rocky island scarcely a mile distant from the coast, taken after a siege of seven months by Alexander.[21]

[19] Joseph. Antiq. l. i. c. 8. Euseb. Præparat. Evangel. l. ix. and Origen cont. Cels. l. i. p. 13.

[20] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 750. & Diodor. l. i. s. 7. and in Fragment. Libror. xxxv. & xl.

[21] History of Ancient Greece, v. iv. c. 38.

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Insular Tyre was confined to an oval and elevated spot, now covered with black earth, eight hundred paces long, and four hundred broad, and could never exceed two miles in circumference. But Tyre on the opposite coast was a city of vast extent, since many centuries after its demolition, the thinly inhabited ruins measured nineteen miles round [22], including the populous island or rather rock in its neighbourhood, whose houses, for want of room on the earth, rose many stories into the air. The Tyrians conquered by Alexander were also a very different people from those destroyed, enslaved, or expelled by the king of Babylon. The Macedonian, in sacking Tyre, revenged not only the abominable cruelties recently committed against his own countrymen, but the bloody insurrection of Tyrian slaves, then possessed of the city, against indulgent and unsuspecting masters.[23] The Babylonian drove from their country the more illustrious ancestors of those masters themselves; men equally conspicuous for their attainments in arts, and their achievements in arms; whose renown, notwithstanding the destruction of their government and their capital, has been perpetuated by numerous colonies established by them on their own model; and whose example was of much importance to Alexander, in suggesting the means of completing by sea as well as land, the golden chain of commerce in which he had purposed to unite the remotest countries of antiquity.

[22] Plin. l. v. c. 19. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 758.

[23] Justin. lxviii. c. 3.

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Naval and commercial history of the Phœnicians.

In a former part of this survey, we described the settlement of the Phœnicians on the coast of Syria, and considered their maritime traffic there, as an appendage to the great caravan trade carried on through Asia and Africa.[24] The nature and intent of this settlement on the shore of the Mediterranean are well calculated to confirm the observation that the further back we remount in the history of Asia, we shall find characters the worthier of our esteem. The Phœnicians were a colony[25] of Sabæans, an industrious seafaring people of Arabia, singularly attentive to the culture of their language, and holding public competitions in poetry, scarcely less memorable than the Pythian games in Greece.[26] Rivalling the Greeks in taste for the fine arts, the Sabæans, and particularly their colonists the Phœnicians, were still further ennobled by zeal for equal laws and political liberty. Sidon, the first settlement of the Phœnicians on the coast which borrowed their name, remounts to the age of Abram[27]: Tyre followed it perhaps[28] at no great distance of time;

[24] Homer, Iliad, l. vi. v. 290. and Odyss. l. xv. v. 419—424. By means of this communication, it is not impossible that Indian ivory might have adorned the palace of Menelaus. Odyss. l. iv. v. 70. et seq.

[25] Herodot. l. i. c. 1.

[26] Vid. Schultens. Præfat. ad Monument. Vetust. Arab. and Pococke, Specileg. Hist. Arab.

[27] Conf. Genesis, c. x. v. 15. & c. xii. v. 6.

[28] Herodot. l. ii. c. 44. But the priests of the Tyrian Hercules indulged the vanity prevalent, as we have seen, in all such colleges. Josephus, Antiq. l. viii. c. 3. makes the foundation of Tyre precede, by only 240 years, that of Solomon's Temple.

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and upwards of twelve centuries before Christ, they had founded other colonies and built other seaports, each governed apart by its own kings or judges, whose official authority was so strictly limited, that it is scarcely to be distinguished from that of elective and responsible magistrates. Under the influence of such institutions, the citizens of Tyre and Sidon gradually became great merchants trading on large capitals, at the various *extremities* of the commercial world, which, according to the observation of Herodotus, were discovered most to abound [29] in precious commodities. The historian's remark is justified by a short enumeration of articles: the gold and ebony of Ethiopia; the spices, gems, and ivory of India; the perfumes and drugs of Arabia; the silver of Tartessus or Spain.[30] To these, the Phœnicians added slaves from Caucasus, horses and furs from Scythia, the amber of Prussia, and the tin of Britain.[31] There was scarcely a commodity, either of ornament or use, which found not a place in their markets, and scarcely a shore, however remote, which they did not lay under commercial contribution, after they had established convenient halting places for reaching it by a

[29] Herodot. l. iii. c. 106. & c. 114.

[30] Tartessus and Ethiopia are called particularly "the extremities of the world." Homer, Odyss. l. iv. v. 563.

Εις ηλυσιον πεδιον και πειρατα γαιης.

Conf. Strabo, l. iii. p. 150. For Ethiopia, see Matthew, c. xii. v. 42.

[31] Ezekiel, c. xxvii. Exodus, xxx. v. 23, 24. Herodot. l. i. c. 163. l. iii. c. 15. Strabo, l. iii. p. 146.

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coasting navigation.[32] Of these halting-places, as well as of the principal goals or markets to which they led, the notices[33] in ancient history are more numerous than might be expected from authors chiefly occupied about wars and conquests.

Their goals and halting-places.

While examining, in a former work, the colonization of the Greeks[34], we scarcely touched at an island in the Mediterranean, without discovering factories and forts of the Phœnicians, or clear vestiges of the mining and other stubborn exertions of that indefatigable people. Cyprus had been cultivated by their industry[35], before it was embellished by the elegance of Greece. In Crete, the Phœnician story of Europa is anterior[36] to the age of the Greek Minos. The most accurate of historians, within the narrow limits prescribed to his narrative, attests the immemorial settlement of Phœnicians in Sicily.[37] In pursuing this direction from east to west, Sardinia and the Balearic isles filled

[32] See Gesner Commentar. de Electro Veterum, et de Navigationibus extra Columnas Herculis, and the same subject treated in a still more satisfactory manner by Heeren in his Ideen, &c. p. 767. et seq. I am particularly indebted to Mr. Heeren, though this part of my work was rough-hewn before his publication appeared.

[33] I confine myself to these *notices*, which Bochart, in his Canaan, has greatly extended by his profound knowledge in eastern languages. Inestimable, in geography and in criticism, are the labours of this learned man; but origins often fanciful, and etymologies often forced, are not authorities in history.

[34] History of Ancient Greece, passim.

[35] Isocrat. in Evagor. Conf. Diodorus, l. xvi. s. 42.

[36] Lucian de Dea Syria sub init. Conf. Diodor. l. iv. s. 60.

[37] Thucydid. l. vii. c. 2. et seq.

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up the long insular chain of their forts and settlements, finally terminating in Tartessus, the isle of Cadiz near the pillars of Hercules.[38] Their establishments on the northern coast of Africa are not less memorable. We have the authority of Aristotle, not less weighty in history than it formerly[39] was in philosophy, for placing the foundation of Utica two hundred and eighty-seven years before that of Carthage, that is, eleven hundred and fifty-six years before the Christian æra: a date which, according to that author, was copied from the Phœnician records.[40] Around Utica, their eldest daughter, and Carthage, their fairest and proudest, three hundred colonies were said to have diffused themselves on both sides collectively, and the report seems to be credited by a great geographer[41] by no means prone to exaggeration. Many of those settlements became important in themselves, through domestic industry and foreign commerce: Carthage, cultivating such pursuits in an extensive territory, far surpassed the power of her metropolis: but, in early times, all those Phœnician establishments derived no small share of their importance from being, as it were, stepping stones to the An-

[38] Diodor. l. v. s. 15. In Sardinia, Tartessus, &c. sacrifices were instituted to the Phœnician Hercules, and performed according to Phœnician forms or customs τοις των φοινικων εθεσι διακεμενα. Diodor. l. v. s. 20.

[39] I mean not in the scholastic ages when nonsense passed for philosophy, but in those of Alexander and Augustus, the most splendid, and *intellectually* the most refined, in history.

[40] Aristot. de Mirabil. Auscult. Opera, tom. i. p. 1165.

[41] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 826.

dalusian coast, which, if Ethiopia formed the Brazils, may be called the Peru and Mexico of antiquity. During the flourishing ages of Tyre in particular, which must have lasted nearly five centuries before its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, silver continued ever to be the principal object as well as instrument of Phœnician[42] traffic; and had been diffused by the Tyrians so copiously over the Eastern continent, that the revenues of all the satrapies, except India and Ethiopia, were paid in silver only.[43]

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In trading with Egyptian and Assyrian wares along the shores of the Mediterranean, as they are described in remotest times by Homer and Herodotus, the Phœnicians were carried accidentally to Tartessus, which is variously mentioned as a city, a river, a country; and which seems originally to have denoted the small island between two branches of the Guadalquiver[44], (settlements of that secure kind being always preferred by the Phœnicians[45],) which gradually extended its name with the diffusion of colonies over the adjacent territory. In this delicious portion of the Spanish coast, (I speak with a lively recollection of its charms,) the en-

Tartessus.

[42] Ezekiel, c. xxvii. v. 25. The words are rendered clearly by Michaelis: "Doch waren immer die Spanishen schiffe das hauptwerk deiner handlung." Conf. 1 Maccabees, c. viii. v. 3.

[43] Herodotus, l. iii. c. 89. et seq.

[44] Diodor. l. v. s. 20. Conf. Velleius Paterculus, l. i. c. 2. Arrian, Exped. Alexand. ii. 16. & Strabo, Mela, Pausanias, Pliny.

[45] The isle of Cadiz, for the sake of silver; Nordland, an isle of Denmark, for the sake of amber; Scilly, for tin, &c.

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terprising traders are said to have met with objects calculated to afford unbounded scope to their mercantile speculations. For the cheapest trinkets, they received vast quantities of silver in exchange; a circumstance not extraordinary, if we believe that, among the natives of the country, the vilest utensils and even the mangers[46] for their horses consisted of this precious metal. The Phœnicians must have laid in a full cargo, before they could think, as is said, of separating the lead from their anchors, that they might load them also with silver.[47] Such reports may be partly fictitious; vain exaggerations resembling those to which similar circumstances gave birth upon the first discovery of America: but, as they are transmitted by authors of discernment as well as probity, they should seem to attest such riches in Spain in remote antiquity, as were sufficient to render that country the principal goal of the Phœnicians in their western traffic.

Stories concerning the first Phœnician traders to that country.

Spain is said to have produced tin[48] as well as silver. But the Phœnicians, with their unceasing activity in examining every coast which offered a hope of gain, soon discovered more copious sources of an article at all times and places of various and indispensable use, but

Tin—its peculiar use in Asia.

[46] Conf. Strabo, l. iii. p. 224. and Diodor. l. iii. s. 36. with Wesselingius's note.

[47] Aristot. de Mirabil. Auscult. Opera, tom. i. p. 1163. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 163. et Diodor. l. v. s. 35.

[48] Strabo, l. iii. p. 147. Diodor. l. v. s. 380. and Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 16.

particularly in request among the warlike nations of the East for hardening their copper, and making it supply the place of iron in weapons.[49] For collecting tin in abundance, the hardy navigators formed settlements on the Scilly islands, and perhaps also near to some of those promontories and peninsulas on the coast of Cornwall, which, exhibiting to ships at sea the appearance of isles not unlike those of Scilly, were collectively with them named the Cassiterides.[50]

The Phœnicians endeavoured to conceal their trade to the Cassiterides.

Careful as the Phœnicians were to conceal such profitable voyages, it was impossible for them to disguise their navigation for silver to Spain, through the well-known course of the Mediterranean. But they long endeavoured to throw a veil over their trade to Britain for the baser metals of lead and tin. In his anxiety to preserve the monopoly of these articles to his country, a Phœnician captain, perceiving himself to be followed by a foreign vessel, contrived to make his ship bulge; the crew perished; the captain was saved on the wreck, and his bold act of patriotism was remunerated by his fellow-

[49] Their armour, offensive and defensive, has been found, on analysis, to contain copper and tin; the tin gives hardness, the copper tenacity. The ingenious Mr. Hatchett, who has examined chemically many ancient weapons, tells me that to these distinctions the ancient armourers very carefully attended. The manual weapons contain about four-fifths of copper, and only one-fifth of tin: the missile weapons contain a much greater proportion of tin. A sword must have strength and flexibility. A dart will answer its purpose, if hard and sharp, though brittle.

[50] Strabo, l. iii. p. 175. makes the Cassiterides ten in number. This error is corrected by Camden and others.

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citizens.[51] The Cassiterides were considered as situate at the extremities of the north, but the Phœnicians, if they did not really navigate the Baltic, at least procured from its shores the admired article of amber[52]; a commodity then deemed more precious than gold.

Their trade for gold to Ophir.

But this main instrument and idol of the commercial world, appears, next to silver, to have been the principal import of the Tyrians. The long friendship of David and Solomon, kings of the Hebrews, with Hiram king of Tyre, afforded an opportunity to the sacred historian of mentioning two celebrated voyages of Hiram's subjects: namely, that to Tarshish or Tartessus above described, by the Mediterranean; and that to Ophir on the eastern coast of Africa, by the Red Sea. The ships to Tarshish, on the occasion particularly specified, proceeded southward to the coast of Guinea, and, together with Spanish silver, brought home the usual purchases on that coast to the present day, gold and ivory.[53] The ships which sailed from the harbours of Elath and Eziongeber on the eastern horn of the Red Sea, brought back gold only.[54]

[51] Not, however, with the generosity of British merchants, if he received only the value of his lost cargo. Strabo, l. iii. p. 175, 176. But the phrase should be construed liberally, that the captain received due compensation.

[52] It came from the Eridanus, recognised in the Rhodaune, which flows into the Vistula near Dantzig. Herodot. l. iii. c. 15. with Larcher's note.

[53] 1 Kings, c. x. v. 22.

[54] 1 Kings, c. ix. v. 26, 27, & 28. and 2 Chronicles, c viii. v. 17, & 18. In these texts, the two voyages are clearly distinguished; not so, in 2 Chronicles, c. xx. v. 36. and 1 Kings, c. xxii. 48. To

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In these venturous undertakings, apparently familiar to the Tyrians, the gains must have been indeed wonderful, if estimated by the extraordinary quantities of gold employed for adorning the temple of Jerusalem, computed at upwards of six hundred millions sterling[55]: a sum of accumulation to which our enormous debts of profusion can alone reconcile our ears. By adopting the reading in Josephus[56], the amount is reduced to the tenth part of that contained in Chronicles; but even Josephus's statement is sufficiently large to warrant the suspicion that the talent in question is not that of the Hebrews, but a much smaller weight of the same name, applied only to articles the most precious, particularly the fine gold of Ophir.

Reasons for thinking it near to Sofala.

A late celebrated traveller, in explaining the Phœnician voyage, is generally thought to have determined on good grounds the situation of Ophir at Sofala; a district on the eastern coast of Africa nearly opposite to the centre of the great island of Madagascar. In addition to the arguments employed by himself and others in support of this opinion, it may be observed, that Cambyses the Persian, after his conquest of

reconcile the dark, with the clear, texts, we may either suppose the names "Tarshish and Ophir" to be interchanged by a mistake of transcribers, or we must admit an anterior circumnavigation of Africa to that described by Herodotus 610 years before Christ. Herodot. l. iv. c. 42.

[55] 1 Chronicles, c. xxii. v. 14. with Arbuthnot's tables of ancient coins, p. 208.

[56] Antiq. Judaic. l. vii. c. 14.

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Egypt[57], proceeded as far as Meroë in an expedition against the Ethiopians, whose great riches are expressed by saying, that the chains of their prisoners were composed of gold[58]; and that he returned, despairing of success, after he had accomplished one-fifth part of his journey.[59] The stage at which he arrived, the part of his route which he had performed, and both notices derived from the most respectable sources, afford such a result as seems altogether decisive: since the distance between Thebes and Meroë, from the former of which Cambyses set out, really measures about a fifth part of the journey from Thebes to Sofala or Ophir. By this observation, however, I pretend not to fix the situation of Ophir within precise and narrow limits; for Ophir was probably a name for that part of Ethiopia most productive in gold, as Tartessus, of which we have just spoken, denoted those districts in Spain most abundant in silver.

Traffic of the Phœnicians in spices and perfumes.

Next to the precious metals, spices and perfumes formed the main merchandize of the Phœnicians, and were by them diffused among various nations of the west and north. In importing these commodities, their principal agents were the Sabæans inhabiting the cultivated parts of Arabia on the Red Sea, and the carriers by

[57] Strabo, l. xvii. Conf. Joseph. Antiq. Judaic. l. ii. c. 10.

[58] Herodot. l. iii. c. 23.

[59] Herodot. l. iii. c. 25. His provisions failed before he reached this distance, and he could not long continue to advance, when his soldiers were obliged to live on the beasts of burden, or on each other. Conf. Herodot. ubi supra, et Seneca de Ira, l. iii. c. 20.

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land through the intermediate desert, were the Nabathæan Arabs, "the troops from Tema and Sheba[60]," whose transactions will be conspicuous in a subsequent part of this work during the short-lived empire of Antigonus. The Phœnicians and Sabæans were connected by the ties of blood[61], but still more closely united by their mutual wants. The Phœnicians wanted from these Arabians, articles indispensable in the domestic[62] luxury, and still more in the costly public worship of antiquity, when incense[63] perpetually smoked from innumerable altars; and the Sabæans might be abundantly supplied in return, with what they most coveted, the silver of Tartessus; an object of the utmost importance in their commerce with India, since at all times that metal has been in peculiar request among the remote nations of the East. Not satisfied with an equality of profit in this beneficial intercourse, the wily Tyrians, while they kept in their own hands a sort of monopoly of silver, contrived to create rivals to the Sabæans in the sale of Indian[64] and Arabian merchandize.

Its vast extent and causes by which it was promoted.

[60] Job, c. vi. v. 19.

[61] See above, s. ii.

[62] Herodot. l. i. c. 195. & 198.

[63] Id. l. i. c. 183.

[64] "The Phœnicians, by means of their harbours on the Red Sea, held a regular intercourse with India." Robertson's Disquisition, &c. p. 7. 4to. edit. But the authorities cited by this accurate and eminent historian, (viz. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1128. and Diodorus, l. i. p. 70.), do not warrant his assertion; neither is there any clear proof of Indian articles in the xxviiith chapter of Ezekiel. But spices are mentioned in Genesis, c. xxxvii. v. 25.; and what these spices were, appears from the cinnamon and cassia of the holy oil, Exodus, c. xxx. v. 23. with Michaelis's note. Κιννάμωμος is used in the Septuagint, Jeremiah, c. vi. v. 10. and also in the Revelations, c. xviii. v. 13.

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Sabæans prevented from keeping the monopoly in this traffic.

Gerra and Maceta.

The cultivated parts on the Red Sea, and those on the Persian gulph, are separated by a desert six hundred miles broad. Towards the north, they communicated by the wandering Nabathæans, and on the south, by small and obscure seaports extending along the basis of the triangle, from the Arabian to the Persian gulph. At the entrance of the latter, Maceta opposite to the modern Ormus, and further to the north, Gerra, only two hundred miles distant from the mouth of the Euphrates, deserved the attention of historians, not exclusively engrossed by wars and conquests. At what precise period the commerce of these harbours acquired eminence, we are not enabled to ascertain; it must, however, have been ancient, extensive, and uninterrupted, since a southern district of Babylonia, Diredotis or Teredon, chiefly supplied by their means with spices and aromatics, was emphatically styled the land of traffic by the prophets[65], and is dignified with precisely the same title by the Greek historians of Alexander.[66] At their first establishment, the harbours on the Persian gulph probably served chiefly as links of connection between

where that spice appears as an ordinary article of traffic in ancient Babylon. Herodotus, l. iii. c. 3. says, "cinnamon came from the country where Bacchus was brought up," that is, India: and the stories related by him concerning it exactly resemble those told by the inhabitants of Ceylon to Thunberg and Foster. Atheneus, l. i. p. 66. will attest the early use of spiceries in Greece.

[65] Conf. Ezekiel, c. xvii. v. 4. and Isaiah, c. xliii. v. 14.

[66] Γης εμπορίης. Arriani Indica, c. 41.

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the Happy Arabia, and the rich Babylonian[67] plain, where the successive capitals of Nineveh and Babylon, not to mention cities of inferior rank, must have occasioned a great demand for their merchandize; since Babylon, in its fallen state under the Persian yoke, annually consumed twenty-five[68] tons of frankincense in the single festival of Belus. But through the interference, and perhaps the example of the Phœnicians, the merchants of Gerra and Maceta, as well as those of the neighbouring isles in the Persian gulph, some of which produced good timber[69], ventured on a bolder sphere of action, and constructed vessels of their own, fit to perform long coasting voyages to different parts of India. That the Tyrians had no small share in effecting this improvement, is indicated in the name Tylos or Tyrus, and Aradus, both transferred from Phœnician[70] cities to two small islands near the eastern coast of Arabia: whether those now called the Bahrein islands, or, according to our great geographer whose opinions always command respect, two yet smaller, near the mouth

Dedan — its import.

[67] Strabo says this of Gerra, and speaks of it as a Babylonian colony, l. i. p. 50. Nearchus in his voyage was told that the promontory, which he saw before him, of Maceta, was an emporium of cinnamon and aromatics, which supplied the Assyrians. Arrian, Indic. c. 32.

[68] Herodot. l. i. c. 183. This kind of magnificence continued under Alexander, who expended ten thousand talents (two millions sterling) in Hephæstion's funeral pyre at Babylon. Arrian, vii. 14.

[69] Theophrast. Histor. Plant. l. v. c. 6. and Plin. l. vi. c. 28.

[70] Ἱερα ἐχεσαι τοις φοινικικοις δμοια. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 766. Conf. Plin. l. vi. p. 28.

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of the Persian gulph.[71] The notices in ancient writers concerning the situation of Tylos or Tyrus are not to be reconciled. Probably, as we have seen in parallel cases, the name was applied to different islands in the gulph, as they successively became chief seats of Phœnician factories, and principal staples of traffic. By means, however, of their settlements in these parts, called collectively Dedan[72] in Scripture, the Phœnicians not only destroyed the monopoly of the Sabæans with regard to the maritime commerce in spices and perfumes, but obtained a channel of communication with Ophir or Sofala, independently of the harbours on the Red Sea, which, in the unsettled state of that neighbourhood, frequently changed masters.

Phœnician manufactures.

Having endeavoured briefly to explain the different branches of Phœnician commerce, it is necessary to add that a people equally ingenious and enterprising, was not contented with dealing in foreign commodities. They carried on successfully various branches of domestic industry; some common to them with other manufacturing nations, and several peculiar to themselves alone: for the inventors of letters were the authors of many other inventions; among which it would be unpardonable to omit their robes shining with the far-famed Tyrian dye, their inimitable pieces of workmanship in gold and ivory[73], and the more useful composition of glass, which appears

[71] Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 248.
[72] Michaelis on Ezekiel, c. xxvii. v. 15.
[73] Strabo, l. i. p. 41. & l. xvi. p. 757, 758.

to have been a Sidonian discovery.[74] Yet to the boldness of their maritime undertakings, the Phœnicians are principally indebted for their celebrity.[75]

Circumnavigation of Africa.

The circumnavigation of Africa by men, who, in many preceding voyages, had sailed to Guinea on one side, and to Sofala on the other, is not an unlikely event, nor involving any incredible circumstances. The voyage was accomplished, as we have seen, six centuries before the Christian æra, by Phœnicians resident in Egypt, at the desire of Necos, the unfortunate rival of Nebuchadnezzar. But in the state of the commercial world at that period, this first passage of the Cape of Good Hope stands as an insulated and comparatively unimportant fact, celebrated indeed as a matter of curiosity[76], but which, to

[74] It was industriously reported by the Phœnicians, that the fusion of sand into glass could be performed only at Sidon. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 758. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 69. and Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 26. Were the λιθινα χυτα, "the melted stones" of which Herodotus speaks, of the same nature with modern glass? If so, the Egyptians probably obtained them from Sidon. Joshua, c. xix. v. 26. with Michaelis's note.

[75] In the Argonautica ascribed to Orpheus, and certainly of high antiquity, the Poet makes Ancæus, a Phœnician, take the helm in time of danger, and encourage the Greek heroes. Argonaut. v. 1090. et seq.

[76] See above, p. 191. and Herodotus, l. iv. c. 42. Some translations make Herodotus say, "the report of those navigators may obtain credit with others, but to me it seems incredible; for they affirmed that having sailed round Africa, they had the sun on their right hand." The last clause of the sentence should run, "that in sailing round Africa they had the sun on their right hand," that is, in the northern hemisphere. On turning to the original, the reader will find, that this is the only circumstance which Herodotus calls in question, although he candidly admits that others may be pre-

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historians of that age, did not seem likely to be attended with any considerable utility.

Its unimportance in that age.

Had profit been its main object, the Tyrians would have left neither the design to a king of Egypt, nor the execution chiefly to their countrymen settled in that kingdom; their own commonwealth would have embarked heartily in the enterprise. But the merchants of Tyre, holding such an important share in the traffic carried on by sea and land through the great central countries of the world, could not discern any alluring prospect at the out-lying extremity of Africa. On the eastern side, all beyond Ophir, the land of gold, was left unexamined, from an opinion rather of the uselessness of such an undertaking, than of any great danger attending it; and on the western side of that vast region, they might safely entrust the completion of their discoveries to the greatest of their own colonies, I mean the republic of Carthage, whose fortunate position on the African shore was improved, as we shall see hereafter, by a rare combination of deep wisdom and daring enterprise.

Government of the Phœnicians.

The political state of the Phœnicians may be familiarised to our fancy by recalling the governments of Greece during the heroic ages. In Greece before, and for a short time after, the war of Troy, each city, at the distance of ten or

pared for receiving it. He is so far from disbelieving the relation in general on account of one improbable circumstance that he immediately subjoins: "Thus was the coast of Africa for the first time explored."

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twenty miles from another, had its king, its senate and assembly; while the whole of these cities collectively formed a confederacy for defence, and sometimes for aggression: united by the common ties of religion and language, a sameness of laws, and a similarity of manners. Such precisely[77] was the condition of the Phœnicians, with one important difference, that this praiseworthy people never unsheathed the sword except in self-defence: they resisted the invaders of their country with unparalleled perseverance; the other materials for their history are supplied solely by their commerce, their colonization, and their discoveries.

Invention of letters — connected with their extensive commerce.

At the head of these discoveries must be mentioned, that which is the greatest of all, and to which mankind are so infinitely indebted, that emotions of curiosity and gratitude arise in every liberal mind, at the bare name of its authors. It might naturally be expected that clouds should surround the origin of alphabetic writing, an art by which chiefly, the fruits of all other arts and sciences are perpetuated and diffused. But the general voice of antiquity,

[77] The progress of government in Phœnicia accorded also exactly with that in Greece, and was directly the reverse of that in Palæstine. Instead of Judges, the Hebrews created kings; instead of Kings, the Phœnicians elected Suffetes, so named from the Phœnician or Hebrew word (Sophetim), which signifies judges. In their historical age, the Carthaginians knew only Suffetes, though Hanno in the title to his voyage (of which hereafter) is called king. This interchange of names attests the nature of the office, agreeing, as said in the text, with the very *limited royalties* of Greece. History of Ancient Greece, v. i. c. 1. & 3. Conf. Josephus cont. Apion, l. i. c. 17.

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while it ascribes to the Egyptians and Assyrians respectively, the improvements of geometry and astronomy[78]; and to both nations promiscuously, the introduction of idolatry and hieroglyphics[79], assigns to the Phœnicians an invention of greater subtilty and more extensive use; the analysis of articulate sound into its simplest elements, and the notation of these elements by fit characters, which Cadmus carried with him into Greece, two years before Moses led the Israelites across the Red Sea. The Assyrians and Egyptians depicted on walls and columns their public transactions, as well as their astronomical observations: the symbolic writing employed for these purposes was also subservient, as we have seen, to the early and extensive intercourse carried on by caravans, through the rich cities of Thebes and Nineveh, Memphis and Babylon; and between those great inland staples of the ancient continent on the one hand, and the Phœnician as well as Arabian seaports on the other. To which of the two great pursuits of the Theban and Babylonian priesthood, whether commerce or science, the inestimable invention of recording thought is most indebted, it would be now fruitless to inquire; but it is worthy of remark, that the two great nations of antiquity, the most noted for their inland traffic, are also the most celebrated for their hieroglyphics; and it is analogous to this observation that the

[78] Οι χαλδαιοι μεν αστρονομιαν, Αιγυπτιοι δε γεωμετριαν, &c. Anatolius apud Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. l. iii. c. 10. p. 275.

[79] Vid. Cassiodor. Varior. l. iii. Epist. 52.

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Phœnicians, while they distinguished themselves by maritime commerce, should have exerted their ingenuity on contrivances indispensable to merchants[80], and have simplified more and more the means by which their contracts might be recorded, and their thoughts communicated to numerous correspondents and factories in distant parts of the world.

Destruction of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar. B. C. 573.

Within as narrow a compass as seemed consistent with perspicuity, I have endeavoured to comprise the merits and attainments of a people whose splendour appears early above the distant horizon of time, and whose sun of prosperity set five hundred and seventy-three years before the Christian æra. After a thirteen years' siege, Tyre was taken and demolished by Nebuchadnezzar. King Ithobal was slain fighting for his capital. To these particulars concerning a siege longer, and, in respect of its defenders, far more important than that of Troy, history only enables us to add the ordinary operations in all such warfare; a mound raised against the place, walls of circumvallation round it, forts with lofty engines from which its highest towers were battered.[81] Its fair palaces, splendid idols, and accumulated magazines of precious merchandise[82] were a prey to horsemen from the north, the Scythian cavalry of Nebuchadnezzar; bar-

[80] To this necessity, also, Strabo ascribes their arithmetic and doctrine of proportions. Την λογιστικην, &c. δια εμπορίας, l. xvii. p. 787.

[81] Ezekiel, c. xxiv. v. 8 & 9.

[82] Ibid. c. xxviii. v. 12. in Michaelis's translation.

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barians not less thirsty for blood than they were greedy of plunder.

Influence of that event on the commercial world.

The crash of this metropolis, in the bold language of prophecy, resounded over numerous isles and distant coasts; its fall shook to the earth many flourishing factories and colonies, involving as it were in its ruin the whole commercial world.[83] A peculiarity in the prediction "that Tyre should be thrown into the sea, so that, though sought for, it should never more be found[84]," was not fulfilled till near three centuries afterwards, when Alexander employed part of the ruins of this capital to raise a stupendous mole reaching three-quarters of a mile from the coast to the walls of New Tyre, built on the opposite island.[85] This mole has been gradually covered with alluvions, and formed into an isthmus, which, with the small island at its extremity, compose together a peninsula in the shape of a hammer. The present town stands on the junction, as it were, of the head and handle: miserably peopled by fifty families of poor fishermen.[86] Sad as this desolation

Prophecy fulfilled.

[83] Ezekiel, c. xxviii. v. 15, 16, 17. [84] Ezekiel, c. xxvi. v. 17. & 21.

[85] History of Ancient Greece, v. iv. c. 38.

[86] Voyage de Volney en Syrie, &c. v. ii. p. 194. This more lively than learned traveller gives a curious derivation of the word Sour (the modern name of Tyre). The Latins, he says, substituted the letter *T* for the Greek Θ, which had the hissing sound which the English give to *Th* in the word *Think*. Hence the change of the word *Theta* into *S*. How strange! Did Mr. Volney ever meet with "Tyre" written in Greek with a *Theta*? The modern name of Sour or Sur is not derived from the Greek but from the Arabic, in which language Tyre, as is well known, is written Tsyrus. Vid. Golium. Element. Afragan.

must appear, the narrowness and smallness of insular Tyre, the seaport sacked by Alexander, but afterwards restored by him, was a declension scarcely less memorable from the spacious and splendid city destroyed irrecoverably by Nebuchadnezzar.[87] SECT. IV.

This king of kings, the redoubted commander of innumerable cavalry, appears not to have been possessed of any considerable naval force. Many Tyrians escaped by sea with their most precious effects; and a considerable number of them, moved by affection for their native land, so much encreased the populousness of the island, that it became in time necessary to raise the houses there, five and six stories above the ground. They are described as equalling in height the *insulæ* at Rome, a word for which the English language happily supplies not an equivalent, but which denoted large and lofty edifices, inhabited by various tenants of the poorer sort, occupying their several flats or stories.[88] Security from such conquerors as Nebuchadnezzar, compensated to the Tyrians for every inconveniency and even New Tyre —its buildings.

[87] The pre-eminence of the first Tyre over the second, has been strangely overlooked: Montesquieu had a glimpse of it, where he says, Je crois que la destruction de la premiere Tyre, par Nebuchodanosor, &c. fit perdra des connaissances qu'on avoit acquises. L'Esprit des Loix, xxi. 9.

[88] Conf. Juvenal. Satyr. iii. v. 166. Sueton. in Neron. and Strabo, l. xvi. p. 753. & 757. They are common in all parts of the continent; over which England has this advantage, that persons of moderate fortunes, as well as the rich, can lock their outer doors, their houses being inhabited by one family only.

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danger, in a country often shaken by earthquakes.

Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Egypt.

The taking of Tyre which had not been effected by the Chaldees "till every head was bald, and every shoulder peeled[89]," was immediately followed by a predatory desolation of Egypt, then torn by a civil war between Apries the grandson and successor of Necos, and his revolted general Amasis. The haughty character of Apries, who, according to Herodotus, vaunted that it was beyond the power[90] of the gods themselves to shake the firmness of his government, is described more pithily by the words put into his mouth by Ezekiel, "the river is mine and I have made it."[91] Such pride, deformed by still more odious cruelty[92], precipitated him from the throne; and, after the departure of Nebuchadnezzar, (who should appear to have entered into a composition with Amasis,) subjected Apries to a shameful death.[93]

Amasis, his reign of forty-four years. B.C. 569—525.

From the date of Apries' execution, the usurper Amasis reigned forty-four years with great glory; exaggerated perhaps by the partiality of the Greeks, to whom he threw open the commerce of his kingdom, and whom he encouraged to build temples, (a precaution necessary to merchants) in every part of his dominions, and with whose nation he enhanced all his former merits, by making a Greek woman the partner of his throne.[94] During the latter

[89] Ezekiel, c. xxix. v. 18.
[90] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 161.
[91] Chap. xxix v. 9
[92] Herodotus, l. ii. p. 162.
[93] Ibid. c. 169.
[94] Ibid. l. ii. c. 178. & 181.

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part of his long administration, Egypt recovered from the evils inflicted on it in the time of Apries. The seasons were favourable, the supplies of water to the Nile unusually propitious, and the kingdom boasted its twenty thousand cities or towns, most of them well inhabited. [95]

Revolutions in Asia between Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander. B. C. 561—330.

The Egyptian expedition is the last warfare of which we have any distinct notice in the military history of Nebuchadnezzar, who, shortly afterwards, converted his vast camp into the greatest city described in antiquity. Of the enlargement of this city, and of the various classes of its inhabitants; their occupations, pursuits, and manners, such as they still appeared at the æra of the Macedonian conquest, we shall speak presently; after deducing briefly the revolutions in Asia from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to that of Alexander.

The great Nebuchadnezzar, called Labynetus by the Greeks, died five hundred and sixty-one years before the Christian æra. He was succeeded by a prince named also Labynetus by Herodotus [96], a name that may be recognised in the Nabonnid of Berosus [97], and who, from a complete coincidence in several extraordinary particulars [98], is concluded to be the same person with the Belshazzar of Daniel, whose capital was taken by Cyrus five hundred and thirty-eight years before the Christian æra.

[95] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 177. [96] Ibid. l. i. c. 188.

[97] Apud Joseph. cont. Apion. l. i. c. 2. and Euseb. Præparat. Evangel. l. ix. c. 41.

[98] Conf. Xenoph. Cyropæd. vii. p. 190. Edit. Leuncl. and Daniel, c. v. passim.

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Babylonian, or second Assyrian empire. B. C. 605—538.

The second Assyrian empire called Babylonian, from the capital of Nebuchadnezzar, and Chaldæan from the nation of his warlike followers, lasted no more than sixty-seven years, from the destruction of Nineveh to the Persian conquest of Babylon. During the first fifty-five years of that period, the power of Babylon in the west, was contemporary with that of the Medes in the east; and, during the twelve last years of the same period, it was contemporary with that of the Persians [99], who, through the valour and policy of Cyrus, supplanted the dominion of the Medes five centuries and a half before Christ. [100]

Persian empire. B. C. 538—330.

From the taking of Babylon by Cyrus, to the assassination of the last Darius by Bessus, an interval of two hundred and eight years, the Persians, whose history in connection with that of the Greeks, I related in a former work, held a more extensive dominion in southern Asia, than any other nation ever enjoyed either before or after them, the Macedonians alone excepted.

Egypt conquered by Cambyses. B. C. 525.

To Asia, Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus, added Egypt [101] almost immediately after the death of Amasis, its illustrious and beloved sovereign. Psammenitus, the son of Amasis, and the last independent king of Egypt, reigned but six months before the invasion of his country, and the destruction of himself and family by a merciless tyrant, who, in his eagerness to level

[99] Herodot. l. i. c. 125. et seq. Conf. Daniel. cum Comment. Hieronym.

[100] Id. ibid.

[101] Herodot. l. iii. c. 1. et seq.

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every thing in that ancient kingdom before his own despotism, raged with an intolerant fury not totally devoid of policy, against its idolatry and priesthood.[102] As the priests had been the first authors, and always continued the main supporters of Egyptian prosperity, so of all classes in society, they were the most reluctant in yielding submission to a barbarous foreign yoke. The successive revolts of the Egyptians fomented chiefly through the priests, continued down to the æra of the Macedonian conquest. Only twenty years before that period, when Artaxerxes Ochus defeated Nectenebus the last conspicuous rebel, his victory was followed by a general persecution of the sacerdotal families, whose temples were plundered even of their sacred records.[103]

Persecutions of its priests and rebellions. B. C. 525—330.

Notwithstanding the evils inflicted on Egypt by the Persians, that country, as well as Assyria, when they fell under the dominion of Alexander, still contained an industrious and ingenious people. The use which that conqueror, as well as his brother Ptolemy, who reigned after him in Egypt, made of such valuable materials there, it will be my duty to explain fully hereafter. But as Babylon, locally the centre, was chosen also for the seat and capital[104] of Alexander's empire, it is necessary in this place to describe its condition when conquered by him, not merely as to its buildings and external embellishments, things comparatively of little interest, but with

State of Babylon at the æra of the Macedonian conquest.

[102] Herodot. l. iii. c. 1. & c. xxv. et seq. [103] Diodorus, l. xvi. s. 51.
[104] Strabo, l. xv. p. 731.

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regard to its numerous inhabitants; their arts, occupations, and manners.

How enlarged by Nebuchadnezzar.

Babylon had been long famed for science and for commerce, before it became the head of a great empire on the downfall of Nineveh. These cities, as capitals, existed not simultaneously, but successively. Many of the ornaments of Babylon might be due to a princess who flourished an hundred and fifty years[105] before Nebuchadnezzar, and still more of them might be owing to his queen Nitocris, who is supposed to have carried on his architectural plans during his long mental alienation; yet, we have the authority of Scripture for ascribing to Nebuchadnezzar himself[104], the vastness and magnificence "of the house of his kingdom." The dimensions of his capital as extended on the plan of a vast camp, after the usual practice of oriental conquerors, are given with as little variation[107] as might be expected from travellers estimating by report only, without actual admeasurement. According to the fairest result, they comprehended a regular square, of which each side measured about twelve English miles[108], giving a surface of an hundred and twenty-six square miles within its fortifications: a surface exceeding eight times the size of London and its appendages.[109] Ba-

Its dimensions.

How divided within its walls.

[105] Herodotus, l. i. c. 184.

[106] "Is not this great Babylon which I have built for the house of the kingdom," that is, the capital of my empire. Conf. Daniel, c. iv. v. 30. Josephus cont. Apion, l. i. c. 19.

[107] Conf. Herodotus, Strabo, Diodorus, Curtius, Pliny.

[108] Herodotus, l. i. c. 178. Conf. Diodor. & Aristot. Politic. l. iii. c. 2.

[109] Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 541.

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bylon contained crowded streets rising three and four[110] stories high; but, like its precursor Nineveh, abounded with gardens, or rather parks, spacious reservoirs of water, temples and palaces of great extent, vast squares and market-places. Although we abate above one half for these ornamental vacancies, we shall leave ample room for habitation within walls 48 miles in circuit. These walls were 75 feet high, with pinnacles rising fifteen feet above them[111]: and were provided at due intervals with a hundred brazen gates. The principal palace stood on the western bank of the Euphrates, directly opposite to the temple, sepulchre, and tower of Belus. This last-named edifice ascended above the middle of the temple, or rather sacred inclosure, in a pyramidal form, diminishing in compass as it reached upwards from its quadrangular base, each side of which was a stadium in length.[112] It was divided into eight stories, of which the higher always contracted by the deep retreat of its sides from the division immediately below it. The whole height of the tower measured a stadium; an altitude well according with the forty feet[113] assigned to the colossal statue of Belus or Jupiter on its summit; which, at the elevation of a stadium, would represent the ordinary size of a human figure.

Tower of Belus.

The magnitude of this edifice, loftier and

How Babylon sup-

[110] Herodotus, l. i. c. 180. Conf. Curtius.

[111] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 738.

[112] Herodot. l. i. c. 181. His stadium is the tenth part of a mile nearly.

[113] Diodorus, l. ii. c. 9.

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plied with food.

only somewhat less massy than the greatest of the Egyptian pyramids, has been a stumbling-block with many, who have overlooked a more considerable difficulty. How could Babylon, if three times, or only twice as populous as London, be properly supplied with food? In the narratives of ancient writers, we hear nothing of that scarcity [114] which prevails in the populous cities of China, now the greatest in Asia; and which reduces their wretched inhabitants to the meanest shifts and coarsest garbage for subsistence. [115] The Babylonians, on the contrary, are described as living in great plenty, and the upper classes as enjoying the habitual use of expensive luxuries. [116] It has been computed that London requires for its support, according to the average culture of Great Britain, a territory nearly equal in extent to Wales. [117] Could the produce of fourteen thousand square miles, that is, twice the surface of Wales, be transported to Babylon without enhancing beyond bounds the price of necessaries? The question will be answered in the affirmative, when we consider the wonderful fertility of Babylonia, that is, the cultivated soil between the rivers; of the canals for watering the desert on the west of the Euphrates, and of the rich alluvial Susiana on the east of the Tigris. [118] Besides this consideration, the

The household

[114] Anson's Voyage, Staunton's Embassy, &c.
[115] Id. ibid. [116] Herodot. l. i. c. 195.
[117] Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 341. et seq.
[118] See above, p. 90.

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of the great king not supplied from the ordinary markets.

following passage of Scripture seems to indicate the means by which the produce of very remote districts might be serviceable in nourishing the capital, and lowering in price there, the principal articles of subsistence. "And Solomon had twelve officers over all Israel which provided victuals for the king and his household." [119] A similar institution prevailed under the Assyrian and Persian empires.[120] Two royal palaces, only, occupied in Babylon the space of two and a half square miles.[121] In these stupendous abodes of luxury and magnificence, the retainers and court attendants cannot be supposed less numerous than they are afterwards described in the smaller palaces of Susa, where the menials were numbered by troops like the king's accompanying army, and where many thousands of ghiher rank were daily fed at his tables.[122] In subsisting these idle multitudes, and even the royal army, no demand needed to be made on the ordinary markets. These favoured orders were provided bountifully by the des-

[119] 1 Kings, c. iv. v. 7.

[120] Ctesias, Persic. & Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 241.

[121] Diodorus, l. ii. s. 8.

[122] Xenoph. ibid. Conf. Athenæus, l. iv. p. 146. Dioclesian, the first Roman emperor who adopted the court ceremonial of the great kings of the East, had the avenues to his palace lined by vast crowds (the various schools as they were called) of domestic officers. Eutropius and Aurelius Victor, & Spanheim de Usu Numismatum, Dissert. xii.

The populousness of the Persian cities varies greatly according to the accession or removal of the court. Tehraim, the present capital, has only 10,000 inhabitants in summer; but, in winter, when the court is there, the population amounts to 60,000.

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potic master of millions, commanding and concentrating labour, and setting all expence at defiance.

Peculiar circumstances in the soil and mode of life of the Babylonians.

In addition to this circumstance, Babylonia, more fertile than Egypt, enjoyed for the most part an equal conveniency in point of water-carriage. The soil not only produced more than that of European countries, but there was a quicker succession of crops, legumes succeeding grains, and fruits being followed in the same season by new flowers.[123] The Babylonians also, like the inhabitants of southern Asia in general, lived on the simple and immediate produce of the ground, instead of receiving the result of that produce infinitely diminished in the form of animal food. Nations subsisting chiefly on grains and roots attain a degree of populousness of which carniverous Europeans can scarcely form an idea. In those adust climates, besides, the crops of many years might be treasured up with safety; and that this contrivance against scarcity was in use at Babylon, there is abundant proof in history.[124]

Public granaries.

Babylon's greatest commercial prosperity.

During the latter part of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, and the twenty-six years that intervened between his death and the conquest of his

[123] Gibbon says, too strongly, "To the soil and climate of Babylonia, nature had denied some of her choicest gifts, the vine, the olive, and the fig-tree;" for, according to our modern travellers, grapes, olives, and figs, are now very common fruits in almost every garden. But these garden-fruits are poor compensations for the groves of palm-trees that anciently covered the whole country. Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xxiv.

[124] Herodotus, l. iii. c. 158. & Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. vii. p. 190.

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capital by Cyrus, Babylon appears not only to have been the seat of an imperial court, and station for a vast garrison, but the staple of the greatest commerce that perhaps was ever carried on by one city. Its precious manufactures under its hereditary sacerdotal government remounted, as we have seen, to immemorial antiquity.[125] The Babylonians continued thenceforward to be clothed with the produce of their own industry. Their bodies were covered with fine linen, descending to their feet; their mitras or turbans were also of linen, plaited with much art; they wore woollen tunicks, above which a short white cloak repelled the rays of the sun.[126] Their houses were solid, lofty, and separated, from a regard to health and safety, at due distances from each other[127]; within them the floors glowed with double and triple carpets of the brightest colours[128]; and the walls were adorned with those beautiful tissues called Sindones, whose fine yet firm texture was employed as the fittest clothing for eastern kings.[129] The looms of Babylon, and of the neighbouring Borsippa, a town owing its prosperity to manufactures wholly, supplied, to all countries round, the finest veils or hangings, and every article of dress or furniture composed of cotton, of linen, or of wool.[130]

Rich manufactures.

[125] Joshua, c. vii. v. 21. [126] Herodot. l. i. c. 195.
[127] Curtius, l. v. c. i.
[128] Xenoph. de Instit. Cyri. Conf. Arrian, Expedit. Alexand. l. vi. c. 29.
[129] Theophrast. Hist. Plantarum. l. iv. c. 9.
[130] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 739. & Theophrast. ibid.

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Vast consumption of precious foreign articles.

In the consumption of the Babylonians, we find innumerable commodities that could be drawn only from far remote countries. The vast quantities of spices and aromatics wasted in private luxury, or in the superstitious worship of their gods, appear to have been objects of more expence among them, than among any other people, not excepting the Romans during the ages of their greatest magnificence. At the festival of Jupiter, twenty-five tons[131] of frankincense were yearly burned on his altar. Next to this article, the prodigious masses of gold, employed in statues and other elaborate ornaments, deservedly excite wonder. Nebuchadnezzar's golden image, ninety feet high, included also the height of the pedestal, since the breadth of this figure was, according to Scripture, only nine feet, which, from the known proportions of the human body, will give forty feet for its altitude, the precise[132] number assigned by Diodorus Siculus to the loftiest of the colossal statues at Babylon. According to *his* enumeration and estimate of the golden decorations of that city, the collective mass exceeded in value twenty-one millions sterling[133]: but some fallacy may be suspected, since we know from higher authority, that many idols consisted of wood[134]

Golden idols.

Fallacy in their amount.

[131] Herodotus, l. i. c. 183. His talent is reckoned at 60 pounds avoirdupois. He says, "1000 talents." Forty talents make a ton, and 1000 talents make 25 tons.

[132] Conf. Daniel, c. iii. v. 1. & Diodorus, l. ii. s. 9.

[133] Diodorus, l. ii. s. 9. et seq.

[134] Isaiah, c. xl. v. 19. Such probably was the golden calf worshipped in the wilderness (Exodus, c. xxxii. v. 20.), about which ignorance has so long cavilled, and will continue to cavil.

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overlaid only with gold. Every Babylonian is said to have worn an engraved gem, serving for his signet; and whose ordinary materials were the onyx, the sapphire, or the emerald.[135] The diamond had not yet displayed its unrivalled brilliancy. In its natural state, this sovereign of the mineral kingdom is commonly a greyish flint, dull and dirty; its splendour and superior value is revealed only by cutting, the invention of Berquen of Bruges towards the close of the fifteenth century.[136] In the article of diet, the Babylonians are described as sparing. Like the Chinese and Hindoos, they lived chiefly on grains: the table is not the favourite luxury of any of those eastern nations. But the Babylonians delighted in perfumes, the use of which was universal, and with which, in their liquid state, the whole body was daily sprinkled.[137] Their native palms supplied them with a variety in their bread, and also yielded inferior sorts both of honey and of wine; they received palm-wine, and fruits in great quantities from Armenia[138]; nor was the more generous wine from grapes[139] excluded as a branch of the river commerce of Babylonia, until the sullen superstition of Mahomet banished conviviality with almost every social pleasure from the finest regions of the earth.

Signets.

Table and personal luxuries.

[135] Ctesias, Indic.

[136] An. Dom. 1476. Merveilles des Indes par Berquen de Bruges, p. 15.

[137] Herodot. l. i. c. 195. & 199.

[138] Id. c. 194.

[139] Curtius, l. v. c. 1.

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Gems and dogs from northern India.

The commerce of the principal articles hitherto enumerated; gold, spices, and perfumes, we have already endeavoured to explain. But the country supplying the different gems above-mentioned, might be a matter of uncertainty, were we not told that they came from the same quarter that yielded other luxuries, whose locality is clearly ascertained by their name and nature.[140] These are the famous Indian dogs, such essentials in Babylonian magnificence that whole districts were exempted from other tribute, that they might be enabled to defray their maintenance.[141] They are said to have been the mongrel brood of dogs and tigers[142], participating in the qualities of both. Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, found them still in northern India, towards the middle of the thirteenth century. He compares them in size and strength to lions[143]; and, if they really combined with other excellencies, the docility and fidelity of the dog, their value must have been inestimable in the eyes of kings and satraps, whose favourite delight was hunting, both as the amusement of their idleness, and the gratification of their vanity.

[140] Ctesias, Indic. c. v. He also mentions, c. xxv. θηρια ερυθρα ωσπερ κυνοβαρι, supposed to be cochineal, an article of great importance to the manufactures of Babylon and Borsippa.

[141] Herodot. l.i. c. 192. We shall see hereafter that they continued to be equally admired under the Greek kings of the East; and Sultan Bajazet, the unfortunate rival of Tamerlane, had among other servants of his household 12,000 dog-keepers. Cherefeddin's Life of Tamerlane, vol. ii. p. 147.

[142] Aristot. Histor. Animal. l. viii. c. 28.

[143] Marco Polo in Romusio, ii. 35.

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Route to the Mediterranean sea.

Important as this eastern traffic might be considered, the western commerce of Babylon was not less considerable in itself, and is still more conspicuous in history. In human affairs there is generally a compensation throughout, unobserved by that careless impatience which views every question under one only, and that often a false aspect. The navigators of modern times precipitate their course through the widest seas, whereas those of antiquity timidly pursued their tedious way along the winding shores of deep bays and dangerous promontories. But the ancient caravans, on the other hand, penetrated fearlessly through broad deserts, in consequence of establishments formed there for their safety, with a perseverance of stubborn industry, unrivalled perhaps in any other line of exertion. Witness Palmyra or Tadmor in the Desert, and the numerous ruins between that useful wonder of art, and the staples of Emesa and Heliopolis[144], from which last the Babylonian traders were brought to the centre of the Mediterranean coast, teeming in every age of antiquity with rich and populous cities. This golden chain was often shattered by the iron rod of conquerors. The capital link was destroyed, when Nebuchadnezzar depopulated and demolished Tyre. But as commerce delights to resume the routes with which it has once become familiar, a new Tyre arose

[144] Pococke's Travels, p. 159. et seq.

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in the small island separated only by a narrow firth from the old.[145] Sidon, Aradus, and other Phœnician cities of less note escaped the vengeance of the destroyer; and were not backward to avail themselves of the commercial advantages accruing to them from the ruin of their overwhelming rival.[146]

Royal road.

Besides the route through the Syrian desert, connecting Babylon with the Phœnician seaports, another and a far longer line of communication between that great capital and the countries of the west, offered itself in what was called the royal road. By means of this road[147], the merchandize of Europe might reach the remote countries of the East. Amber, metals, and works of Grecian art, would easily bear the expence of a long conveyance by land. The Greek colonies early established on the northern shores of the Euxine, diffused the pelts and furs[148] of Sarmatia and Scythia over the central provinces of Asia; and, through the operation of mutual exchange, other European commodities, still heavier in proportion to their value, might sometimes find their way thither.

Maritime commerce of the Babylonians.

In every age of antiquity maritime commerce was an object of inferior importance, to that carried on by land. But Babylon, which had so great a share in the latter, could not, however, remain altogether destitute of the former, situate as that city is, in the neighbourhood of

[145] Plin. l. v. c. 19. [146] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 754.
[147] See above, p. 29. Conf. Herodot. l. v. c. 52. et seq.
[148] Herodotus, l. iv. c. 104. et seq.

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those seas and great rivers which lay open the central recesses of Asia, and therefore well adapted for participating in such traffic as was carried on by small vessels, whose number compensated for their want of bulk. In the Hebrew prophets, the Chaldæans, the principal cast or tribe of the Babylonians, are early characterized as a people "who raise the shout of joy in their ships."[149] The Chaldæans of Gerra, we know from good authority[150], supplied their great metropolis with Arabian and Indian merchandize. They often sailed three hundred miles up the Euphrates to Thapsacus, where part of them left their vessels, and becoming carriers by land, distributed their spices and perfumes through the neighbouring cities.[151] The Tigris could not be navigated on account of its rapidity to such a remote distance from its mouth. Yet the traffic of that river had raised a place called Opis, visited by Xenophon, to populousness and prosperity[152], though fifty miles distant from the site of Bagdad, and a hundred north of Babylon.

Navigation up the Euphrates and Tigris.

It should seem that, partly through this maritime colony of Gerra distant only two hundred miles from the mouth of the Euphrates, the Babylonians were furnished with those prodigious masses of gold, which give an air of romance to

Chaldæans of Gerra—their commerce and opulence.

[149] Isaiah, c. xliii. v. 14. and Ezekiel, c. xvii. v. 4. with Michaelis's notes. Conf. Heeren, Ideen, p. 640. et seq.

[150] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 766. [151] Id. ibid.

[152] Xenoph. Anabas, l. ii. p. 284.

[153] Diodor. l. iii. s. 12.

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their early history. The Gerræans maintained an intimate connection with Phœnician factories in the small isles of the Persian gulph, which traded, as we have seen, to Ophir or Sofala. They enjoyed an intercourse scarcely less advantageous with the emporia in the Red Sea, in the neighbourhood of the Ethiopian mines called under the Ptolemies Berenicé Panchrysos: mines opened from immemorial antiquity, and of which the working, though attended, in different ages, with very different degrees of profit, and often interrupted by the desolating invasions of Nomades, yet appears to have been continually renewed with fresh ardour, insomuch that the various operations, by which the pure metal was obtained, are described by Agatharchides, an eye witness, who examined the golden Berenicé under the reign of the VIth Ptolemy.[154] The magnificence of Gerra is said to have been worthy of the rich articles in which she dealt; spices, perfumes, gems, ebony, ivory, and gold. In their personal accommodations, her merchants rivalled the splendour of princes. Their houses displayed a profusion of the precious metals; and, while the roofs and porticoes were crowned with vases studded with jewels, the apartments were filled with sculptured tripods, and other household decorations, of which gold, ivory, and gems composed the sole materials.[155] Such superfluity of magnificence indicates a traffic for

[154] Agatharchides Cnidius apud Phot. c. ecl. p. 1322. et seq. and Geograph. Minor. Hudson, v. i. p. 22. et seq.

[155] Ibid.

which the Gerræans were well situate with that part of the African coast anciently visited by the Phœnicians, and the source of immense riches to them and their Hebrew allies.[156] Like other commercial enterprises of antiquity, the voyages to Ophir and Tarshish are mentioned but incidentally and sparingly. From hints[157] only, we know that the Tyrians continued to prosecute them immediately before the siege of their city by Nebuchadnezzar. How early the Chaldæans of Gerra, and also those of Teredon[158] near the mouth of the Euphrates, participated in this lucrative traffic[159], we are not enabled to determine; but, from the epithets bestowed on them by the prophets bespeaking a people peculiarly conversant in navigation, we may presume that they would not long neglect voyages the most profitable of any on record; and by which Babylonia might, in the course of ages, be supplied with great abundance of gold, independently of the vast accumulations made by conquest and tribute under the two first kings of Babylon, and the long line of Assyrian kings who reigned before them at Nineveh.

Customs of the Babylonians, relative to their extensive commerce.

When Babylon is considered as the seat of universal traffic, several insulated particulars touching its inhabitants, for which it has appeared difficult to account, will arrange themselves naturally in the general picture of commercial

[156] See above, p. 218.

[157] Ezekiel, c. xxvii.

[158] See above, p. 222.

[159] They still enjoyed it in the age of Alexander. Nearchus apud Arrian. Indic.

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manners. Of this remark, the institutions relative to the fair sex, and those regarding persons in a bad state of health, will serve for illustration. The reports of the rhetorical Curtius, ever fond of extremes, receive too much countenance from more authentic and graver authors [160], when he describes the shameless profligacy of the Babylonian women; especially those of inferior condition. The Greeks were struck with the freedom of intercourse between the sexes in this great capital, so unlike to the unsocial [161] jealousy of Orientals elsewhere, or even in this point, to their own forbidding austerity. Yet in Greece itself, the commercial Corinth exhibited an example of equal licentiousness: and the chain of great marts through Asia Minor, Pessinus, Morimena, Comana, and several other cities, proved the conflux of rich caravans not less pernicious to female modesty, than the concourse of fortunate navies and prodigal seamen. [162]

With regard to persons in bad health, Herodotus says, "they were carried to the squares and places of public resort, that they might be interrogated by passengers, and obtain advice

[160] Conf. Curtius, v. i. & Herodot. l. i. c. 197.

[161] Herodotus perhaps carries this observation too far, when he says the Persians had no places of public resort, not even public markets. Herodot. l. i. c. 153. Conf. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. i. p. 3. Edit. Leuncl. But Xenophon's Cyropædia is a philosophical romance.

[162] Τροπον γαρ τινα μικρα Κορινθος εστι ἡ πολις, Strabo, l. xvi. p. 559. He is speaking of Comana, but he uses the same expression repeatedly in speaking of the other staples.

as to the cure of their complaints." [163] Such a custom might be attended with peculiar advantages in a city frequented by a succession of travelling merchants, headed, as we have seen, by persons conversant with medicine and all branches of useful science known in their times. [164] When Herodotus says, "the Babylonians had not physicians [165]," he means only that they had not a distinct cast or family exercising exclusively as in Greece anciently, and always in Egypt, the different branches of the healing art. [166] The profession was open for all who chose to engage in it, and the cordiality between natives and strangers, so desirable in a place of traffic, would be promoted by the maxim that it was uncivil in either to view, with insensibility, a suffering individual, or to decline entering into conversation with him. [167] Of Babylonians, as well as strangers at leisure for this office of humanity, there was always a sufficient number; for though the inferior classes were busily employed in trade and manufactures, in repairing or embellishing their immense city, and in retailing or transporting the different productions of their land and labour, yet the spacious squares of Babylon abounded with pompous idlers dressed in flowing robes [168], breathing precious perfumes, their heads adorned by the mitra, and bearing each in his hand, as a badge

[163] Herodot. l. i. c. 197. [164] See above, p. 108. et seq.
[165] Herodot. ubi supra. [166] Aristot. Politic. [167] Id. ibid.
[168] Diodor. l. ii. c. 6. Conf. Herodot. c. 195.

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of distinction, a staff or cane [169], shaped at top into the form of a flower, a bird, or some other characteristic emblem. [170] Their hereditary opulence relieved such persons from care and labour; and it should seem, that the fashion of their country imposed on them the duty of using their best endeavours to mitigate disease and soothe sorrow.

[169] In remote times and places, the cane has been the badge of a gentleman. Addison somewhere says of a person remarkable for his native good breeding, that he seemed "born to a cane." The expression would now convey quite a different meaning.

[170] Herodot. ubi supra.

SURVEY

OF

ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS.

SECTION V.

Application of the preceding Survey to Alexander's Undertakings in the East. — His Views with regard to the West. — The Historian Livy's Defiance. — State of Rome at that Period. — Of Carthage. — Alexander's Helps towards executing his boldest Projects. — Especially from Greeks in the three Divisions of the World. — Alexander's last Operations in Babylonia, connected with useful Establishments on his most remote Frontiers. — His Death and Testament.

SECT. V.

Application of this survey.

By way of preparation for what is to follow, descriptions, particularly copious and circumstantial, belonged to royal residences and their surrounding imperial districts, because, in the course of the history, our attention will more frequently be recalled to them. Upon a similar principle I have adjusted the proportion assigned to subordinate kingdoms and provinces, that, wherever the scene is transported, the reader

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may have some previous knowledge of the actors; especially of their local circumstances, and of their moral and military habits. From the whole survey, we shall be enabled to discern the intent of undertakings which Alexander, indeed, lived not to carry into execution, but which serve to evince his knowledge, both of the materials with which he had to work, and of the lessons which historical experience afforded. Two circumstances, chiefly, cast an air of romance on the reign of a conqueror, equally sagacious and successful. First, designs altogether extravagant have been ascribed to him; and secondly, no clear explanation has been given of his helps towards accomplishing the vast projects which he really entertained. Should we credulously listen to later writers among the Greeks and Romans, when those nations had too evidently lost a due relish for truth together with their manly spirit and their liberty, Alexander aimed at nothing less than the subjugation of the whole habitable world: poets and artists carried the exaggeration farther, and represented him in the childish attitude of crying for new worlds to conquer[1]: ridiculous and tasteless fictions! totally disclaimed by Aristobulus and Ptolemy, his companions in arms, and biographers. From such contemporary authorities, it is yet possible to assign the real and proper limits which Alexander had

[1] Ælian. Var. Histor. l. iv. c. 29. Conf. Juvenal, Satyr xv. v. 168. Ælian whimsically ascribes Alexander's mad ambition to his perusal of Democritus's treatise on the plurality of worlds.

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prescribed to himself in the North, South, East, and West; to explain the measures which he had taken or projected for securing his most remote boundaries; to describe his arrangements towards uniting all of them with the centre, Babylon; and thus cementing, by laws and arts, as well as by arms and victories, the extremities, as they were then deemed, of the commercial world. Having discussed these topics, I shall relate circumstantially his operations in the imperial district of Babylonia, where chiefly, he spent the last fifteen months of his life; and where the scene of the following history opens, with the dissensions among his generals, about the succession to his empire.

Principles on which Alexander established his boundaries.

According to authentic historians, Alexander bounded his empire northward, by the Danube and the Jaxartes. In a former part of this work, we have seen his proceedings on the banks of these great rivers, which flow respectively into the Euxine and Caspian; and had occasion to observe with what admirable prudence he avoided an useless conflict with the Scythian nations beyond them, at the same time, that he adopted the surest means for overawing such irreclaimable barbarians, and confining them in future within their native wilderness. The bleak Scythian desert led to nothing more valuable beyond it: the reverse was the case with the burning sands of Arabia. The southern shores of that peninsula were immemorially inhabited by the Sabæans, an industrious and enlightened people, cultivating the

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His measures for exploring and subduing Arabia.

most valuable productions, and carrying on many rich branches of commerce.

Alexander, we are told, had formed the resolution of penetrating thither[2]; and as his armies were to be accompanied and seconded by fleets, (the best means for securing success,) he had, shortly after his return to Babylon, sent down successively into the Persian gulph three vessels for exploring and examining the contiguous coasts.[3] The first of these vessels, commanded by Archias, proceeded only to Tylos or Tyrus, formerly mentioned as a well-known mart of the Phœnicians, and still subsisting as the centre of the modern fishery for pearls. The second vessel, navigated by Androsthenes, advanced but a little farther; and even Hiero, a Greek of Cilicia, by whom the third ship was conducted, far less surpassed his precursors, than he fell short of the object which his employer had recommended to him; which was to circumnavigate the whole of Arabia from the mouth of the Euphrates to the inmost recess of the Red Sea.[4] But Hiero barely beheld Cape Syagros, the great eastern promontory; and, after viewing the conflict of the waves there, hastened back to describe this forbidden obstacle, in nearly the same terms of exaggeration[5], which were

[2] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 785.

[3] Arrian, de Exped. Alexand. l. vii. c. 19. et seq.

[4] Arrian says to "Heroopolis," the capital of an ancient Egyptian Nome, and now forty miles inland from Suez, the modern seaport.

[5] Faria y Souza, Portug. Asia, vol. i. p. 46.

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used by the first Portuguese mariners, who saw, without doubling, the Cape of Good Hope. But Alexander was alike proof against fear and imposture; with him the voyages hitherto undertaken were mere preludes; and, at the fatal moment which terminated all his projects, Nearchus the friend of his youth and admirer of his virtue, who had already conducted a great fleet in safety from the Indus to the Tigris, was prepared[6] to resume the circumnavigation of Arabia with an assured prospect of success. Had this design been carried into execution, facilities would thereby have been afforded for counteracting by fleets of victuallers the natural sterility of the country; and Alexander, who had defeated and overawed the firmer Scythians, would easily have surmounted the disunited hostility of the Arab tribes; an hostility never formidable to well-disciplined armies, before the congenial enthusiasm of Mahomet gave to the whole nation one direction, or rather animated it with one soul. By the reduction of the intervening territory, the Macedonian dominions southward would have been defined by the region of perfumes on both sides of the Red Sea; the Adel and Yemen of eastern geographers, or the two Ethiopias of the Greeks.[7]

For consolidating his conquests in Hindostan.

With regard to his eastern limits, Alexander having occupied the mountainous inlets to Hindostan, erected them into the satrapy of Paro-

[6] Arrian, l. vii. c. 25. & Histor. Indic. c. 20.

[7] Strabo, l. i. p. 30.

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pamisus; a province famous in modern times as the primitive seat of the Afghans or Abdalli, and the root of their powerful kingdom of Candahar, now of Cabul, which has arisen with such rapidity upon the divisions and disasters of the Persian and Mogul empires. Through this elevated district, he proceeded above three hundred miles to Taxila on the Indus[8], over-ran the country watered by that great river and its tributary eastern streams, treated his vanquished enemies with most admired generosity, raised the fortresses of Nicæa and Bucephalia on the Hydaspes, and erected his stupendous altars on the Hyphasis.[9] Having returned to Taxila, now Attock, on the Indus, he traversed southward from that city an extent of nearly seven hundred miles to the sea; built the strong-hold of Pattala, now Tatta, at the top of the Indian Delta[10]; and then proceeded homeward in person with his army, while his fleet was committed to Nearchus to explore the coasts of the Erythræan sea between India and Assyria. With this bold outline, the subordinate parts corresponded. The highlands of Paropamisus, he observed, separate the waters of that part of Asia; and the courses of the Indus, Oxus, and other great rivers, formed those deep valleys affording the only safe passes either for armies or caravans. By building Alexandria, now Candahar, he chose the fittest site for securing

[8] Taxila is 345 miles from the city of Candahar.

[9] Arrian, Diodorus, and Plutarch.

[10] Strabo, l. xv. p. 701.

the communication between India and Persia; and by means of a more northern Alexandria, now Cabul[11], he connected, in like manner, the former country with Bactriana, whose capital Bactra enjoyed an early commercial intercourse with the emporia on the Caspian and Euxine seas, and through them with many flourishing cities in Lesser Asia.[12]

In his return from India, Alexander, it is well known, penetrated through the inhospitable solitudes of Carmania and Gedrosia; and from this, the least profitable of all his expeditions, he could only learn that, in the actual state of these frightful regions, no safe communication by them could possibly be introduced. But, on the skirts of these dreary wastes, having discovered that fertility began with the Arachosian and Arian mountains, he founded two Alexandrias, respectively in Aria and Arachosia, and also the strong-hold of Prophthasia in Saranga, which, with many other cities less conspicuous or less permanent, formed a chain of fortresses and factories upon the most direct central route from the Indus to the Euphrates.[13] These un-

[11] The ancient and modern cities, if not precisely on the same site, were so near to each other as in a commercial point of view to answer the same purposes.

[12] The communication passed by the Oxus, Caspian, Cyrus, Phasis, Euxine. From the Cyrus, to Sarapana on the Phasis, there was a patent road travelled in four days by waggons. Strabo, xi. 498.

[13] Arrian, Diodorus, Strabo. See particularly Strabo, l. xi. p. 514. & l. xv. p. 723. In delineating these eastern routes, he has always Alexander in view. Conf. Isidor. Characen. apud Hudson's Geograph. Minor. D'Anville, Eclairciss. p. 19. and Rennell's Memoir, p. 171.

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dertakings for maintaining an intercourse with India by land and sea, perfectly accord with his transactions above related with its native princes; and both unitedly attest his resolution of acquiring a paramount authority in Hindostan, which, had he lived solidly to establish, would have carried back, by the space of 2000 years, the æra of European domination over that remote but most valuable region of Asia.

His projects with regard to the western shores of the Mediterranean.

In the west only, the designs of Alexander stopped short at bare projects. But a prince, who had proceeded to the country of spices, and taken measures for penetrating to the country of perfumes, could not overlook objects yet more important in commerce, and chiefly abounding in Spain, or Tartessus, at the western extremity of the Mediterranean. The desire of exploring this country, which formed the Peru and Mexico of antiquity[14], had determined Alexander to carry his arms to the pillars of Hercules. With this view, we are told, he had been careful to inform himself concerning the countries situate to the west of Greece and Egypt; and, through the assistance of plans furnished to him by Phœnicians and Greeks who had long frequented these coasts, he judiciously selected, and marked with his own hand, the sites best fitted for harbours and emporia, docks and arsenals. Spacious roads were to be drawn along the tracts most convenient for caravans; many protecting temples

[14] See above, p. 215.

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were to be erected; and the whole circuit of the Mediterranean was to be commanded by fleets and armies, sufficient to restrain depredation by sea and land, and to overawe the native barbarians of Africa and of the west of Europe.[15]

Livy's patriotic defiance to him.

This bold project should seem to have provoked the patriotic indignation of the prince of Roman historians. In the longest digression of an immortal work, which seldom turns aside from commemorating the proud series of consular triumphs, Livy[16], in speaking of Papirius Cursor, who was contemporary with the Macedonian hero, undertakes to examine, what would have been the issue of the conflict, had this hitherto matchless warrior carried his arms into Italy. The extraordinary exploits of Alexander, he says, had often been the subject of his own secret wonder; yet, with all his renowned greatness, had he come into competition with the Romans, it is the historian's belief that he must have been foiled in the contest. My readers are acquainted with the great military establishment and admirable tactics of the Macedonians; they know that the phalanx, as organized by Alexander, was indeed a very different instrument of victory from that employed a century afterwards by the Antiochuses and the Ptolemies; and they will see presently vast armies wielded with skill by his warlike captains, who divided amongst them his empire. But,

[15] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 4. & Plutarch in Alexand.

[16] L. ix. c. 16. et seq.

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at the time when Livy makes his countrymen challenge, as it were, this prince to battle, the force of Rome exceeded not ten legions[17]; her dominion did not extend over a fourth part of Italy; she was distracted with perpetual hostilities against her subjects, her allies, her revolted colonies, and twenty independent nations beyond them. Fifty years before Alexander, Rome had been burned by the Gauls; and four years after his demise, two consular armies were, at the Caudine Forks, passed under the yoke by the Samnites. "Yet great," as Livy says, "was the fortune of Rome;" but, to use the words of an historian and soldier, better qualified to appreciate the resources of war, "her fortune was greatest in this, that Alexander died in his 33d year, before he found leisure to invade and conquer Italy."[18]

His views with regard to Carthage — State of that republic.

In extending the empire to its projected western boundary, the conqueror, it may be conjectured, would have met with less formidable opposition from Rome than from the destined rival of the Roman name; long persecuted as her enemy, at last cruelly immolated as her victim. The foundation of Carthage on that part of the African coast which advances into the Mediterranean to meet, as it were, and defy Italy and Sicily, preceded by the space of 115 years the foundation of Rome; and the former republic had made proportionably still more rapid advances towards wealth, strength, and prospe-

[17] The legion then contained only 4000 foot and 300 horse.

[18] Raleigh's History of the World, c. iv. p. 3.

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rity.[19] Commanding 1500 miles along the African coast, she carried on the inland commerce of that vast continent. Her powerful navy was nourished and upheld by the rich maritime traffic which it protected to all the western coasts of the Mediterranean. The silver-mines which the Carthaginians wrought in Spain, and the gold of Ethiopia, attracted to their standard Numidians, Gauls, Iberians; the fiercest nations in Africa and Europe. The western division of Sicily; Sardinia, Corsica, with all the lesser isles in the Tuscan sea, formed the appendages of their empire. The most dangerous wars that they had yet waged, had been with the Greeks in Sicily; with those of the same nation who had occupied Massilia, or Marseilles, and its surrounding district in Gaul; and with those who, two centuries after the foundation of Carthage, established themselves on the projecting coast of Cyrené in Africa, which, in point of geography, bears the same relation to Crete and the Peloponnesus that Carthage herself holds with regard to Sicily and Italy. The great losses sustained in those wars, an industrious commercial nation had speedily repaired; and Carthage now seemed to stand firm with her wealth, her shipping, and wide-extended dominion. Yet her security resulted wholly from the premature death of Alex-

[19] Carthage was in her meridian greatness at the æra of Agathocles's invasion, 15 years after the death of Alexander, and 56 years before her first war with Rome. Her condition at the former period will be described in a subsequent part of this work, chiefly from Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Justin, and Strabo.

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ander, which intercepted his progress westward. This we may affirm on solid historical grounds; for, only a dozen years after that fatal event, we shall see Agathocles of Syracuse fail in his Carthaginian invasion chiefly through the mutiny of his Greek troops. Alexander needed not, like Agathocles, to have invaded Carthage by sea; he was master of Egypt; he had explored the route to the Oasis of Hammon, the most difficult part of the journey from Egypt to Cyrené; and from Cyrené, as we shall see in due time, armies less inured to fatigue and danger than those which had pervaded the barren sands of Carmania and Gedrosia, might find their way safely to Carthage. The fate of that flourishing republic in its reduction under the Macedonians, would have presented a less unworthy spectacle than its cruel subversion by the relentless enmity of Rome; for Alexander, whose breast was not to be disturbed by any emotions of jealous rivalship, would, as in other instances[20], have left to the Carthaginians, their laws, their shipping, and their opulence; and, requiring only a slight acknowledgment of his supremacy, have admitted them as one of the most important links in the golden chain of well-protected commerce, in which he laboured to unite the most distant nations.

His resources in the Greek colonies

For effecting this salutary purpose, the above statistical survey has shewn us how great and manifold resources he possessed in the strenuous

[20] Arrian, Expedit. Alexand. passim.

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domestic industry of the Egyptians and Assyrians; in the bold trading expeditions by land of the Ethiopians, Arabians, and Indo-Scythians; and in the rich foreign traffic, the invaluable manufactures, and extensive maritime connections of the Sabæans and Phœnicians. Besides all these materials, so well fitted for consolidation into the vast fabric which he had projected, the firmest cement and brightest ornaments of the edifice were still to be found in his own nation; I mean in the activity, ingenuity, and enterprise of Greek colonies, diffused through all parts of the ancient world.

settled in the three divisions of the world.

In the great central peninsula of Asia, his desired work had by means of these colonies already been effected, and the foundations of public prosperity had long been established. The three sides of that peninsula, extending sixteen hundred miles from Trapezus or Trebisond to the Syrian gates near Issus, abounded with Greek cities governed on the republican plan, whose institutions, both civil and religious, the conqueror was studious to uphold. This long line of civilization and industry was farther protracted by the valuable coast of Syria, where Greeks were intermixed with not less busy Phœnicians. In the near vicinity of Phœnicia, Egypt was growing into a Greek kingdom; and Alexandria, with its crowded harbours, was fast rising[21] to that commercial pre-eminence which,

Those along the peninsula of Asia.

[21] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 792. Conf. Aristot. de Cura Rei-familiaris, Opera, vol. ii. p. 509. Alexandria non sensim ut aliæ urbes, sed, inter initia prima, aucta per spatiosos ambitus. Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xxii.

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doned their possessions for the sake of their freedom, and carried with them to their new country in Gaul, their laws and arts, together with the revered rites of Ephesian Diana, and the adventurous spirit of their commerce. As they increased in populousness and power, they diffused their colonies on both sides of the rocky shores of Marseilles, and particularly over the extent of 150 miles from the mouth of the Rhone to that of the Var.[29] Their establishments at Rhoé, Antipolis, Olbia, and Nicæa, deserved the name of cities. The Stæcades or Hieres isles[30] were among their earliest possessions, and highly cultivated by their industry. At the mouth of the Rhone, they also occupied the small island between its two principal branches, which they adorned with a temple of Diana. The whole of their territory was favourable to the production of wine and oil, articles which they knew how to procure in perfection, manfully to defend, and to sell to the best advantage. Their institutions were, indeed, equally well adapted to the opposite states of war and peace. In point of military engines and arsenals, Marseilles is compared with Cyzicus[31] and Rhodes, two Greek cities conspicuous for these advantages. Their frontiers were secured by fortresses on the land side, and they had gained signal victories at sea over the Tuscans and Carthaginians. Their government was in the hands of a senate of six

[29] Strabo, l. iv. p. 180. et seq.

[30] They consist of three large, and two smaller, islands.

[31] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 653.

hundred, who held their offices for life, and of a lesser council of fifteen, who conducted the current affairs, and successively presided in the senate.[32] Their laws were public, precise, and equal; no armed man was admitted within their city; their hospitality[33] to strangers procured for them extraordinary good-will among Greeks and Barbarians. Many of their institutions had in view the preservation of that propriety, decency, and dignity, which, in a well-ordered state, ought to exalt the human character. No licentious festivals, particularly no corrupting comedies, were permitted at Marseilles: at funerals all unmanly lamentations were forbidden: the marriage-portions of women were limited to one hundred aurei, and only the twentieth part of that sum could be expended in dress or in ornaments.[34] In later times, Marseilles became the source of light and information to the neighbouring provinces of France, Spain[35], and Italy; and was frequented by the Romans, scarcely less than Athens itself, as a school of Greek learning. But, before the age of Alexander, this remote colony had obtained nearly the full measure of its strength and wealth; and, in the reign of that prince, the voyages of Pytheas of Marseilles illustrated the enterprising spirit by

[32] Strabo, l. iv. p. 179. [33] Valerius Maximus, l. ii. c. 6.

[34] Strabo & Valerius Maximus, ibid. Conf. Cicero Oratio pro Flacco, c. lxiii.

[35] We shall see below, Emporiæ and Saguntum, Greek colonies in Spain, connecting the history of the Romans and Carthaginians; and occasioning, a century after Alexander's death, the most memorable war between them.

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which his countrymen were animated. Pytheas circumnavigated the British isles; he sailed even to Thule, *Iceland*. His accounts of those far-distant and unknown lands were disgraced, perhaps, by exaggerations and fictions; though some of his reports which have been branded as the vilest fables, rather reflect disgrace on those who ignorantly rejected them.[36]

The Greek colonies in Italy and Sicily.

But the helps to be found in Gaul were then inconsiderable in comparison with the assistance which Alexander might have derived from either division of Magna Græcia. In the age preceding his own, the petty tyrant of Syracuse had fitted out four hundred ships of war from a single harbour. The same Dionysius commanded an army of 120,000 foot, and 20,000 horse.[37] During the intermediate space of time, the resources of the Sicilians had not diminished; those of their brethren in Italy were flourishing and powerful. The fame of Alexander filled the remotest of those countries; and while, in contemplating his victories, the Spartans maintained a proud silence, and the Athenians too often indulged the loquacity of anger and envy[38],

[36] In Thule, for example, Pytheas said that the elements were combined in a certain chaotic mixture, resembling the fishes called Mollia by naturalists. See my Analysis of Aristotle, vol. i. p. 147. 8vo. edit. But this allusion to the Mollia plainly indicates the vast quantities of sea-plants found on the shores of the northern ocean, extending over vast tracts of country, and often rising in masses above six feet high. In those regions of Cimmerian darkness, Pytheas discerned only that soft slippery substance resembling Mollia which he trod under foot. Vid. Martinet in Act. Harlem. apud Schweigh. in Polyb. l. xxxiv. c. 5.

[37] Diodorus Siculus, l. xiv. s. 47. [38] Livy, l. viii. c. 18.

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all the other various communities of Greeks, which in their dispersion over so many coasts and islands, cannot be estimated at less than 20 millions of souls[39], were forward to associate themselves to the glory of an enlightened and liberal conqueror, who protected their laws, encouraged their arts; and, together with their arms and their commerce, diffused also their institutions, their language, and their learning, over the finest countries of antiquity.

The inter course which Alexander meant to establish realized on a larger scale.

Had Alexander lived to consolidate his conquests within the limits above assigned, the unrestrained intercourse of the ancient world would have nearly accorded with what the discovery of America realized, on a still larger scale, in the modern. The precious metals of Spain, (for it abounded in both sorts,) would have been freely and securely exchanged for the invaluable native productions of India and Arabia, and for the manufactures of many industrious intermediate countries. The western division of this huge mass of empire, from the Pillars of Hercules to the Euphrates, was afterwards conquered, and long governed, by the Romans; and the eastern, from the Euphrates to the Hyphasis, was that portion of his conquests which, from the precautions that Alexander had taken, would have been the most easily retained.

His multifarious improve-

By choosing, in the centre of this vast territory, Babylon for "the house of his kingdom[40]," "

[39] Of this, more will be said hereafter.

[40] Conf. Daniel, c. iv. v. 30. & Strabo, l. xv. p. 731. οὐκ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος τὸ βασίλειον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Βαβυλῶνος, &c.

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ments in Babylonia.

he complied at once with the invitation of great natural advantages, and the example of former masters of the East, who had reared their successive capitals on the rich Babylonian plain, peculiarly productive in grain, and of unrivalled conveniency for building. From its intermediate situation, Babylon, before it was oppressed by Persian tyranny, had anciently been the goal and main rendezvous of Asiatic caravans. Alexander, while he restored this inland traffic of the Babylonians, purposed also to revive and greatly extend their ancient commerce by sea.[41] In this design, he is said to have been encouraged by the successful voyage of Nearchus, which had joined Assyria with India; and the wisdom of his undertaking is confirmed by the reports of modern navigators, who inform us that many harbours on the Persian gulph admit vessels drawing twelve feet water; a depth fully sufficient for the largest Grecian gallies, and more than sufficient for the round flat-bottomed merchantmen of antiquity. In prosecution of an enterprise bearing the united stamps of grandeur and utility, while proper persons were employed by Alexander to repair or embellish the temples and palaces, the parks or paradises, of Babylon, the king surveyed with his own eyes the navigable courses of the Euphrates and Tigris, above and below that city. In the course of this examination, he every where removed the artificial obstacles with which the

[41] Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. vii. c. 20.

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commerce of these great rivers had been interrupted by the cowardice or jealousy of the Persians.[42] With a similar view, he formed a harbour at Babylon, fit to contain a thousand galleys, and furnished with large galleries or porticoes, under cover of which that number of sail might, according to the ancient fashion, be occasionally hauled on shore.[43] The native cypress of Babylonia was employed in the construction of innumerable small craft; and for building larger ships, as the remote Hyrcanian forest was laid under contribution[44], the vast woods in Armenia could not be overlooked, since these great magazines of timber, being near to the Tigris and Euphrates, might be floated with much ease to Babylonia. To Thapsacus on the Euphrates, one hundred and fifty miles above Babylon, he caused to be conveyed over-land from Phœnicia thirty long vessels, with single banks of oars, and twenty trireme galleys built by the best Phœnician artizans. To prepare them for this conveyance, the ships were taken in pieces[45]: they were reconstructed at Thapsacus, and thence sailed proudly down the river, being intended by Alexander to serve as models

[42] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 740. & Arrian, l. vii. c. 7. After such indubitable testimonies, Niebuhr's opinion, vol. ii. p. 307. "that these obstructions were dykes for keeping up the waters to a fit level for the purposes of irrigation;" this opinion, I say, deserves only to be mentioned, because advanced by a traveller in high estimation.

[43] Arrian, l. vii. c. 19.

[44] Plutarch in Alexander, Arrian, & Diodorus.

[45] Arrian, ibid.

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His agricultural survey of this country.

in the formation of future navies, which unhappily never existed but in fancy.[46]

The barbarous policy of the Persians had ruined the foreign traffic of Assyria. Under the same odious tyranny, agriculture and manufactures had also fallen to decay. Alexander, with impartial attention to every species of useful industry, examined and improved[47] the reservoirs of water, and canals, indispensable in a country, where all is desert, that cannot be duly supplied with moisture; and where all is of exuberant fertility, that can be flooded and drained at the proper seasons. To encourage the labours of his workmen in this essential undertaking, he committed himself, in a slight vessel, to the intricacy of reedy lakes, and the unwholesomeness of slimy ditches. Although the greater canals of Assyria had been long neglected and exhausted, there remained (and they still remain to the present day) two artificial lakes with channels joining them to the Euphrates. One of these lakes, directly west of Babylon, is now distinguished by the tomb of Hosein[48]; the

[46] Only six years after Alexander's death, the Euphrates was navigated for the last time by two Grecian galleys, the sole remains of all his mighty preparations. Diodorus, l. xix. s. 12.

[47] Αλεξανδρῳ γαρ τας λιμνας επι χρειᾳ τῳ τον Ευφρατην την Ασσυριδα γην αρδευειν, παραπλεοντι, &c. Appian, Syriac. c. 56. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 741. How is it possible to imagine with Niebuhr, that the same person who made such exertions for the benefits of agriculture in one part of the country, should have removed the weirs or dams essential to irrigation in another? Vid. Niebuhr ubi supra; and see Alexander's attention to agriculture in the midst of his conquests, in Arrian's Indic. c. 40.

[48] See the tragic history of Hosein and of his father the Caliph

other, thirty miles south of it, is distinguished by the tomb of Ali; and it is worthy of remark, that these tombs of Mahommedan saints should now supply [40] the place of ancient sepulchres of Babylonian priests and princes, (since the sacerdotal cast in Babylon united, like the descendants of Mahomet, both characters,) carefully examined and even repaired by Alexander in the course of his agricultural survey. Upon the canal Pallacopas, leading to the more southern of the two lakes, the operations of the Macedonian workmen were of the most beneficial tendency. The Pallacopas, though bearing the appearance of a natural river, was not fed by springs, nor replenished by mountain snows, but flowing from the main trunk of the Euphrates, served to moderate its redundant force by diverting part of its waters into the sea, through various and scarcely perceptible outlets. But this salutary drain, being carried through too soft a soil, gradually scooped out and sunk its oosy bed; so that the Euphrates continued still to enter it after the summer inundation had ceased, and thereby lost that elevation necessary at other seasons for refreshing and fertilizing the adust Babylonian plain. Upon a careful examination of the circumjacent district, Alexander discovered, only three miles distant from the head of the Pallacopas, a hard and rocky

Ali in Ockley's History of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 64. et seq. & p. 144. et seq.

[40] Conf. Arrian, l. vii. c. 22. & Niebuhr, vol. iii. p. 181.

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bottom. Through this firm ground, he commanded a new canal to be drawn; and the water being made thus to flow between solid banks, the inundations of the Euphrates were fitly controuled at one season, without too much depressing its surface at another. [50]

Incident that happened in it.

After this essential service had been rendered to Babylonia, the king with a sailor's cap on his head, and steering his own vessel, followed the lower course of the Pallacopas, and surveyed the many turbid pools and reedy marshes, which, through a long series of neglect, deformed the southern coast. On this occasion, a trivial occurrence gave birth to wonderful reports. A sudden gust of wind uncovered Alexander's head; his heavy cap fell near to him, and sunk in the water, but the encircling fillet or diadem floated at random in the air, till intercepted and caught among the reeds growing out of the lofty tomb of an ancient Assyrian king. A Tyrian mariner sprang into the lake to recover the royal ornament; and, lest it should be soiled in the muddy water, wound it about his own brows, and thus swam back to Alexander. The king ordered the Phœnician's activity to be rewarded with a talent of silver; but his accompanying priests pronounced sentence of death, on the man who had wantonly usurped the peculiar badge of sovereignty. This superstitious cruelty was however restrained through Alexander's humane interference; and the sen-

[50] Arrian, l. vii. c. 21.

tence of death commuted for a slight corporal punishment. At a certain distance of time, when the circumstances of this incident were forgotten, the unguarded assumption of the diadem was transferred from an ignoble and nameless mariner to Seleucus Nicator, that in him it might be credulously construed into an omen of future greatness.[51]

New city founded.

Having completed his survey of the Pallacopas, and its adjacent marshes, for the waters of which he provided proper outlets, Alexander terminated his progress through southern Babylonia, by the selection of a fit site for a stronghold and garrison. The place soon grew into a city peopled chiefly by Greeks incapable of field-service, and by such others of their countrymen as wished to repose from their military labours in a remote and long-neglected territory, to which their master had determined to restore its ancient and natural pre-eminence.[52]

Ship races on the Babylonian rivers.

Upon his return to Babylon from this peaceful expedition, Alexander, besides new levies of Barbarians, armed and disciplined after the Greek fashion, was joined by numerous bands of sailors, attracted by great bounties and the promise of high wages, from the sea-faring cities around the Mediterranean; among whom are particularly specified those who fished for the purple shell, not only on the coast of Phœnicia, but on many neighbouring shores.[53] The short

[51] Arrian, l. vii. c. 22.
[52] Arrian & Strabo, l. xv.
[53] Arrian, l. vii. c. 19.

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remainder of his life was spent in military or naval reviews, and memorable for the novelty of ship-races[54] on the Euphrates and Tigris; an entertainment coupled with designs of much utility, and exhibited for the first, and unfortunately the last time, on the great Babylonian rivers.

His operations in Babylonia connected with others at the remote extremes of his empire.

The premature death of Alexander was lamented by many, who seized not what is truly most lamentable in his story. His campaigns and battles have been described, but the more characteristic glories of his reign are shewn to us by parcels, without that clear representation of the whole, which can alone give to each distinctive feature its proper beauty and brilliancy. His transactions in Babylon were indeed intimately connected with his useful and magnificent establishments on the Indus and the Jaxartes; with his operations in the forests of Hyrcania, and the contiguous iron-mines of Margiana; and with the projected elongations of his empire to the outlying emporiums of Ethiopia and Tartessus. His ascendency over the whole, he should seem to have deemed necessary to the best improvement of the parts: but, in consequence of this ambitious reasoning, how multifarious soever his exertions, their ends were simple and definite; to enliven arts and industry, to introduce mutually beneficial intercourse, to harmonize institutions and manners.

[54] Arrian, c. 23. At Hillah, the site of Babylon, the Euphrates is fifteen feet deep, when its waters are low. Rich's Memoir, p. 13.

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On the stock of conveniency or necessity, he studied to engraft the refinements of elegance, and the charms of social pleasure. Commerce was to be cultivated, not merely as the procuress of superfluous luxuries, but that the interchange of commodities might produce a reciprocation of sentiment and affection; and that the free, equal, and unobstructed communication among men of different countries, might remove those local prejudices which prevented them from viewing each other as brethren. [55]

Singular liberality of his policy.

With a view to this liberal policy, the famous nuptials were celebrated (ten thousand in a single day) between Greeks and Barbarians: the Asiatics of distinction were carefully disciplined not merely in the arms, but in the arts and attainments of their European conquerors; and, as various colonies of Europeans had established themselves in Asia and Africa, other colonies in return were to be transported from those quarters of the world, and accommodated with secure settlements in Europe. [56] The same generous spirit pervaded all his arrangements, military, financial, and political. [57] In the judicious distribution of his

[55] To perceive the full merit of Alexander in this particular, our fancy must transport us to ancient times. In those ages the Greeks treated all other nations as Barbarians: the Romans denoted a stranger and an enemy by one and the same word. Cicero de Offic. l. i. c. 12. Local antipathies still more bitter prevailed, as we have seen, in Asia and Africa.

[56] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 4.

[57] He effected what Isocrates had recommended to Philip, intro-

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troops, his garrisons served the useful purpos : of staples or factories, of academies and gymnasia. Imposts were moderate, and his collectors amenable to the laws on the smallest violation of justice. He allowed no people to tyrannize over another, and least of all his own haughty Macedonians, thereby restoring that equality and confidence which is the vital spring of all productive and commercial industry. Before this spring had been broken by the despotism of nations over nations, we have seen the wonderful exertions of the Babylonians and Egyptians for the extension of agriculture, and the singular institutions by which the Egyptian priests endeavoured to wean their subjects from a pastoral and wandering life. History is full of the labours of Alexander towards the same end, even during the progress of his conquests[58]; an end of the utmost importance, since the preponderancy of barbarous Nomades has ever proved the greatest bane both of Asia and Africa.

He formed plans of inimitable boldness.

By the arrangements which he made, and the style of war which he introduced, the central and civilized nations of the East remained secure for nearly a century after him, against the fierce rovers of either the northern or southern deserts. This advantage, peculiar to

ducing, instead of Barbaric despotism, the mildness of an unwearied and provident administration. Βαρβαρικης δεσποτειας απαλλαξαντες, Ελληνικης επιμελειας τυχωσι. Orat. ad Philipp.

[58] Strabo, l. xi. Pliny, l. vi. & Plutarch. in Alexand.

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that period of time, together with the extent and contiguity of his dominions, entitled him to form plans of inimitable boldness. We have seen the vast multiplicity of his resources and auxiliaries. But the greatest resource of all was in his own mind. To attain personal excellence, no exertion seemed laborious; to promote excellence in others, no attention and no expence was spared. In one gratuity he bestowed eight hundred talents towards the improvement of natural history[59]: a sum that bore no inconsiderable proportion to the annual pay of the army, with which he had achieved his conquests. On another occasion he sent ten thousand talents into Greece, to defray the repairs of temples and other public edifices.[60] Alive to every kind of honourable talent, he entered with deep interest into the competitions of painters and musicians, showering liberality on those to whom the prize of merit had been adjudged, even contrary to the partial wishes of his private friendship[61], and the man, who displayed such munificence in matters less immediately connected with his favourite purposes, could not be expected less eager in sharpening the dexterity of engineers, architects, shipbuilders, and all those agents or instruments by which his great royal works were to be effected. During the fervour of youth and the career of victory, he so nicely discriminated between impossibilities and mere difficulties, that none of

[59] Athenæus, l. ix. p. 398.
[60] Plutarch in Alexand.
[61] Plutarch in Alexand.

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his undertakings failed, nor were any of his projects likely to prove abortive. Upon this consideration, chiefly, his philosophical historian, warmed by an enthusiasm of reason, exclaims that Alexander was sent into the world by a particular disposition of Providence, a man singular and matchless, whose enterprises, justifiable in him alone, could not have been reasonably undertaken by any other.[62]

Why entitled to do so.

Without adopting this extraordinary eulogy, we may observe, that no other conqueror was ever entitled to embrace the same lofty views. The great Assyrian monarchy comprehended, as we have seen, only the eastern division of his empire. The Medes and Persians, who succeeded to the Assyrians, were incapacitated from forming any generous plans of public utility, by their ignorance, barbarism, tyranny, and superstitious abhorrence of the sea, and a sea-faring life. The Parthians, their genuine followers, were deformed by maxims not less illiberal, and by characters still more ferocious: and the Romans, who fought three centuries with the Parthians, without gaining from them the frontier province of Mesopotamia[63], would have been prevented by the interposition of these warlike barbarians, (even had their own maxims

[62] Arrian, l. vii. sub fin.

[63] Juliani Cæsares, p. 324. Conf. Lucan, x. 52.

Non felix Parthis Crassis
Exiguæ secura fuit provincia Pellæ.

And a few lines above—

Eoi propius timuere sarissas,
Quam nunc pila timent populi.

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been less unfavourable to commerce,) from reviving the useful links of communication, which Alexander had established between the countries of the East and West. Besides this, the Romans, as we shall see, disguised, without relinquishing[64], the odious tyranny of nations over nations; a tyranny which had been asserted by all Asiatic conquerors before Alexander; and which has been exercised with tremendous despotism, by all the successive dynasties of Scythian, or Arabian, extraction that, since the downfall of the Macedonian power, have barbarised the finest countries of the earth; countries whose early prosperity remounted beyond the far-famed triumphs of Ninus and Semiramis, and flourished in its utmost vigour before surrounding nations beheld the gorgeous walls of Nineveh and Babylon, or crouched to those proud capitals, the blood-thirsty tyrants of prostrate provinces. Alexander could distinguish between the seeming strength and real weakness of despotism, and had enough of solid greatness to disdain all empty shadows of it. When the architect Stasicrates proposed to fashion mount Athos into his statue[65], he observed coldly: "we will leave Athos unmolested; it is already the monument of royal folly."[66]

[64] Joseph. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 16.

[65] Plutarch in Alexand.

[66] The allusion is to Xerxes' idle vanity in separating the promontory of Athos from the continent, and sailing between them. Herodot. l. vii. c. 21. Lysias in Orat. Funeb. and Isocrat. in Panegyr. Juvenal, out of hatred to the Greeks, says maliciously, if not ignorantly,

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His death.

Yet the man who in other matters respected the "golden mean" was careless of this most important of all maxims in regard to his own person. The time and manner of his death illustrates, indeed, the vanity of human affairs, but exemplifies also a practically more important lesson, perpetually inculcated by his preceptor[67]: namely, the inevitable ruin of the greatest designs and of the brightest characters through signal deficiency in point of any one moral virtue. In the cabinet and the field, Alexander's indefatigable body had kept pace with the activity of his mind; but, in the carousals which preceded or followed great enterprises, he sometimes was betrayed by the social warmth of his disposition, (for in the use of wine he was habitually sparing[68],) into unhappy conflicts of intemperance, in which honesty and open frankness are always the soonest worsted. Upon an occasion of this kind, the projected circumnavigation of Arabia, after he had entertained Nearchus and his officers, he was passing from the banqueting-room to the bath to prepare himself for rest, when his progress was interrupted by Medius, one of those persons called the king's friends, though many of them deserved a quite contrary appellation. They consisted of men

Creditur olim,
Velificatus Athos, et quidquid Græcia mendax
Audet in Historia, &c. Satyr. x. v. 174.

[67] See Aristotle's Ethics, throughout.

[68] Arrian, l. vii. sub fin

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of learning or information; poets, artists, philosophers, not excluding the mere votaries of convivial merriment, who, without any employment in the state or army, were admitted to the king's table and conversation, to vary the dull monotony of military life. Medius stopped Alexander to request his presence at a banquet, that was celebrating in another part of the palace, "because the company could not fail to please him."[69] The king too indulgently complied, since, from this second drinking bout, which was prolonged twenty-four hours, he retired in a fever, of which he died eleven days afterwards. On the third[70] day of his malady, he was able to hear from Nearchus a relation of some memorable occurrences in the Indian seas. He was repeatedly conveyed to a cool garden, on the lofty bank of the Euphrates, opposite to the royal palace, but without finding any relief to his burning heat. On the 4th and 5th days, he transacted public business, and gave some new directions concerning the purposed expedition to Arabia. Next morning, he attended the sacrifices with difficulty, and filled up some vacancies in the army. On the 8th day he was conveyed, for the last time, across the Euphrates, and again back to the palace. On the 10th, the soldiers, in anxious agony for his safety, demanded to see their beloved general. They were allowed to pass through his apartment in single

[69] Γενεσθαι γαρ αν ἡδυν τον κωμον. Arrian, l. vii. c. 24.

[70] See an extract from the Royal Diary, apud Plutarch in Alexand. & Arrian, l. vii. c. 26.

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file: the king was speechless, but affectionately stretched forth to them his hand. In the night following, Seleucus and Python, two of the youngest *royal companions*, visited the temple of Serapis to consult that protecting divinity of commerce, whether Alexander should be carried to his shrine and immediate presence, that the malady which afflicted him, might be healed by divine aid. They received for answer that the king had best remain in his present situation; and, as his death immediately followed this oracular response, it was, therefore, piously construed into the best thing that could befall him.[71]

And testament.

To these particulars recorded in the Royal Diary, it is added by Aristobulus[72], a contemporary biographer, that Alexander being asked immediately before his dissolution, to whom he bequeathed the empire, replied, "to the strongest, for my obsequies, I know, will be celebrated by strenuous funeral games among my generals." This report, though invalidated by the silence of the Royal Diary, was greedily embraced by the Greeks, whom Homer had taught to believe that the soul, at taking its flight from the body, often clearly predicted the secrets of futurity[73]: and all acknowledged the characteristic fitness of an answer, which veiled the king's melancholy presages under his habitual magnanimity. Yet Alexander had not been guilty of the omission, to which able and

[71] Plutarch ubi supra, & Arrian, l. vii. c. 25.

[72] Apud Arrian, c. 26.

[73] Iliad, l. xvi. v. 850. Conf. Diodorus Siculus, l. xviii. c. 1.

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busy men are peculiarly liable. Sleep and love, he used to say, kept him in mind of his mortality[74]; impressed with which reflection, he had made a full and clear testamentary disposition with regard to his whole dominions.[75] In him, indeed, this precaution was the more natural and necessary, because the patrimony of his crown bore so small a proportion to the personal acquisitions of the king, that all notions of hereditary monarchy were lost in extent of conquest. The place chosen as the depository of this important instrument, was the city of Rhodes, capital of the island of that name, which on various accounts Alexander regarded with much fond partiality.[76] The Rhodians had early acknowledged his just ascendency, and admitted a Macedonian garrison; a cordial correspondence subsisted between them and their protector; and the enterprising islanders, amidst the decline of greater commonwealths, had begun to assume their high pre-eminence as bold and liberal traders, the redoubted foes to piracy, the ingenious cultivators of arts, and the authors of those salutary marine laws destined to perpetuate their renown to the latest posterity. But in the matter of Alexander's testament, the Rhodians acted not consistently with their own character, or the favourable opinion which

[74] Plutarch in Alexand.

[75] Διαθηκην ὑπερ ὁλης της βασιλειας. Diodorus, l. xx. s. 81.

[76] He had married Barcina, widow of Memnon the Rhodian; and a magnificent belt, the gift of the Rhodians, constantly adorned his person. Plutarch in Alexand. p. 684.

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that prince had conceived of them. Their descendants always boasted[77] with preposterous vanity, that Rhodes had once been in possession of a document so important to the world; but the deed itself, which many powerful persons had the strongest interest to cancel, never made its appearance; and Alexander's succession, except that for a reason to be explained presently, he had committed his ring or signet to Perdiccas, was left to be decided by the ambiguous laws of his country, and the discordant pretensions of his generals.

[77] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 81.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ANCIENT GREECE,

ITS COLONIES, AND CONQUESTS,

FROM THE DOMINION OF ALEXANDER TO THAT OF AUGUSTUS.

CHAP. I.

Heirs in the Family of Alexander.—Their respective Incompetencies.—Pretensions of his Generals.—Their Proceedings conformable to their several Ranks and Situations.—Arrhidæus chosen King by the Phalanx.—Perdiccas's Character and Views.—Those of Nearchus and Ptolemy.—Bold Stratagem of Perdiccas, which terminates the Sedition.—Division of the Provinces.—Lamentations of Alexander's Asiatic Subjects.—His late Funeral.

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Heirs in the family of Alexander,

ALEXANDER is said to have died childless[1], an expression indicating that the Greeks did not regard as legitimate his offspring by Asian women, though this opinion was never declared,

[1] Αλεξανδρε τετελευτηκοτος ακληρος. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 2.

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Olymp. cxiv. 2. B. C. 323.

nor perhaps entertained by himself. The year before his return to Babylon, he had married Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian; and a twelvemonth after celebrating these nuptials, had espoused still more publicly Statira, eldest daughter to Darius.[2] But as early as the second year of his expedition, and nearly nine years before his death, there had been found, in the surrender of Damascus, Barcina, widow of Memnon the Rhodian, and daughter to Artabazes, a Persian of distinction, by a princess of the royal blood. The beauty of Barcina, and still more her amiable character and Grecian education[3], recommended the Syrian captive to Alexander's bed. She bore to him a son, named Hercules, now in his fifth year.[4] Roxana was six months pregnant, and shortly after the king's death brought forth a son, called Alexander from his father. Statira, the daughter of Darius, who had been wedded with so much solemnity at Suza, was not a mother. The deficiency, in point of descendants, was not supplied by collaterals deemed worthy of the throne. Alexander's half-brother Philip Arrhidæus, nearly of the same age with himself, had indeed been acknowledged, and royally educated by king Philip, though the son of a Thessalian dancing woman.[5] But Arrhidæus was a prince of a weak under-

Philip Arrhidæus.

[2] Conf. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 107. Arrian, l. vii. c. 4. Plutarch in Alexand.

[3] Plutarch in Alexand. p. 676. [4] Plutarch in Eumen.

[5] Pausan. Arcad. c. vii. & Athenæus, l. xiii. p. 578.

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standing, and an unambitious temper, who had followed the Macedonian camp, without bearing any command, or ever taking part in any important transaction.[6] Alexander's full sister, Cleopatra, after the death of her husband the dependent king of Epirus, had passed into Asia, less solicitous about finding there a new marriage suitable to her rank, than eager to indulge in the midst of a great army her unbounded gallantries. The incorrigible looseness of her behaviour was universally stigmatised even in that licentious age, and the object of contemptuous derision to Alexander himself.[7] Another sister called Cynna formed a contrast to Cleopatra. Cynna[8] was the daughter of an Illyrian named Euridicé[9], but far more resembled her warlike brother than did Cleopatra, who shared his blood by both parents. Her husband Amyntas having aspired to reign on the death of his uncle Philip, had by the sentence of his country been consigned to the punishment of unsuccessful rebellion. Cynna followed Alexander into Asia, assumed the lance and helmet, and gloried to fight in the first ranks.[10] To the same martial accom-

Cleopatra, Cynna, and Euridicé.

[6] Plutarch in Alexand.

[7] When informed of her disorders, "leave her to enjoy," he said, "what she considers as *her* share in the empire." Plut. ibid. p. 818.

[8] Called Cynnana by Arrian apud Photium, p. 219.

[9] Her original name, Audalas, had been changed into Euridicé. Conf. Polyæn. Stratag. l. viii. c. 60. & Ælian. Var. Hist. l. xiii. c. 36.

[10] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 52. & Athenæus, l. iv. p. 155. She is said by Polyænus, l. viii. c. 6. to have slain with her own hand

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plishments, which were her own delight, she devoted and trained her daughter, by the unfortunate Amyntas, who bore the family name of Euridicé; and whose character, as we shall see hereafter, well corresponded with her education. Yet neither Cynna nor Euridicé, any more than the voluptuous profligacy of Cleopatra, were ever mentioned in the great question of succession to the empire; custom without any express declaration having established a sort of Salic law forbidding the government of women over freemen and soldiers.

Generals of the blood royal.

Besides the posterity of Alexander and his father Philip, three generals of great renown descended, more remotely, from the royal blood. These were Leonnatus and Perdiccas, both present in Babylon, and Antigonus then residing[11] as governor of Phrygia in the centre of the Asiatic peninsula. These ambitious men were likely to urge with keenness their double pretensions of birth and merit; whereas Ptolemy, though in both respects above them, was contented to be thought the son of Lagus, and had been treated by Alexander with more fraternal regard because he had never boasted the name of brother.[12] In addition to these four, there were ten other generals who,

Ten other generals of high pretensions.

Cæria, a rival heroine, queen of the *Phrygians*, (read) *Illyrians*. She must have accompanied either Philip or Alexander in their Illyrian warfare.

[11] Dexippus apud Photium, p. 220. Conf. Arrian, l. i. c. 30.

[12] Curtius, l. ix. c. 8.

from the glory of their exploits, and the high rank which they held in Alexander's service, could not be expected easily to acknowledge a superior. Of these, seven were then present in Babylon; Lysimachus, Aristonous, Python, Seleucus, Eumenes, Meleager, Nearchus [13]; of the three remaining, Peucestes, whose heroism had saved the life of his master in the assault of the Mallian fortress, resided [14] in his government of Persis, the proper Persia; Antipater continued at the head of affairs in Greece and Macedon; and Craterus, an old general wedded to the customs of his country, and of great popularity in the army, was marching with ten thousand veterans through Cilicia [15], that they might be exchanged for a greater number of new recruits from Europe. This long list of generals, most of them men of haughty spirit and unprincipled ambition, the magnanimity of Alexander had overawed. In each province, he had separated the departments of the purse and of the sword; and for the protection of his subjects at large, had established firm barriers of justice guarded with unceasing vigilance. But to uphold such a fabric required the abilities of him who had erected it; and no two things could be more widely at variance than the exigencies of the empire and the helpless condition of the royal line; the weakness of Arrhidæus, the nonage of Hercules, the pre-

[13] Dexippus et Arrian apud Phot. & Curtius, l. x. c. 6.

[14] Arrian, l. vi. c. 30.

[15] Phot. Eclog. p. 201. & p. 215. & Arrian, l. vii. c. 12.

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carious expectance of Roxana's pregnancy. Yet both Greeks and Barbarians looked for a lawful sovereign in the family of their late king: and the merits of his lieutenants were so equally balanced, that it would not be easy to decide which of them should hold the regency.

Deliberation concerning the regency and succession.

To fix at once the succession and administration, the principal officers assembled in the palace the day after Alexander's death. The deliberation itself, as well as the transactions immediately following it, have hitherto been represented as a blind scramble for power among profligate and daring usurpers. Their proceedings, indeed, are transmitted to us from antiquity, through the medium of obscure fragments [16], or flowery declamation. [17] But a careful study of this illustrious reign, and of the Macedonian institutions, will shew that in the whole business, there was much regularity, and particularly that affairs still followed the impulse which Alexander had given to them, the parts acted by his generals exactly corresponding to their respective situations in his army. The composition of this army will therefore first require our attention.

The parts acted by Alexander's generals corresponded with their respective stations.

The Phalanx with its essential auxiliaries.

The Macedonian phalanx consisted at first of six, and afterwards of sixteen thousand spearmen, arranged sixteen in depth. [18] In its

[16] The excerpts from Dexippus and Arrian in Photius, p. 200—215.

[17] Curtius, l. x. c. 5. et seq.

[18] The first and last ranks were composed of the best soldiers; and when Persians and other Barbarians were taken into the service, they commonly occupied the middle place.

usual order the phalanx occupied a line of three thousand feet, but could contract itself in a charge to one half of that length.[19] By its depth, compactness, and the nature of its weapons, this body of infantry long surmounted every enemy: but in the wars between the remote followers of Alexander and the Romans, the phalanx was shewn to be in itself a very incomplete[20] instrument of victory; it depended on the co-operation of lighter troops, for removing obstacles, for covering its flank, and for giving it a fair opportunity to exercise in front its matchless might. In the reign of Alexander, these essential auxiliaries to the phalanx consisted of the *hypaspists*, a body of three thousand light infantry[21]; and of the *equestrian companions*, a regiment of two thousand and forty-eight horse: and when the phalanx was doubled from sixteen to thirty-two thousand spearmen, these lighter troops might in the same proportion be augmented. In the formation and employment of his *hypaspists* and *companions*, Alexander evinced his martial pre-eminence. He always charged in person with the first division of the companions, there-

[19] Ὁ πεπυκνωμενος ανηρ κατεχει πηχεις, B. Cardinal Bessarion's Grammar from an ancient treatise on the Phalanx.

[20] The defeats of the later Macedonian kings arose from their considering the phalanx as αυταρκης, all-sufficient in itself. Polybius, l. xviii. c. 12—15.

[21] Πεζεταιροι θαυμαστοι και σωκεκραταμενοι, that admirable and indefatigable light infantry. Demost. Olynth. c. vi. The Romans called the hypaspists cetrati. T. Liv. l. xliv. c. 41. et passim.

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fore called the royal squadron[22]: and to the ability with which he performed this service, and was seconded in it by those accompanying him, every one of his great victories is principally to be ascribed.

The *companions* and their leaders.

The *companions* were divided into eight squadrons, respectively commanded by persons the highest in public esteem, and whose military rank commonly opened their way to the first dignity in the empire. At the time of their master's death, these eight commanders are enumerated in the following order; Perdiccas, Leonnatus, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, Aristonous, Python, Seleucus, and Eumenes[23]; names hitherto repressed by Alexander's renown, but now to burst forth, and long to resound through nations. In this body of indefatigable cavalry, employed in perpetual warfare, the vacancies were supplied with emulation from the best troops in the service; and every one of its leaders, except Perdiccas, now the first in rank, and successor to the unhappy Clitus, had been substituted in the stead of others who had gloriously fallen in the arms of victory.

The king's lieutenants called body-guards.

The command of the companions naturally led to the highest honour in the state, expressed by a word which literally denotes nothing more than *body-guard*. The body-guards were seven

[22] Ιλη βασιλικη. Arrian, l. vi. c. 9. and also, το αγημα, "the admirable band," for αγημα δια το αγητον, ὁ ἐστι θαυμαστον. Eustath. in Odyss. p. 1399.

[23] Arrian de Rebus post Alexandrum in Phot. p. 215.

in number at the time of Alexander's decease, ranking in the following order; Leonnatus, Perdiccas, Aristonous, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, Python, Peucestes.[24] The appellation of *body-guard* had little connection with the real nature of their office; for the proper guards of the king were the first company of hypaspists, and the first squadron of companions. In his exercises and amusements, and the daily rites of religious worship, he was attended by the royal pages, youths of noble descent, who ministered at his table, and nightly slept before his chamber in the palace, and his tent in the field.[25] But several of those called the *body-guards* were commonly near to the person of their master: they formed collectively his council both civil and military; they were a sort of lieutenants or deputies always ready to aid him in important functions, to divide with him the duties of administration, and occasionally to supply his place.[26] They consisted, as will appear on comparison, of nearly the same persons with the leaders of the *equestrian companions*. The first six names occur in the lists of both: Peucestes only, the seventh *body-guard*, had not any command in the *royal horse;* and neither Eumenes nor Seleucus, though commanding their respective troops of horse, and though the former was confidential secretary to the king, had yet attained the rank of *body-*

[24] Conf. Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. vi. c. 28. & Arrian et Dexippus apud Photium, ubi supra.

[25] Curtius, l. v. c. 1.

[26] Arrian, Curtius, Diodorus, and Plutarch.

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guard or lieutenant. To the six names common to both lists, we must therefore add those of Eumenes, Seleucus, and Peucestes; which generals, together with the viceroys Antipater and Antigonus, with Meleager and Craterus, favourite leaders of the phalanx, and with Nearchus, commander of the fleet, were entitled to act the principal part in the disposal of their master's empire, and the bloody drama which accompanied it. Of these fourteen persons on whom the revolutions of that part of the world which falls within the sphere of ancient history long continued to turn, ten were present in Babylon; four were employed in important concerns at a distance.

The affairs of the empire turned on those 14 persons.

The ten present, and particularly Perdiccas, to whom, as standing at their head[27], Alexander had committed the ring or signet by which he confirmed acts of royal authority, summoned to the palace their friends and adherents, consisting of most of the officers commanding inferior divisions of the army. But while this council of chiefs was still employed in deliberation, the phalanx had already resolved. The opinions of the chiefs varied with their interests, but the multitude were prepared to follow, all of them, the same impulse; since they only desired a king of the royal house who might conduct them safely home, to enjoy their wealth and fame with their friends and families. Without

The phalanx declares Arrhidæus king.

[27] The reason will appear clearly hereafter, why Perdiccas, who was at the head of the *companions*, was preferred to Leonnatus, although the latter stood immediately before him in the *body-guards*.

waiting for the decision of their superiors, the troops of the line, being left by the absence of most of their officers to the capricious instigation of the busiest and boldest in their own number, proclaimed as king Philip Arrhidæus, who, had he been Alexander's full brother on the mother's side, instead of deriving his ignoble descent from a Thessalian courtezan[28], would have forfeited all pretensions to the throne, by the incurable weakness of his understanding.[29] The news of this transaction, which were immediately brought to the council, needed not, in as far as Arrhidæus was concerned, greatly to have alarmed the generals; since, under the name of this pageant, one of themselves must necessarily be called to govern. But the man, pointed out by Alexander for the delegated power of regent, aspired to the sovereignty in his own person, in case Roxana should not bring forth a son; others hoped, conformably to the Macedonian usage, to be named protectors of the kingdom during the minority of Hercules the son of Barcina; and a third party, more discerning than either, deemed Alexander's dominions too vast for consolidation, and were anxious chiefly to carve out for themselves valuable and independent establishments. Amidst this discordancy of personal views, the generals of the guards and cavalry, as well as the privileged bodies of

Views of the different generals.

[28] Γυναικος κοινης, Plutarch, Parallel. p. 707. The meaning of the epithet is decided by Athenæus, l. xiii. p. 578, who calls her ορχηστρις, a public dancing girl.

[29] Ψυχικοις παθεσι ανιατοις. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 2. Conf. Plutarch, Vit. Parallel. Alexand. et Cæsar, vers. fin.

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men whom they commanded, were all alike indignant that the phalanx, or troops of the line, should usurp the sole power of appointing a successor to the empire.

Meleager foments the sedition of the phalanx.

Meleager, a member of the council, was immediately sent to remonstrate with, and controul, the licentious soldiery.[30] But this weighty business was unfortunately committed to a man the worst calculated of any for executing it honestly. The envy natural to his character had been stigmatised by his late master.[31] Without hopes of obtaining for himself the first rank, he was willing to throw all into confusion rather than behold a superior. His popularity with the troops of the line was employed only as an instrument of sedition. Instead of condemning their unwarrantable pretensions, he encouraged them to persevere "in maintaining their just rights." If force became necessary "his abilities had been often tried as their leader." Through the unprincipled audacity of Meleager, the breach between the two divisions of the army might have been rendered incurable, had not Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Eumenes[32], presuming on the affection of the soldiers, interposed their seasonable mediation, and procured, with the consent of all parties, a new and more legitimate

[30] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 2. & Arrian apud Phot. ubi supra.

[31] When Meleager invidiously blamed Alexander's generosity to the Indian prince Taxiles, Curtius says, "Rex iram quidem tenuit, sed dixit, invidos homines nihil aliud quam ipsorum esse tormenta," l. viii. c. 12.

[32] Οἱ χαριεστατοι των ανδρων. Diodorus ubi supra.

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assembly for deciding the greatest prize to which human ambition ever ventured to aspire.

A new assembly, in which Perdiccas acts the chief part.

The chiefs convened in the great hall of the palace, which was on all sides thrown open, displaying in its centre to the surrounding multitude, the throne, the diadem, and the arms of their bewailed sovereign. Perdiccas' character, still more than his rank, entitled him to act the chief part on this solemn occasion. He was a man, who, to the accomplishments of a polished age, added the ferocious loftiness of ancient heroes; and whose inward qualities were faithfully pourtrayed in his person and aspect. In the mere wantonness of valour he could assail the den of a lioness, and make prize of her young.[33] Of herculean strength, his swelling courage seemed still to require a more gigantic frame; his ambition was beyond measure aspiring, and his confidence in his good fortune equally unbounded. At first leaving Macedon, when Alexander divided his whole property among his friends, saying that he retained only hope for himself, Perdiccas alone rejected the proffered bounty of the king, maintaining that being zealous to share his dangers, he was entitled also to participate in his hopes.[34] The dignity of this sentiment was justified in the most striking scenes of an unexampled warfare, through which Perdiccas had risen to fair pre-eminence; and, as the first in his master's council, had been chosen for the custody of the royal signet, when the

[33] Ælian, Var. Hist. l. xii. c. 39.
[34] Plutarch, Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

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king's sinking eyes surveyed the sad countenances of his friends who stood silent around him.[35]

His proposal.

Yet Perdiccas, bold as he was, trembled at the giddy height to which fortune seemed ready to exalt him. With melancholy slowness he advanced into the middle of the assembly, and deposited on the chair of state the signet with which he had been honoured, thereby divesting himself of the authority which that symbol was supposed by his partizans to convey. Then raising his mournful eyes, "Never," he said, "my fellow-soldiers, did any misfortune surpass that by which we are afflicted. But, from the extraordinary merits of him whom we lament, there was reason to think that the gods would only lend him to the world, and speedily recall him to the celestial mansions. The mind of Alexander for ever lives; let due honours be now paid to his mortal body, mindful where, and among whom, his high destinies have placed us. The empire requires a head; whether one or many, you must decide. Roxana is now six months pregnant. Would to heaven that she produce a son to inherit his father's kingdom! meanwhile do you determine who shall provisionally exercise the government."[36]

Speech of Nearchus.

The short silence which followed was interrupted by Nearchus, recently ennobled by his naval exploits, and the king's distinguished favour. He maintained with Perdiccas that a

[35] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 2.

[36] Curtius, l. x. c. 6.

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successor to the throne was to be sought, only in the family of Alexander, "but wherefore should the doubtful expectance of Roxana's pregnancy be preferred to a prince in existence. Hercules the son of Barcina is sprung from our revered sovereign, and to him his father's sceptre ought in justice to devolve." The phalanx marked disapprobation by angrily clashing their armour.[37] Of this displeasure, Ptolemy failed not to avail himself for promoting his favourite views. Ptolemy, as the son of Philip, highly honoured by Alexander, and singularly beloved by the troops, might have aspired with no mean prospect of success to fill the vacant throne. But of this prudent and lettered prince, the abilities, which rendered him the worthiest of that honour, also enabled him to calculate its uneasiness and its danger. His sagacity was too discerning to allow him for a moment to provoke a comparison with his deceased brother. He wished rather to confirm the opinion that the sceptre of that extraordinary man was too heavy for any one individual to wield; for, should the empire be divided, he trusted to obtain the fond object of his vows, in the wealthy and secure kingdom of Egypt.[38]

Views of Ptolemy.

To promote this moderate and solid plan of ambition, Ptolemy rose in the assembly with a look of angry disdain, the more impressive from his habitual mildness. "The sons of Roxana

His speech.

[37] Curtius, l. x. c. 6.

[38] Αυτος (Ptolemy) μαλιστα εγενετο εις τας βασιλειας αιτιος τα εθνη νεμηθηναι. Pausanias, Attic. p. 3.

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and Barcina! to what purpose have we conquered the Barbarians, if we are determined to serve their posterity? My advice is far different. Let the throne of Alexander remain immoveable in his palace. Around this, let his friends assemble, those friends whom he summoned to his council. We shall deliberate boldly, yet wisely, under the influence of our godlike sovereign; and with the result of such deliberations, the governors of distant provinces will be bound strictly to comply."[39] Strange as this proposal may appear, we shall see it realized three years afterwards by Eumenes. The throne of Alexander was actually invested, and, as it were, animated with a revered sovereignty: so wonderful was the ascendency which that conqueror had acquired over the minds of his followers! But on the present occasion, the phalanx joined with the cavalry in testifying loud disapprobation.

Proposal of Aristonous in favour of Perdiccas.

Emboldened by this circumstance, Aristonous of Pella, a *companion* and *life-guard*, zealous in the cause of Perdiccas and the indivisibility of the empire, ventured to assert openly and warmly the exclusive title of his friend to the supreme administration. "Wherefore, Macedonians! should we still agitate a question which Alexander himself has decided? By giving his signet to Perdiccas, he clearly assigned to him the regency." A shout of applause followed, which drowned the opposing murmurs; many exhorting Perdiccas to mount

[39] Curtius, l. x. c. 6.

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the vacant throne. But that general, with an apparent cowardice in the council of which he had never shewn any signs in the field, delayed in seeming hesitation, thinking that the less eagerly he seized the prize, the more earnestly it would be pressed on him: and when disappointed in this expectation, his presence of mind totally forsook him: he staggered on the precipice to which he had already climbed, and fell headlong down, when the summit was within his grasp. Instead of advancing to the chair of state, he retired behind the military circle, by which it was surrounded. His confusion attesting, as it seemed, his unworthiness, dismayed his partisans, and encouraged his adversary Meleager, who had already sounded the trumpet of sedition, to revive and urge the strong domestic claims of Philip Arrhidæus.

Irresolution of the latter.

Meleager was answered by Python the son of Crateas, a native of Ithaca.[40] Python, though a stranger, had been raised through merit to the rank of *companion* and *life-guard*. To such a man, abilities alone appeared the legitimate source of public honour. Forgetting that the gentle and generous nature of Arrhidæus had endeared him to his Macedonian countrymen, he spoke in such contemptuous terms of the unworthy brother of Alexander, as excited indignation against himself, and lively compassion for the object of his ill-advised insult. The re-

Python's insult to Arrhidæus drives Meleager and his adherents from the council.

[40] Arrian, Hist. Indic. Yet in Exped. Alexand. l. vi. c. 18. he calls Python a native of Eordia. His father, an Ithacan, had settled in that district of Macedon.

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sentment of the phalanx was warmly adopted, and distinctly expressed, by Meleager; who concluded a furious harangue by maintaining that "whoever might be declared heir to the throne, the soldiers themselves were joint-heirs to the treasure." The assembly was thrown into disorder by his violence. The chiefs and better sort reproached his proceedings as equally insolent and outrageous. He was compelled to retire with his adherents in the infantry, but returned repeatedly to the palace with the greedy multitude, carrying with them the unfortunate Arrhidæus, at once their king and their prisoner. [41]

The chiefs settle the regency, and then remove from Babylon.

To defeat the seditious purposes of Meleager, Ptolemy joined the party of Perdiccas; the whole of the cavalry supported the same cause. It was determined therefore by the assembly, that Perdiccas and Leonnatus, the former of whom had been placed by Alexander at the head of the *companions*, and the latter at that of the *life-guards*, should be appointed joint regents of the kingdom; and, that in all things the intention of their late monarch might be complied with, Perdiccas, as entrusted with his signet, was named first in the commission. Having made this hasty settlement of the empire, they were exhorted by Ptolemy to leave the city, lest they should be attacked at disadvantage, and overwhelmed by the superior numbers of the infantry. Leonnatus, Lysimachus, Seleucus, with the three

[41] Diodorus, Curtius, and Arrian, ubi supra.

other commanders of the *companions*, immediately followed Ptolemy without the walls of Babylon, and encamped in the plain of the Euphrates, directly opposite to the royal palace. CHAP. I.

Perdiccas alone scorned this resolution. With the division of horsemen whom he commanded, he remained in the midst of his enemies, bent on washing out, by some deed of renown, the disgrace which he had recently incurred in the assembly. When informed of this audacity, Meleager failed not to exhort Arrhidæus to remove his principal adversary, who had madly put himself in his hands. The silence of the new king, who feared his professed subjects not less than his declared enemies, was construed into consent; and a powerful detachment was sent to bring Perdiccas to the royal presence, with orders, in case of his refusal, to shew him no mercy. That general, who had many partisans among the infantry, was seasonably apprised of the blow ready to fall on him. His conduct had been rash in the extreme: but he had learned from Alexander, that dangers incurred by boldness may, by more incredible boldness, be surmounted. With the noble youths unalterably attached to his fortune, he took post near the threshold of his door; and, when Meleager's soldiers approached to seize him, shewed such confidence of mien to those assailants, upbraiding them as mean slaves to a contemptible master, that instead of executing their commission, they returned in dismay to their employer. Having thus braved his enemies, he

Perdiccas alone remains in contempt of the infantry.

His heroism.

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rode unmolested with his friends through the streets of Babylon, and joined the rest of the cavalry encamped without the city, on the contiguous plain.

Sudden changes in the minds of the infantry.

In the short-lived exercise of usurped power, the multitude have always been found as variable as the sea; but, like the waves too of that passive element, they all uniformly follow, for the moment, the same directing influence. Perdiccas's magnanimity not only increased his partisans among the infantry; it alienated the whole phalanx from Arrhidæus, and highly incensed them against Meleager. Their ungoverned anger was ready to hurry them to the wildest vengeance, when an unforeseen cause of alarm changed the tempestuous current of their passions. Detachments of horse being employed to scour the country round Babylon, interrupted all supplies to that still populous city, which, through the jealousy of the Persians, had long ago been deprived of its ample magazines. In the course of three days, the inconvenience of scarcity was succeeded by the pressure of want. The citizens complained; the soldiers threatened; and all urged an immediate accommodation with enemies, by whom they were in danger of being famished.

Asrhidæus shews unusual spirit.

An embassy was sent for this purpose to Perdiccas, who having now resumed his post as head of the *companions*, declared that no terms of reconciliation could be adjusted, until the authors of the sedition were surrendered to punishment. Those conscious of guilt were alarmed, and all

were enraged at this unexpected sternness. The most audacious exhorted their fellow-soldiers to sally from the gates, and join battle with the cavalry. They were likely to prevail, when Arrhidæus displayed a degree of humanity ennobled by spirit, which does not appear in any other passage of his life. Exposing his person fearlessly to the angry multitude, he conjured them to relinquish their sanguinary purpose: "If this diadem can be retained only by the wounds and death of Macedonians, I will divest myself of the odious ornament." So saying, he tore the badge of royalty from his head, and holding it in his outstretched hand, "Resume," he continued, "the fatal present, give it to some one worthier than me, if he can preserve the splendid possession unstained by civil blood." This seasonable interposition produced, instead of a battle, a new embassy. Both divisions of the army were agreeably surprised at the generous boldness of Arrhidæus; and instead of insisting on the condition before required, Perdiccas was under the necessity of admitting the pretensions of this prince to the royal name and dignity, and of consenting to a new commission of regency, by which Meleager was joined in the supreme administration with himself and Leonnatus.

New settlement of the regency.

But with this unpromising form of divided sovereignty, Perdiccas had connected a daring scheme for the destruction of his enemies. For clearing away the guilt of past offences, and healing secret dissension, the Macedonians em-

Bold and bloody stratagem of Perdiccas, which terminates the sedition.

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ployed an ancient and sacred ceremony, resembling the *lustrum* of the Romans, with only one principal difference between them, that the Macedonian lustrum did not return regularly at stated periods. In this solemn and religious review, custom placed the king at the head of the cavalry. In celebrating the lustrum, Arrhidæus would thus be withdrawn from the infantry commanded by Meleager, and placed in the middle of the *equestrian companions*, a change of much importance, since whoever was master of the person of that weak prince would be able for the moment to direct his measures. On the suggestion of Perdiccas, the solemnity of expiation was announced on the great plain adjacent to the city. When the appointed day arrived, the whole of the troops; horse, foot, and elephants, were formed in battle-array, with the king and generals at their respective posts. But before the principal and most whimsical rite was performed, of throwing from both extremities of the line the mangled bowels of a riven dog [42], the king, accompanied by Perdiccas, rode towards the phalanx demanding the first authors of the mutiny. The cavalry was unanimous; the infantry, divided; and the authority of the king, of their own choice, was now turned against the latter. Perdiccas availed himself of their confusion, to draw from the line about three hundred noted incendiaries; and without wait-

[42] Curtius, l. x. c. 9. In the Roman lustrum, the sacrifice consisted of a boar, a ram, and a bull — thence it was called suovetaurilia. Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 44.

ing for the approbation or dissent of Arrhidæus, ordered them to be exposed to the elephants; and in sight of the whole army, trampled under foot by those docile but fierce animals. This horrid spectacle terminated the sedition, for the ordinary rites of atonement for past discord were then performed quietly and in due form. Meleager alone distrusted, on good grounds, the general amnesty. He fled to a neighbouring temple; but even this asylum did not long protect him from the fate justly merited by his profligate ambition. [43]

New settlement of the succession.

The boldness and rapidity of these proceedings confirmed the authority of Perdiccas. At his command, a new council convened for settling the empire. According to the former arrangement, Leonnatus, as standing at the head of the *life-guards*, had been joined with him in the regency. A prince of the blood of Macedon, and distinguished by the graceful dignity of his presence, Leonnatus had been selected for soothing the captive family of Darius after the defeat of Issus. His hair-breadth escapes in battle, and his ardour in sharing the fatigues and dangers of his admired master, had raised him to that pre-eminence in the service, which naturally pointed him out for a share in the regency. But with many showy qualities, Leonnatus was unequal to the office now assigned him. He was disgraced by levity of character,

[43] Conf. Curtius, l. x. c. 9. & Phot. Cod. xlii. Diodorus errs with regard to Meleager, whom he mentions as governor of Lydia after this period. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 3.

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by ostentation, and luxury.[44] His genius shrunk before the energy of Perdiccas; with whom he co-operated submissively during their joint authority, and into whose hands he resigned, in presence of the council, his partnership in supreme power for the government of Hellespontian Phrygia: a situation seemingly unimportant, yet essential in his opinion to the wild projects, by which, as will appear hereafter, his inconstancy was then agitated.[45] In king Arrhidæus, Perdiccas had reason to expect the same nullity of opposition to his will, which he would have experienced as administrator of the kingdom for the expected offspring of Roxana. But according to his first proposal, he persisted in maintaining the rights of that unborn heir to the throne. The council concurred with him in declaring, that if Roxana brought forth a son, he should be associated with Arrhidæus in the nominal sovereignty. The contingency soon after happened, and the posthumous son of Alexander being honoured with his father's name, was treated as co-heir to the empire.[46]

Division of the provinces.

These matters of mere formality being adjusted, Perdiccas proceeded to the more important business of dividing the provinces, and thereby removing, in due time, such rivals in authority with the army, as might have proved very serious obstacles to his views. In this act of partition, the prudence of Ptolemy obtained the rich and well-secured province of Egypt:

[44] Plutarch in Eumen. Ælian, Var. Hist. l. ix. c. 3. & Suidas.
[45] Plutarch. [46] Arrian and Curtius, ibid.

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Lysimachus, himself of a fierce and stubborn character, was thought a fit governor for the warlike Thracians: Peucestes, another of the *life-guards*, was confirmed in his authority over the imperial district of Persis. The Greater and Lesser Phrygia were respectively intrusted to Antigonus and Leonnatus. Eumenes was named to Cappadocia; and Python[47] to Media. Craterus was joined with Antipater in the administration of Greece and Macedon. Seleucus, the youngest commander over the equestrian companions, was placed as lieutenant to Perdiccas, at the head of that illustrious corps; and Aristonous, unprovided with any separate province, attended the regent as his confidential friend, and ready coadjutor in the government of the empire.[48] According to this arrangement, every one was promoted suitably to the rank which, at the time of Alexander's death, he held in the service. Nearchus the Cretan, alone, seems to have thought himself slighted. His great naval abilities were no longer in request. He repaired, therefore, to his friend Antigonus in the Greater Phrygia; whose fortunes he continued thenceforward to share in life, and with whom he was united in death.[49] The other provinces were provisionally committed to the officers commanding in them.

The views of Perdic-

This act of partition appeared in a very dif-

[47] The name is written Pithon by Diodorus.

[48] Conf. Arrian, & Dexipp. apud Phot. ubi supra. Diodorus, l. xiii. s. 4. Appian, Syriac. and Pausan. Attic. c. 6.

[49] In the battle of Ipsus, of which below.

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ferent light to Perdiccas, and to the other parties concerned in it. When Ptolemy first proposed the division of the empire, he meant that each general should hold the share allotted to him in full sovereignty. His own judicious choice of Egypt, a country defended on three sides by deserts, marshes, and a great river, and whose fourth side along a difficult sea-coast might easily be protected by a watchful fleet, was exactly consonant to his original plan, and entitled him to entertain well-grounded hopes of founding a separate monarchy. The other generals formed similar expectations with various degrees of probability: whereas Perdiccas looked on them all as so many dangerous vassals, whom he might overpower successively by means of his controuling army, and the command which he enjoyed, as regent, over the royal treasuries in different strong-holds of the empire.

cas different from those of the other generals.

While the generals of Alexander prepared to benefit by his premature fate, the task of sincerely lamenting it was left to his inferior subjects. The superstition of the Greeks believed that he had mysteriously revealed the evils consequent on his death: but these disasters were foreseen and bewailed even by the promiscuous crowd that filled the streets of Babylon. To the vanquished Asiatics, who had experienced his protection and clemency, and to the victorious Europeans, who had shared his fame and glory, it seemed impossible to supply the place of a common benefactor, who, to his higher merits,

Alexander's death peculiarly lamented by his Asiatic subjects.

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joined those obliging attentions which conciliate public affection, and that habitual alertness of spirit and alacrity of aspect which inspire unbounded confidence. The Macedonians regretted that they, who had so long fought for the glory of their country, must be called to an ignoble contest for the choice of a master. The different nations of Asiatics, who had successively tyrannized over each other, lamented, that instead of an indulgent and equal sovereign, who complied with their hereditary usages, yet softened the hand of despotism, they must lie in future at the mercy of insolent foreigners, many of whom delighted in trampling equally on their persons, and their feelings. Agreeably to their respective customs, both Greeks and Barbarians spontaneously assumed the external emblems[50] of their inward sorrow. The news of Alexander's death proved fatal to Sysigambis, the mother of Darius; and as the intelligence spread from Babylon, the centre, to the extremities of the empire, all descriptions of persons bewailed, with the same breath, the premature fate of their king, torn from them by the envy[51] of the gods; and the forlorn condition of his once happy and admiring subjects.

His late funeral.

Yet neither the regret felt, nor the evils foreseen, had moderated the proceedings of men domineered by ambition, and long enured to

[50] Πενθιμα εσθητα. Diodorus. Conf. Curtius, l. x. c. 5.

[51] Plato and Aristotle, in various passages of their works, exert themselves to correct the impious absurdities of paganism concerning the envy of the gods.

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arms and blood. With difficulty the public lamentation recalled their attention to their master's remains, which, amidst the vile scrambles of interest, had lain several days neglected in the sultry climate of Babylon.[52] Orders were at length issued by Perdiccas for embalming the body, and for its pompous interment within the precincts of Hammon's temple in Libya. But the obsequies were not celebrated till two years afterwards, when Alexander was buried, not in Hammon's temple, as he was said to have commanded, but by an alteration (accompanied, as we shall see, with important consequences), in the city of Alexandria in Egypt, which he had founded; and not until many of the slain bodies of his friends had been deposited in their tombs. This late honour to his memory could ill reconcile his indignant shade to the dereliction of the vast and beneficial schemes which had long occupied him; the improvements in his fleet and army, his discoveries by sea and land, the productive and commercial industry which he had made to flourish, and that happy intercourse of sentiment and affection in which he had laboured to unite distant and hostile nations. After his controuling mind had withdrawn, the system which he had formed and actuated fell in pieces, and, instead of consentient members, exhibited rather jarring elements. Yet, during the distracted period of twenty-two years, preceding

Transition to the history of his successors.

[52] Plutarch. in Alexand.

the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia, which finally decided the pretensions of his followers, many great events deserve commemoration, and many splendid characters will attract regard. Their brightness, indeed, was hitherto dimmed by the matchless effulgence of Alexander; and their individual renown is still lessened by their shining together in one constellation. To an hasty and impatient survey, their history presents a wild maze of crimes and calamities; but in a full and connected narrative, their transactions will interest the statesman, the general, above all the philosopher; who knows, that by just delineations of guilt and misery, men are more powerfully restrained within the bounds of duty, than by the most engaging pictures of virtue and of happiness.[53]

[53] Ὄυτω μοι δοκεμεν και ἡμεις προθυμοτεροι των βελτιονων εσεσθαι και θεαται και μιμητοι θιων, ει μηδε των φαυλων και ψεγομενων ανιστορητως εχοιμεν. Plutarch. in Demet. sub init.

CHAP. II.

Distractions in the outlying Provinces.—Events in Egypt and in Thrace.—Massacre of Greek Mercenaries.—History of the two Cappadocias.—Wild Projects of Leonnatus.—Rebellion of the Pisidians—Perdiccas's lofty Designs.—Confederacy against him.—Victories of Eumenes.—Perdiccas's Expedition against Egypt.—His Murder.

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Ditractions in the outlying provinces. Olymp. cxiv. 2. B. C. 323.

THE convulsions which, upon the death of Alexander, agitated the palace of Babylon, speedily reached both extremities of the empire. The new governors were not established without tumult, in their respective provinces. Amidst the pretensions of Perdiccas, who affected the great king, and the opposition of other generals who disdained to be his satraps, some nations, imperfectly subdued, rejected the Macedonian yoke; others, trusting to local advantages, hoped to shake it from their necks. In the provinces most remote from Babylon and the great controuling army, the spirit of revolt appeared even among those formerly sent thither to restrain it. Many of the Greek mercenaries, who guarded the northern and eastern frontiers, had never relished their establishments in those remote regions; and, longing with increased desire as years rolled on, for the climate and manners of Greece, had scarcely been detained in what

they regarded as a state of melancholy exile, by the authority of a prince who had inspired them with a pride in obedience. On the first intelligence of his death, the inhabitants of distant settlements communicated their views to each other, assembled in different bodies, of which the most considerable amounted to twenty-three thousand[1] men in arms, and under the conduct of Philon, a leader of their own choice, began their toilsome march towards the Grecian sea.

Rebellion of the Rhodians.

About the same time the Rhodians, apprised of the dissensions in Babylon, flew to arms, expelled a Macedonian garrison[2], and resumed an independence, seasonably acquired, manfully maintained, and most honourably as well as usefully employed.

Of the Athenians and Etolians.

The Greeks on the continent availed themselves with equal eagerness, but unequal success, of the expected discord among Alexander's successors. The standard of rebellion was raised by the Athenians, ever hostile to Macedon, and by the intractable and turbulent Etolians, declared enemies to peace either at home or abroad. In other provinces new commotions arose, and new forms of danger appeared, announcing an obstinate and bloody issue. The Thracians, deemed the most warlike of men, until Alexander taught them to tremble[3], prepared to defy Lysimachus, who had

[1] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 7. This was the most considerable body of emigrants, but not the only one. Vid. Pausan. Attic. c. 25.

[2] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 8.

[3] Conf. Herodotus, l. v. c. 3. & Arrian, l. i. c. 5.

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been named to govern them. The Cappadocians, through whose territory the resistless conqueror had pursued his triumphant march[4] in the way to Cilicia, were collecting a great army to oppose Eumenes, appointed, as we have seen, to be their satrap. The Bactrians and Indians fearless of remote danger, the Paphlagonians trusting to their numerous cavalry, the Pisidians confident in the strength of their mountains, all these nations recovered from the panic with which the name of Alexander had filled them, and prepared once more to resume arms and independence.[5]

The central provinces of the empire remained quiet, and why.

Yet, in the midst of this threatening scene, the central provinces of the empire preserved unalterable tranquillity. While, with the exception of the Greeks alone, remote or obscure nations raised the standard of rebellion, the flourishing commercial provinces in the Asiatic peninsula, the fertile valleys of Syria, the rich plains of Babylon, together with the various satrapies from the Tigris to the Indus, patiently endured the yoke, and tamely obeyed every master whom fortune set over them. In some of these countries the will to revolt might be restrained through the experienced lenity of Alexander's administration, and in more of them the power was destroyed through the preceding despotism of the Persians. The blood of their ancient kings had become extinct; many hereditary priesthoods and satrapies had been abo-

[4] Arrian, l. ii. c. 4.

[5] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 8. & s. 16, et seq.

lished; there was scarcely any intermediate rank between the sovereign and the slave; and no individual in those parts who enjoyed, I say, not the means to effect a revolution, but the courage to attempt innovation. In this manner, while the extremities recovered life and action, the great body of the empire remained inert and passive, complying with every movement impressed by the Macedonian captains.

Summary of subsequent revolutions. Olymp. cxiv. 2. cxix. 4. B. C. 323—301.

The exertions of these captains, in maintaining or enlarging their respective provinces at the expence of foreign enemies, were inconsiderable when compared with the obstinate struggle of twenty-two years among themselves. During the first three years of this period, Perdiccas contended for dominion; his opponents fought for equality, at least independence. After the destruction of Perdiccas, Antigonus succeeded to his ambition and danger; and, for the following nineteen years, it was uncertain whether that general would seat himself on his master's throne, or his opponents prevail in their great purpose of dividing the monarchy.

Ptolemy takes possession of Egypt. Olymp. cxiv. 2.

Of the five persons of conspicuous rank to whom the principal provinces had been assigned, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Leonnatus proceeded about the same time to take possession of their governments. The arrival of Ptolemy in Egypt was soon followed by the destruction of Cleomenes, the financial administrator of that country, with whose character my readers are acquainted. Cleomenes might have been suspected of falling a victim to his own vices, if Ptolemy had on

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future occasions kept himself unstained from the guilt of blood. But this popular prince, under the mild semblance of indulgent humanity, concealed unrelenting sternness, and a mind not to be deterred by any conscientious scruples in promoting the views of his ambition. By the same authority which conferred the first place in Egypt on himself, the second had been reserved for Cleomenes. Ptolemy rid himself by murder of a man sufficiently capable of thwarting his projects of independence[6]; seized the treasury in Alexandria, which contained eight thousand talents[7]; augmented the number of his provincial troops; courted the affection of his subjects; and fortified himself so firmly by fleets, armies, and garrisons, that his country alone remained thenceforward exempt from the storms that generally shook the empire.

Murders Cleomenes.

Lysimachus, in accepting for his share the rugged and barbarous kingdom of Thrace, reckoned on the valour of that country for acquiring richer possessions in Asia. But he found it no easy matter to fashion the destined instruments of his future victories. In many laborious campaigns, he exerted himself to extend his dominion to the Danube, the boundary of Alexander's conquests. The great valley of the river Hebrus, and the plain country along the sea-coast of the Euxine, were reduced by his arms; but the mountaineers, under a chieftain of the hereditary name of Seuthes[8], kept possession of the inter-

Circumstances attending the occupation of Thrace by Lysimachus.

[6] Pausanias, Attic. c. vi. Conf. Arrian apud Photium.
[7] Id. ibid.
[8] See Xenophon, Anabas.

mediate ridges of mount Hæmus. By this means they interrupted the communications between the two cultivated regions of Thrace; and by their unexpected inroads and rapid retreats, occasioned so much trouble to Lysimachus, that he was unable for several years to take any part in the general concerns of the empire[9]; though we shall see him finally interfere in them with conspicuous energy and decisive effect.

Why Leonnatus chose Hellespontian Phrygia.

Leonnatus had preferred the little satrapy of Hellespontian Phrygia, to a share with Perdiccas in the regency. In this whimsical choice, he had been guided by motives that could have influenced none but a man of much levity. The intrigues of Olympias the mother of Alexander, whose enmity to his able and faithful servant Antipater could no longer be repressed after the death of her son, had encouraged Leonnatus with the hope of marrying Cleopatra, Alexander's only sister by both parents, and in virtue of this marriage, joined with the splendour of his own birth and merit, of raising himself to the throne of Macedon.[10] The possession of Hellespontian Phrygia, from which he might rapidly transport an army into Europe, seemed essential to the success of this wild project, of which we shall see in due time the fatal issue.

Python sent to restrain the migration of the Greeks.

Python and Eumenes, who had been respectively named to Media and Cappadocia, were prevented by very memorable occurrences, from taking immediate possession of their provinces.

[9] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 14. & Arrian apud Phot. p. 217.

[10] Plutarch in Eumen.

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Public utility required that a check should be given to the migration of the Greeks from the remote countries in which the policy of Alexander had settled them. For stopping the progress of this evil, Perdiccas draughted by lot from the army three thousand infantry and eight hundred horse. In order to increase their alacrity, and render them more hearty in the expedition, the men destined to this distant warfare were permitted to name their commander. They unanimously chose Python: the nomination was approved by the regent; and Python was entrusted with letters under the royal signet, requiring the neighbouring governors to reinforce his standard with ten thousand infantry, and eight thousand cavalry. [11]

His perfidious project.

With this well-appointed army he marched eastward, under the pretence of executing his commission, but with the real design, which he was at too little pains to conceal, of converting the Greeks from enemies into friends, and thereby with an army chiefly composed of Europeans, and above forty thousand strong, of rendering himself master not only of Media, but of the contiguous provinces of Upper Asia. Perdiccas, duly apprised of this project, determined to defeat it by sending *public* orders to Python, that the safety of the empire required a great example of discipline enforced, and mutiny condignly punished. For this purpose the rebellious emigrants must suffer death, and their spoils be

Blasted by the atrocious policy of Perdiccas.

[11] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 7.

divided among the Macedonian soldiers. The latter circumstance ensured success to this atrocious stroke of policy. Python met, and defeated the Greeks, of whom one portion had deserted to him in time of action; and with the remainder of whom he entered into treaty on condition that they returned to their several homes in the districts allotted to them. The agreement was confirmed by oaths on both sides; and Python flattered himself with the complete success of his dexterity, when he beheld the Greeks whom he had conquered, mingled in one camp with the Macedonians whom he commanded. But the latter, regardless of their own oaths, and the authority of their general, and only mindful of the public orders issued by Perdiccas, which tempted them with a rich booty, surrounded the unsuspecting victims of their avarice, attacked them by surprise, and involved the whole of those unfortunate men in one general massacre.[12] History marks not the scene of this detestable transaction. The barbarity of the deed itself, and still more the mortification of defeated dexterity and blasted prospects, sank deep into the mind of Python. According to orders, he returned to the regent; but watched the opportunity of inflicting on him, as we shall see hereafter, a signal vengeance.

Massacre of the Greek emigrants.

In dividing the provinces among them, Alexander's captains anticipated several conquests

Peculiar circumstances of

[12] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 7.

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which their master had begun, and which the terror of his name would easily have completed. This was most remarkably the case with regard to the north-eastern division of the Asiatic peninsula, comprehending Paphlagonia with the two Cappadocias, of which the Lesser was properly distinguished by the name of Pontus. These valuable provinces, inhabited by a mixed race of Thracians and Phrygians, were assigned to Eumenes[13]; but from their actual and ancient condition, not likely to yield him a ready obedience.

the province assigned to Eumenes.

History of the two Cappadocias.

Under the Persian dynasty, the Greater and Lesser Cappadocia had been hereditary satrapies; and the former, to which Paphlagonia was annexed, had been exempted even from tribute, in consequence of the assistance given by its satrap, Anaphas, in destroying the usurpation of the Magi. Darius Hystaspis, who made this arrangement with regard to Cappadocia, committed the hereditary dominion of Pontus, to his son Artabazes by the daughter of Gobrias, at the same time that he devised the empire to Xerxes, his son by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus.[14] Some of the finest districts in both countries were governed immemorially by priests, commanding the labour of many slaves, and enjoying ample revenues: but over the far larger divisions of Cappadocia and Pontus, the lines of Anaphas and Artabazes continued respectively to bear sway. The fate of the house of Anaphas will be

[13] Arrian apud Phot. & Plutarch in Eumen.

[14] Polybius, l. v. c. 43. Conf. Appian, Mithridat. c. 115. & 116.

related in the following pages; and in a subsequent part of this work, we shall see the family of Artabazes, which contrived to hold a subordinate and precarious jurisdiction on the shores of the Euxine, emerge into splendour under Mithridates VI., surnamed Eupator, whose misfortunes are scarcely less memorable than the glories of Darius his great ancestor. [15]

Resources of the Greater Cappadocia.

Ariarathes, the tenth in descent from Anaphas, governed Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, when Alexander marched without obstruction through the southern parts of his kingdom. Contented with obtaining a free passage for his army, the invader hastened to more important conquests, knowing that when these were effected, the Cappadocian would be inclined to afford him every other proof of submission. But the death of Alexander raised the hopes of Ariarathes, a prince not destitute of resources. Great part of his country, indeed, was stigmatised for the barrenness of its soil, and the stupidity of its natives. [16] But those rude districts contained a stout and stubborn people, long habituated to warfare, and whose capital Mazaca, on the river Melas, resembled rather a camp than a city. [17]

[15] The precious effects and royal ornaments taken from Mithridates by the Romans, partly descended to him from Artabazes, who had received them from his father Darius. Appian, Mithridat. c. 115, That barbarous king, as he is called, really sprung from Achæmenes, the founder of the Persian dynasty; since, from Achæmenes, Darius as well as Cyrus deduced his origin. Conf. Herodot. l. vii. c. 11. Ælian, Var. Hist. l. xii. c. 9. and Appian, Mithridat.

[16] Strabo, l. xii. p. 540.

[17] Id. p. 537. & 539. Conf. l. xiv. p. 663.

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Of the contiguous province of Paphlagonia, the eastern division was mountainous, even to the sea-shore, but the western consisted of extensive meadows [18], scarcely yielding to the Nisæan pastures of Media. The country was famed for its numerous and excellent cavalry [19], whose fierce courage had maintained the Paphlagonians, under the Persian dominion, in the rank of allies rather than subjects. With such recruits in men, and by seasonably employing the money amassed under his ten predecessors, Ariarathes raised a great army, by means of which he hoped to set at defiance any Macedonian captain, who should dare to invade his kingdom. [20]

Antigonus and Leonnatus refuse to assist Eumenes.

Perdiccas was not unacquainted with the boldness of the Cappadocian, or the greatness of his preparations. He therefore ordered Antigonus and Leonnatus, respectively governors of the Greater and Lesser Phrygia, to assist Eumenes in taking possession of his province. But Antigonus, who had been entrusted with Lycia and Pamphylia as well as Phrygia, by Alexander himself, affected to hold these possessions, independently of the will of the Protector. Eumenes, in quality of an upstart stranger, since he was a native of Cardia in the Thracian Chersonnesus, seemed not to be entitled to satrapies, which would have raised him to an equality with the noblest of Alexander's captains; and Antigonus too

Motives of Antigonus.

[18] Xenophon de Exped. Cyri, l. v. p. 358.

[19] Amounting to 120,000, according to Hecatonymus in Xenophon; but clearly an exaggeration. Exped. Cyri, ubi supra.

[20] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 16. & Plut. in Eumen.

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well knew his abilities, willingly to receive him for a neighbour. He therefore positively declined compliance with the royal mandate.[21] Eumenes next repaired to Leonnatus, who commanded above twenty thousand men in Hellespontian Phrygia. But it unfortunately happened, that he met there, Hecatæus, the petty prince of Cardia, his inveterate enemy. Their fathers had long disagreed about the government of their native city; and Eumenes had often solicited Alexander to abolish the hereditary power of Hecatæus, and to allow Cardia to be governed on the republican plan, like other Greek cities in its neighbourhood. But the influence of Antipater, who befriended the family of Hecatæus, prevailed; and this *tyrant*, as he is called, of *Cardia*, was then with Leonnatus soliciting succours for Antipater, who had been unfortunate, as will be seen hereafter, in his war with the Greeks, and was actually blocked up by their confederate army in Lamia, a strong city of Thessaly. Leonnatus exhorted Eumenes to accompany him in this expedition, so essential to the safety of the empire. But Eumenes frankly avowed his irreconcileable enmity to Hecatæus, and intimated his strong suspicions, that Antipater might find means to ruin himself, with a view to gratify this unworthy favourite. Such a strong mark of confidence on the part of Eumenes, produced one still stronger on the part of Leonnatus. The interests of Antipater, he said, were merely a pretext. His real object was to

Wild projects of Leonnatus.

[21] Plut. in Eumen.

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seize the Macedonian crown, to which the claims of his birth and rank were strengthened by letters from Cleopatra, Alexander's nearest legitimate relation, offering to marry him at Pella, and with the assistance of the whole party of her mother Olympias, to place him on the throne. The wildness of this project so forcibly struck Eumenes, that he seized the first opportunity of escaping secretly from the satrapy of Leonnatus, and hastened to Perdiccas with his troops and treasures; five hundred men, and five thousand talents. [22]

Conquest of Cappadocia by Perdiccas and Eumenes.

Perdiccas, while he vowed vengeance against Antigonus, and left Leonnatus to reap the bitter fruits of his own folly, moved with the royal army towards Cappadocia, to establish Eumenes in his satrapy. Ariarathes was said to have collected thirty thousand infantry, and above fifteen thousand horse. But this army, had it been far more numerous, would have proved altogether unable to contend with the veteran troops of Macedon, headed by Perdiccas and Eumenes, two of their best generals. A single battle terminated the war. Four thousand Cappadocians were slain, and five thousand made prisoners.

Cruel treatment of its hereditary satrap and his family.

According to the barbarous customs of that age, from which the maxims and the example of Alexander had been unable to wean his followers, Ariarathes, and his captive kindred, suffered, for defending their country, the death usually inflicted on the worst malefators. One youth only, named also Ariarathes,

[22] Plutarch, ubi supra.

escaped crucifixion[23]; and availed himself of the civil wars of the empire, to regain his hereditary throne, after a long interval of obscurity.[24] CHAP. II.

Not less ambitious of power than his late master, Perdiccas employed the most opposite means to acquire it. The master awed the world by magnanimity; the degenerate lieutenant was solicitous only to inspire terror. From the banks of the Halys, and the plains of Cappadocia, he marched in a south-western direction to the mountains of Pisidia, two districts of which were in arms. Pisidia, which may be considered as the inland and rougher division of Pamphylia, was inhabited by hardy mountaineers, affectionate to their friends, and fiercely implacable to their enemies.[25] Provoked by some act of oppression, they had slain their satrap Balacrus. Antigonus, to whom Pamphylia had been assigned, had not thought proper to punish this crime. In the neighbourhood of the royal army, far superior to his own, he was contented to remain quiet in the Greater Phrygia, having entrusted the affairs of Pamphylia and Lycia to his friend Nearchus[26], whose nautical abilities seemed well qualified for the superintendence of those maritime provinces. But Perdiccas, after establishing Eumenes, on whose gratitude he perfectly relied, in Cappadocia, was unwilling to leave an unextinguished rebellion in that neighbourhood. At the news

Rebellion of the Pisidians.

[23] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 16.
[24] Vid. Wesseling. Annot. ad Diodor. loc. citat.
[25] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 46.
[26] Justin, l. xiii. c. 4.

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of his approach, the Pisidian insurgents shut themselves up in the fortified cities of Laranda and Isaura, respectively the capitals of the two revolted districts. Laranda was taken by assault; its inhabitants were massacred or enslaved.[27]

Memorable destruction of Isaura.

But the severe punishment of Laranda, instead of alarming the fears of the Isaurians, only animated their fury. Being well provided with darts as well as armour of defence, they maintained during two days the unbroken strength of their walls. On the third day, their numbers were greatly diminished, their walls in many parts defenceless, and a cruel death, embittered by intolerable indignities, was all that awaited them from the inexorable Perdiccas. Under these circumstances they embraced, in the proud language of antiquity, the heroic resolution of burning their houses, wives, children, parents, with their most precious effects; and again mounting their shattered battlements, repelled the assailants with the most desperate valour. Perdiccas, equally astonished with the resistance which he encountered, and the dreadful conflagration which he beheld, withdrew his men from a place that seemed to be defended by furies. Having no longer an enemy to whom they might dearly sell their lives, the remnant of the Isaurians hurried down from their walls, and impetuously plunged themselves into the midst of the flames.[28] The Macedonians ventured at length to approach

[27] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 22.

[28] Diodorus, ubi supra.

and examine the smoking ruins of Isaura: in which they found very considerable quantities of gold and silver; so universally had those metals been diffused, and that, as we are assured, from far earlier times, over the most barbarous parts of the peninsula.[29] It is worthy of remark, that this signal disaster did not extinguish for ever the courage and renown of the Isaurians. At the distance of seven centuries, their descendants proved more formidable to the Roman emperors[30], than they themselves had been to Alexander's successors. Their countryman, Zeno, at length mounted the throne of Constantinople. But that event, the most splendid in their annals, occasioned their actual subjugation and future obscurity. Drained of its inhabitants, who repaired in crowds to enjoy the smiles and rewards of a distant court, Isauria was ruined in a war of six years, by Anastasius the successor of Zeno, assisted by the desolating arms of the Goths.[31]

Subsequent fortune of the Isaurians to An. Dom. 498.

Perdiccas might have established his greatness by war only, if the resistless army which he commanded had been firmly attached to his interest. But the affection of the veteran troops was riveted, through veneration for Alexander, to the royal line; and by a man who wished to supplant it, no expedient of policy was to be neglected. Ptolemy, who appears early to have perceived that the regent, after confirming his

Perdiccas marries Nicæa, Antipater's daughter. —His motive thereto.

[29] Diodorus, ubi supra.

[30] Histor. August, p. 197.

[31] Malala, vol. ii. p. 106.

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power in the Asiatic peninsula, would attempt to render himself proprietary of an empire of which he had been chosen the protector, secretly negociated with Antipater for their mutual safety. This transaction escaped not the vigilance of Perdiccas. By means of his brother Alcetas, a man formed to play with dexterity a second part, he defeated Ptolemy's design, and entered himself into a treaty with Antipater, whose assistance, particularly in the supply of new levies for the army, was of the utmost importance to either party. According to this treaty, Perdiccas married Nicæa, Antipater's daughter, who was[32] conducted to his camp by her brothers Archias and Jollas.

Repudiates her to marry Cleopatra, Alexander's sister.

This marriage by no means pleased Eumenes, whom of all men Perdiccas most esteemed. It was equally offensive to Olympias, the implacable enemy of Antipater and his family. Eumenes persuaded his friend, that an alliance with the house of Alexander was requisite to the success of his designs. At the same time, Cleopatra, full sister to the late king, returned to Sardes in Lydia; for though ambition was not the ruling passion of that princess, she was guided by her mother Olympias, in whom the lust of power reigned with unbounded sway. The pride of Perdiccas swelled with his fortune; the daughter of Antipater seemed an unequal match; he prepared to repudiate Nicæa that he might marry Cleopatra.[33] But of this

[32] Arrian apud Phot. p. 220. & Plutarch in Eumen.
[33] Id. ibid. & Diodor. l. xviii. s. 23.

design, before it was carried into execution, a secret intimation was given by Menander[34], governor of Lydia, to Antigonus, who commanded in Phrygia, and probably through *his* means communicated to the royal army.

Murders Cynna, and thereby occasions a sedition.

The Macedonians, though they could not respect, fondly loved king Arrhidæus, whom they affectionately called Philip in remembrance of his father. Instead of more strongly fortifying Perdiccas in his assumed power, they wished rather to exalt into authority their legitimate sovereign, by marrying him to Euridicé, who, as lineal descendant of Philip's eldest brother, would herself have enjoyed the fairest pretensions to the throne, had not custom, which often holds the place of law, excluded females from the command of a martial people. But the characters of Euridicé and her mother Cynna, seemed to arraign the justice of this decision. In complete armour, Cynna had often fought in the first ranks; and her warlike fame had been rivalled by her scarcely marriageable daughter. Her merit surpassing even her illustrious birth, entitled Euridicé to share the throne of Arrhidæus. Cynna supported her claim with the warmth natural to her temper. The jealous ambition of Perdiccas was alarmed; if Cynna prevailed, he feared to lose his credit with the army; and therefore wickedly destroyed, by worse than female perfidy, a woman that opposed him with more than manly bold-

[34] Arrian apud Phot. p. 220.

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ness.[35] But the secret murder of Cynna, however artfully disguised, was not condemned by low murmurs of discontent, which liberality and flattery might appease. The spirit of insurrection was general and loud: Perdiccas feared for his life; and escaped immediate danger, by urging the nuptials of Arrhidæus and Euridicé, which were accordingly celebrated.[36]

Euridicé married to Arrhidæus.

Character of Perdiccas's lieutenants and coadjutors.

The unfortunate issue of his execrable crime did not divert the regent from his projects of ambition. Nicæa was repudiated, and his marriage with Cleopatra was only deferred to a more favourable juncture. But the desired event never took place, such was the tumult of affairs in which he was thenceforward involved to the moment of his death. To re-establish his authority with the army, was his immediate and most interesting concern. In effecting this purpose he was assisted by able instruments; men accustomed to deal with, and manage the angry spirits of armed multitudes; of popular virtues, winning address, and intrepid firmness.

Alcetas.

His brother, Alcetas, commanded a division, over which his dexterity was fitted to gain unbounded influence.

Attalus.

Attalus, his brother-in-law, being the husband of Attalanta, Perdiccas's sister, had been intrusted with the fleet collected by Alexander on the Syrian coast.

Aristonous.

Aristonous, a *life-guard* and *companion*, still attended the person of the regent, to whose in-

[35] Polyæn. Stratagem. l. viii. c. 60. & Arrian, ubi supra.
[36] Id. Ibid.

terest, as we have seen above, he was entirely devoted. Seleucus, in early youth, but already conspicuous for policy not less than prowess, had an important command in the cavalry. Even Python, with enmity in his heart, was constrained, by motives that will afterwards appear, to co-operate strenuously in promoting the views of the protector. Above all, Eumenes, whose gratitude knew no bounds to a man by whom he, a stranger, had been raised to an equality with the noblest Macedonian captains, was the counsellor of Perdiccas in every difficulty, his shield and safeguard in every danger.[37]

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Seleucus.

Python.

Eumenes.

By the co-operation of these auxiliaries, Perdiccas, having recovered his credit in the camp, ventured to summon to his presence Antigonus, governor of Phrygia, the only man in the Asiatic peninsula whose character and resources still rendered him formidable. The governors of three other provinces, Menander of Lydia, Philotas of Cilicia, and Asander of Caria, were indeed very unfavourably disposed towards Perdiccas; but they had carefully concealed their animosity, which subsequent transactions brought to light; and they had at their disposal only small bodies of men, incapable of exciting jealousy in the master of a powerful army. But Antigonus, besides the crime of commanding

His enemies, Menander, Philotas, Asander.

Antigonus summoned to answer

[37] The above account of Perdiccas's coadjutors is collected from Diodorus and Arrian. Plutarch, in his Life of Eumenes, is extremely defective, omitting many particulars, in which his hero acted an important part.

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a considerable force in the heart of the peninsula, had openly disobeyed the royal mandate. He was cited to justify himself before the army, for refusing to assist Eumenes in the Cappadocian war. To this solid ground of accusation, many articles were added more or less important, and some extremely frivolous, but all indicating such an implacable spirit of vengeance, as left no hopes of safety to Antigonus, but in a precipitate flight beyond the reach of his enemies.

for disobedience.

He flies to Antipater, and explains to him the views of Perdiccas.

With the decision, conspicuous in many subsequent passages of his life, that general, instead of answering the accusations against him, escaped, with his son Demetrius, and his most confidential friends, to the Ionian coast; embarked in an Athenian vessel at Ephesus; and hastened to Antipater in order to explain to him their common wrongs, and the dangerous views of Perdiccas, who thought of nothing less than usurping the monarchy.[38] The repudiation of Nicæa, the murder of Cynna, the projected marriage with Cleopatra, the tyrannical proceedings towards himself and other governors in Lesser Asia, all these unwarrantable transactions, as well as the atrocious treatment of the Pisidians and Cappadocians, were placed in the strongest light[39] before Antipater and Craterus, who, as joint tutors to the kings and protectors of the empire in Europe, had just put a success-

[38] Arrian apud Phot. et Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 23.

[39] Εκτραγωδησας. Arrian, p. 220.

ful termination to the ill-advised rebellion in Greece.

Arrangements of Antipater with his confederates against Perdiccas. Olymp. cxiv. 2. B. C. 323.

The importunity of Antigonus was seconded by pressing embassies from Ptolemy, who had been the first to discern Perdiccas's aim at exclusive dominion. By a favourable construction of the act of authority appointing them administrators for the kings in Europe, Antipater and Craterus regarded themselves as bound to maintain the interests of the royal line in every part of the empire. Their admiral Clytus, having recently defeated the Athenian fleet, gave them the command of the sea, and the facility of transporting their veterans into Asia. Their army would be inferior indeed to that of Perdiccas, but they trusted for augmenting it to the disaffection of the provincial governors, and even to the desertion of his own soldiers, among whom the name of Antipater, so long viceroy in Macedon, and that of Craterus so dear to the phalanx, would be sufficient to shake, as they imagined, the upstart authority of the protector. Before crossing the Hellespont, Antipater and Craterus cemented[40] their friendship by the marriage of the latter with a daughter of the former named Phila, a woman of high accomplishments and lofty destiny, since, after the death of her first husband, she became, by her marriage with Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, the root of a long series of Macedonian and Syrian kings. In

[40] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 18.

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the treaty among the enemies of Perdiccas, the interest of Antigonus was not forgotten. His provinces were to be restored to him and augmented: Ptolemy was to enjoy Egypt, and whatever he might conquer in Africa: Craterus was to receive the protectorship in Asia; and Antipater to resume, after his return from this eastern warfare, the administration of Greece and Macedon. During his absence, the affairs of these countries were committed to Polysperchon, the oldest captain who had passed with Alexander into Asia. This appointment was the most injudicious of all Antipater's measures. Polysperchon was an Etolian by birth, and a distinguished leader of the phalanx.[41] He had returned to Europe as second in command with Craterus. Age and experience had given him cunning without any real wisdom; and his deficiency in every moral virtue, which his hypocrisy long concealed, did not belie the odious character of his country.

Deliberations and measures of Perdiccas.

Perdiccas was duly apprised of the confederacy formed against him. He carried on a secret correspondence with the discontented Greeks, particularly the Etolians, who, though often vanquished, had principles and passions never to be subdued. The satrapies forfeited and abandoned by Antigonus, he joined to the valuable provinces already committed to Eumenes. Having called a council of his generals, he deliberated whether it would be most expe-

[41] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 7.

dient to oppose with undivided force Antipater and Craterus: or, after leaving a portion of his army sufficient to repel his enemies on the side of Europe, to hasten his own march into Egypt, and wrest that country from Ptolemy. The expedition against Egypt was preferred.[42] The satrap of that country was considered by Perdiccas as his principal and most inveterate adversary; and the prosperity of Ptolemy, who had recently conquered Cyrené by his fleet, wounded his pride, and embittered animosity by envy.

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He determines to invade Egypt.

While the regent proceeded from Pisidia towards Syria in his way to Egypt, Antipater and Craterus made proper dispositions for crossing early in the spring from the Thracian Chersonesus into Hellespontian Phrygia. The assistance of Attalus and the Asiatic fleet being deemed necessary for ensuring success in the invasion of Egypt, the European troops crossed the Hellespont without any memorable opposition[43]; and, what is more extraordinary, effected their landing, and obtained a firm footing in the province, altogether unresisted. This was partly occasioned by the dissatisfaction of the other officers with the preference given to Eumenes, whom Perdiccas had appointed, during his own absence, supreme commander in Lesser Asia; and partly by the disinclination of the troops to join battle with their countrymen, headed by such favourite commanders as Anti-

Antipater lands unmolested in Asia.

[42] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 29. [43] Arrian apud Phot. p. 220.

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pater and Craterus. The pride of Alcetas could not well brook that through the orders of his own brother, he should be superseded in command by a man of inferior birth and a stranger. Neoptolemus, at the head of a still more considerable body of Macedonians, was from similar jealousy so madly incensed, that he entered into a secret correspondence with Antipater, and was preparing to cut off Eumenes by treachery, when that general, by summoning him to his own presence, brought their quarrel to an open rupture. Neoptolemus was driven to the necessity of braving his commander in the field; and being totally defeated, with the loss or surrender of his infantry, escaped with no small difficulty to Antipater's camp, with a body of three hundred horse.[44]

Treachery and flight of Neoptolemus to Antipater.

By the assistance of this scanty reinforcement the traitor little benefited his new friends; but he fatally injured them by the presumptuous folly of his advice. He was a man whose natural pride was heightened by the glory of having first mounted the breach in the memorable assault of Gaza.[45] Being allied to the royal blood of Macedon, he had occasionally served Alexander as chief *hypaspist;* in which quality he boasted of having borne his master's shield and spear, while Eumenes, in the capacity of secretary, carried his portfolio and ink-horn.[46] Whether

His bad advice makes Antipater and Craterus divide their forces.

[44] Plutarch in Eumen.

[45] Arrian, Exped. Alexand. ii. 27. and History of Ancient Greece, c. 36.

[46] Plutarch in Eumen. p. 585.

his rash confidence made him believe what he asserted, or whether by separating Craterus and Antipater, he wished only to make room for his own advancement to a share in the command, it is certain that he persuaded these generals of the inexpediency of advancing with combined forces against Eumenes. The Asiatic troops of that obstinate adherent to an unworthy master, (for the most magnificent offers had been made in vain to detach Eumenes from his allegiance,) he represented to them as a promiscuous rabble hastily collected, alike destitute of courage and incapable of discipline; and his Europeans, he assured them, would no sooner behold the Macedonian cap of Craterus than they would repair with one consent to his standard. Conformably to his advice, Antipater raised his camp, and proceeded towards the Cilician passes, that he might arrive in time to defend Ptolemy against Perdiccas: while Craterus, accompanied by Neoptolemus, marched against his faithful lieutenant; and in full confidence of victory, prematurely divided, among their soldiers, the spoils of that wealthy adversary.[47]

Eumenes' preparations for resisting Craterus and Neoptolemus.

By rigidly adhering to the rude simplicity of Macedon, while most of his equals plunged headlong into the luxuries of Asia, and still more by asserting the unwarrantable pretensions of his countrymen in opposition to that just equality which the wisdom of Alexander had endeavoured to introduce among all descriptions of his sub-

[47] Plutarch in Eumen. p. 583.

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jects, Craterus had acquired with the Macedonians, extraordinary respect for his character, and unbounded affection for his person.[48] But Eumenes, during the short time that he had held the government of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, had fashioned an instrument of war, which was no longer to allow the decision of battles to depend on Europeans solely. By granting immunities and honours to such provincials as were willing to serve on horseback, and by mixing in their ranks a due proportion of *equestrian companions*[49], he had raised a body of cavalry, unable indeed to cope in battle with the phalanx, yet calculated to keep in respect that formidable infantry. The great object of Eumenes was to bring his Macedonians into action, without allowing them time to learn that Craterus was their adversary. For this purpose, when informed of the march of that general against him, he industriously gave out that the treacherous Neoptolemus at the head of some contemptible and ill-accoutred Barbarians had again taken arms; at the same time issuing the most positive orders, that on no consideration whatever, any messenger or herald should be received from an infamous rebel, whose baseness had first betrayed his commander, and whose

[48] Arrian, Curtius, and Plutarch.

[49] Horse disciplined and appointed like those who bore under Alexander that technical name. The Macedonian captains, as we shall see on many subsequent occasions, conformed to the names which their master had imposed, as well as to the institutions which he had established.

mad audacity now challenged him a second time to the field. His superiority in cavalry, which exceeded six thousand, while the enemy's scarcely amounted to one-third of that number, facilitated his means of intelligence, and at the same time intercepted all dangerous communication with the hostile camp.

Battle near the plain of Troy, in which Craterus and Neoptolemus are slain. Olymp. cxiv. 3. B. C. 322.

The infantry on either side did not fall short of twenty thousand. The troops of Eumenes were a mixture of Europeans and Asiatics. Those of Craterus consisted almost entirely of the former. This difference, however, was not accompanied with any analogous effect, since, through the dexterity of Eumenes, the engagement was decided without the shock of adverse battalions. On the day of battle he posted his Asiatic horse in opposition to the enemy's right wing commanded by Craterus. The left, headed by Neoptolemus, he determined to combat in person, with his select band of cavalry, only three hundred in number; hoping, whatever might be the fortune of the day, to chastise the insolence and treachery of his personal foe. As soon as the enemy came in sight, descending from a hill in Hellespontian Phrygia, the barbarian cavalry rushed forward to a desperate conflict, in which they had been ordered by Eumenes neither to hear parley nor to give quarter. Craterus, astonished at the regularity and fierceness of their assault, and upbraiding, as is said, the fatal confidence of Neoptolemus, exerted a persevering valour becoming a favourite of Alexander; but being finally dismounted, either

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through the fall of his horse, or the arm of an ignoble Paphlagonian[50], he was trampled under foot, and buried ingloriously in the throng. His cavalry was pursued with great slaughter; and a few only were saved under the protection of the phalanx. Meanwhile an extraordinary spectacle had been exhibited on the opposite wing. Eumenes and Neoptolemus had no sooner beheld each other, than their old animosity, inflamed by recent injuries, transported them into mutual madness. They darted forward with such impetuosity, throwing the reins from their left hands, that in the shock, or subsequent struggle, their horses escaped from under them. Neoptolemus was first on foot, but this seeming advantage only exposed him to a thrust by which he was hamstrung and disabled. The combat fiercely continued, Neoptolemus supporting himself on his knee, until Eumenes inflicted a mortal wound on his antagonist, who expired in the exertion of retorting it. This battle should seem to have been fought at no great distance from the Trojan plain[51], and the combatants rivalled the ferocity of Homer's heroes. From an enthusiastic admiration of their great poet, and still more from the style of war which the nature of their arms compelled them to practise,

[50] Arrian apud Phot. p. 221. Plutarch in Eumen. says a Thracian; for the Paphlagonians, as we have seen, were a mixture of Syrians and Thracians.

[51] Dum hæc apud Hellespontum geruntur, &c. Nepos in Eumen. which is not invalidated by Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 37. Παραταξεως γενομενης περι Καππαδοκιαν: for Cappadocia was the proper province of Eumenes, and the great object of contest.

the Greeks, amidst the highest intellectual attainments and unrivalled productions of taste and genius, often disgraced their valour by sanguinary rage, and worse than brutal savageness.

Eumenes' behaviour towards Craterus.

In this engagement two of Alexander's generals were defeated and slain. Their conqueror was severely wounded. Yet, wounded as he was, Eumenes again mounted on horseback, and as the opposing wing of the enemy was totally routed, hastened to that part of the field where Craterus lay struggling with death. He arrived in time to close the eyes of an ancient and respected friend; and to testify to him the utmost regret that destiny had ever set them at variance. [52]

Flight of the phalanx, and Eumenes' march to Celænæ in Phrygia.

Notwithstanding the complete victory of his horse, Eumenes ventured not to attack the hostile phalanx. But his cavalry surrounded it on all sides. This body of infantry, deprived of their generals, and straitened by their enemies, were summoned to surrender. They feigned compliance; but also craved leave to disperse themselves over the neighbouring hills, that they might supply their urgent wants. This permission being granted, instead of using it honourably, they immediately chose new generals, and hastened in the night across the mountains to join Antipater. [53] Eumenes' infantry was not able to contend with them; the ground was unfavourable to cavalry; his wounds growing

[52] Arrian, p. 221. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 30. and Plutarch in Eumen.
[53] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 32.

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more uneasy disqualified him for the pursuit. But the success which he had already obtained gave him the command of the provinces on this side mount Taurus. He therefore proceeded eastward to the Greater Phrygia, and fixed his head-quarters in the rich and highly ornamented district of Celænæ [54], hoping to gladden Perdiccas with the news of his victories. [55]

Perdiccas's fatal expedition against Egypt. Olymp. cxiv. 4. B. C. 321.

But two days before this news reached Egypt, Perdiccas himself was no more. That general had passed the Cilician straits into Syria. Before invading Egypt he had summoned Ptolemy, as he had formerly done Antigonus, to answer various articles of accusation before the royal army. Ptolemy made his appearance, and justified his whole proceedings to the complete satisfaction of the Macedonians. [56] But the favourite of unsteady multitudes is exposed to lose their affection when he removes from their sight. After Ptolemy's return to his province, the impeachment was again urged, and accumulated with the circumstance of his having arrested the funeral convoy of Alexander, and interred his remains at Alexandria, against the sacred will of the conqueror himself, who had chosen the temple of Hammon for his tomb. Since the separation from his faithful Eumenes, the regent was surrounded by lieutenants less disposed to give him salutary advice, than to hurry him treacherously to his ruin. His brother-in-

[54] Xenoph. Exped. Cyri, l. i. c. 5.
[55] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 32.
[56] Arrian, p. 221.

law, Attalus, and his old companion Aristonous, were almost the only sincere friends whom his tyranny had left him. Python, Seleucus, and Antigenes, a celebrated leader of the hypaspists, were all disgusted with his government, and unfriendly to his person.

Egypt placed in a posture of defence.

Ptolemy, without reposing a weak confidence in his popularity with the royal army, had hastened to place his satrapy in a posture of defiance. He well knew the peculiar advantages of Egypt for defensive war; impenetrable as that country was on the side of Africa, secured on its dangerous sea-coast by a strong fleet, and to an Asiatic enemy opposing the triple barrier of a desert, a marsh, and an impassable river.

Perdiccas's operations against Pelusium defeated.

Meanwhile, Perdiccas led his reluctant army from Syria, towards the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, which forms the eastern boundary of the fertile Delta. The movement of his troops along the coast was accompanied by his fleet under Attalus. On approaching Pelusium, a city surrounded by lakes and marshes [57], he found not only that principal key to Egypt, but every other place on the same frontier so well prepared for defence, that he could not expect to make any sudden impression on that quarter. To facilitate, as it should seem, his operations against Pelusium, he began by clearing an ancient channel, that the incommodious depth of water might be discharged into the sea, only two miles distant; but his labours for this pur-

[57] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 760.

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pose, the strenuous work of many days, were overwhelmed, and in a moment destroyed by an artificial inundation of the Nile. Disappointment increased discontent; and the soldiers seized every opportunity of desertion, rather than continue to encounter difficulties in a hard service under a cruel master. Perdiccas used all the resources with which his authority, his treasures, and his boldness still supplied him, to restrain disaffection, and to excite the keen military passions for victory and plunder.[58]

Unsuccessful assault of the Camels' wall.

To elude the vigilance of the enemy, he raised his camp in the night, and marched with celerity to a broad and shallow part of the Nile, opposite to a fortress called the Camels' wall. His secresy and expedition did not avail him; for, before he had conducted his army half-way across the river, Ptolemy's troops appeared with their general on the opposite bank, hastening to reinforce his garrison, and afterwards expressing their exultation by songs of triumph, for having thus seasonably anticipated the enemy. Perdiccas, however, proceeded to the attack: he commanded the matchless veterans of Alexander, who had never yet suffered a discomfiture in their long and various warfare. The ramparts were assailed with the trunks, and butting strength, of his elephants.[59] His active hypaspists,

[58] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 33.

[59] They are still used in the East Indies for destroying ramparts in the former way. They will pull trees from the ground with their trunks. They fight with fierce emulation against each other, and make prize of ears, tails, &c. torn from their antagonists.

carefully covered by their shields, laboured strenuously to mount the scaling ladders which were already planted on the walls. But their exertions were repelled by equal vigour, and from more advantageous ground. Ptolemy himself gave extraordinary proofs of skill and courage, aiming dexterously with his spear, and thereby blinding the elephants as they advanced to the assault. The battle continued through the greater part of the day, during which time no practicable breach was made in the walls, and many crowded scaling ladders were tumbled headlong into the stream.[60] Perdiccas, obstinate as he was, yielded to the necessity of sounding a retreat, not doubting that his veterans would wash out the infamy of this repulse, in the blood of their upstart rivals.

Dreadful disaster at an island of the Nile, near Memphis.

With the allowance of only a short interval for rest and refreshment, he made another nocturnal march to that part of the bank which is opposite to Memphis; and where two branches of the river, (before they finally separated to enclose the broad Delta,) formed a much smaller island, yet sufficient to lodge with safety a numerous army. His dispositions for crossing this branch of the Nile, which reached to the necks of the men, were judicious. On the left of his infantry, he endeavoured to break the force of the current by a line of elephants; his cavalry passed on the right, that they might pick up and save those of the foot, who were carried down by the strength of the stream. But an extra-

[60] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 34.

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ordinary change in the river itself is said to have baffled these precautions. Whether, that its oozy bed was unable to sustain the incumbent weight; or that some distant sluice suddenly poured into it a new supply of water, or more probably that the agitated sand, scooped from the bottom of the channel, gradually increased its depth, it is certain, that after the first divisions had crossed over with little difficulty, the passage became altogether impracticable to those who came after them: Perdiccas was greatly disconcerted by this unexpected obstacle. In despair of protecting the troops who had already passed, he was obliged to recall to his standard those still struggling with the stream. His soldiers on the opposite bank, perceiving that they were abandoned by their friends, into the hands of far superior enemies, impetuously rushed into the Nile. Those expert at swimming, reached the desired shore with the loss of their armour. Those less skilful, to the number of two thousand, were either carried back to the enemy, or swallowed up by the waters, or being long borne on their surface, were devoured by crocodiles.[61]

Ptolemy's prudent humanity.

Instead of testifying unmanly joy at this disaster, Ptolemy shewed a laudable sympathy, even with the distress of invaders. The captives who had fallen into his hands were treated like brethren. Many bodies of the dead were recovered; burned, according to custom, with due lamentations; and their ashes in solemn pomp restored to their friends. This show of humanity

[61] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 35.

contained much real prudence. The Macedonians were forcibly struck with the contrast between him, whom they had come to combat, and their stern unfeeling master. A conspiracy was formed against Perdiccas, headed by his secret but inveterate enemy Python.[62] The protector's tent was surprised in the night; and he, who had for three years been a terror to his opponents in every part of the empire, fell an easy victim to the hatred of his faithless followers.

Assassination of Perdiccas.

Thus died Perdiccas, who had presumptuously aspired to fill the place of Alexander. In the boldness of his hopes, and the intrepidity of his valour, he was not an unworthy coadjutor to that extraordinary man; but he was entirely destitute of Alexander's nobler virtues; his indulgent humanity, his glowing affections, his passion for arts and letters, that commanding energy which overawes opposition, and that matchless merit which disarms envy. Perdiccas was fitted to act the second part boldly, not to sustain the first wisely. Had his designs been less audacious, or his ambition more discerning, he might certainly have appropriated a valuable portion of the empire, and laid the foundation of a powerful monarchy. But by grasping at objects too lofty, he missed those within his reach. His pride and cruelty brought on him deserved ruin; and, as his towering enterprise had nothing of justness or solidity, he is entitled only to a place among those vulgar

His character.

[62] Arrian, Diodorus, Strabo, and Pausanias.

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State of Greece. — Proclamation for recalling Exiles. — Opposition of the Athenians and Etolians. — Lamian War. — Antipater negotiates with the States separately. — The Etolians alone refractory. — History of the Greeks in Africa. — Motives and Object of their first Settlements there. — Commercial Geography of Africa. — Description and History of the Pentapolis. — Its Productions and Arts. — Thimbron's Invasion. — Cyrené reduced under Ptolemy Soter.

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Consequences of Perdiccas's murder. Olymp. cxiv. 4. B. C. 321.

THE death of Perdiccas was followed by dissensions in his great controuling army, by the destruction of the vast fleets collected or created by Alexander, and by a new partition of the provinces bequeathed by that conqueror. Before we proceed to examine these memorable events, we shall previously relate two transactions comparatively unimportant to the empire at large, which happened during Perdiccas's short regency of three years. The first of these transactions, is the rebellion in Greece, and the consequent adjustment of the affairs of that country by Antipater: the second is the conquest of Cyrené by Ptolemy. The former general upheld the dominions entrusted to him by judicious policy; the latter enlarged his province by prudent enterprise.

State of ancient Greece

During eleven years that Alexander spent in Asia, Greece enjoyed an unusual degree of tran-

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during Alexander's reign.

quillity. The authority of the conqueror restrained her domestic wars, and appeased her political animosities. She was exempted from tribute, delivered from the tyranny of garrisons, and, like many other portions of the empire, indulged with the enjoyment of her ancient laws and hereditary government.[1] The Greeks were associated to the glory of Alexander: he affected to be called the general of their confederacy; on *his* part, he protected each city in its rights and possessions: the duty required on theirs, was to acknowledge his mild supremacy, and, in lieu of the contingents of troops which they were severally bound to furnish, to allow the unrestrained freedom of recruiting in their several republics. Under such auspicious circumstances, the Greeks cultivated with ardour their favourite arts. Their productive and commercial industry flourished in the utmost vigour; and, might we judge by the condition of Athens[2], their country was more populous at the æra of Alexander's death, than at any preceding or subsequent period.

His proclamation for reinstating exiles. Olymp. cxiv. 1. B.C. 324.

Such a tide of prosperity recalled to mind their ancient glory, and revived their ill-stifled ambition. To repress more dangerous passions which the remembrance of past times might still kindle, and to secure in each community zealous partisans of the Macedonian interest,

[1] Demosthen. Orat. περι των συνθηκων, p. 84. edit. Wolf.

[2] Diodorus Siculus, l. xviii. s. 18. Conf. Thucydid. l. ii. Plutarch. in Pericle, and Athenæus, l. vi. as I have explained his text in my Introduction to the Orations of Lysias, p. 5.

the conqueror, shortly before his death, had ordered a proclamation to be made at the Olympic Games, "that the Greek exiles," always a numerous body of men, "should be received into the bosoms of their respective cities, reinstated in their several inheritances, and again admitted to those offices and honours of which the injustice[3] or envy of their rivals had unwarrantably deprived them." Above twenty thousand exiles from particular cities, assisted as spectators or actors at this general and solemn convention. Their joy may be more easily conceived than described, when they heard the Sacred Herald, after he had declared the Olympic victors, announce the will of Alexander, that they, long unhappy fugitives, should be again blessed with a country, a home, and a due share of municipal honours. The whole assembly was filled with sympathetic acclamation, extolling Alexander's discerning bounty, who increased his own fame by acts of public justice and great national utility.[4]

Its general reception among the Greeks.

But amidst the general satisfaction diffused by this decree, the citizens of two republics received it with much uneasiness. The rapacious Etolians had recently expelled their neighbours the peaceful Œniadæ, and appropriated their well-cultivated fields on the banks of the Achelous; and the Athenians, thirty years before the reign of

Why the Athenians and Etolians opposed its execution.

[3] Criminals, particularly those guilty of murder or sacrilege, were excepted. Diodor. l. xvii. s. 8.

[4] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 8.

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Alexander, had driven the Samians from their island, and divided it by lot among Athenian citizens. Both communities trembled for the safety of possessions which they had cruelly usurped. But respect for Alexander's authority made them suppress any strong marks of displeasure. Their feelings were only indicated by a sullen silence in the midst of tumultuous joy. They determined, however, to thwart the obnoxious measure; and, if possible, to prevent its execution.[5]

Their hopes and views.

Upon the death of the Macedonian hero, an opportunity seemed to occur, not only of defeating his proclamation, but of setting at defiance the authority of those who succeeded to his power. At Athens the partisans of the ancient democracy, among whom Hyperides, in the absence of Demosthenes, flamed the brightest and boldest, abhorred the Macedonians through habit, and arraigned their gentle government under the odious name of despotism.[6] Men, less influenced by party spirit, considered that the liberal maxims of Alexander's administration were not likely to be pursued by the selfish jealousy of his successors; and that, amidst the mutual struggles of the Macedonian captains, Greece, if true to herself, might recover, with national independence, her hereditary renown. But the wisest portion of the Athenians, among whom Phocion held the first

[5] Didor. ubi supra.

[6] Της των Μακεδονων δεσποτειας. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 9.

place, perceived that the internal condition of Greece, and still more her situation with regard to foreign powers, by no means entitled her to entertain the same lofty hopes which she had formerly realized.[7] In the best of times the confederacy of her republics had remained imperfect; laboriously consolidated, and easily dissolved. At the present juncture, a greater perseverance of patriotism was not to be expected than in the Persian war. But the veteran troops of Macedon, headed by experienced generals, were enemies more formidable than the unwieldly millions of Xerxes.

Proceedings of the Athenians.

The Athenians having convened to deliberate on the subject of Alexander's decree, the moderation of virtue, the caution of wisdom, and the timidity of wealth, were all overwhelmed by the resistless torrent of popular passions. The needy and profligate multitude, of whom Philip used to say, that they loved war because they had nothing to enjoy in peace, emboldened by the inflammatory harangues of their favourite demagogues, determined to launch their fleet, to hire mercenaries, to summon the aid of their allies; and promised, what they had often before promised in vain, personally and in one body to take the field. Their resolution was fortified by a previous measure, which should seem to have been concerted among the popular leaders, upon a rumour of Alexander's death. Several bodies of Greek soldiers, discontented

[7] Plutarch. in Phocion.

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with their service in Asia, through mere restlessness of disposition, or a longing for their native country, had found their way home chiefly in Athenian vessels, and rendezvoused to the number of eight thousand near Cape Tenarus in Laconia. The secret council of Athenian demagogues wished to gain to their views this large reinforcement of well-disciplined troops. They commissioned, therefore, Leosthenes, their fellow-citizen and friend, a man whose great military talents were deformed by no other fault than that of too boiling a valour, to treat secretly with the disbanded mercenaries at Tenarus; hoping that many of them would be glad to accept the offer of a lucrative service under a brave commander, even in a less glorious cause than that of restoring their country's freedom.

Their animated decree. Olymp. cxiv. 2. B.C. 323.

When, not only the death of Alexander, but the discord among his friends and successors was made known in Greece, the Athenian orators boasted of their own foresight and of Leosthenes's activity[8]; the assembly confirmed his proceedings; he was voted, by acclamation and holding up of hands, general of the commonwealth. At the instance of Hyperides, for Demosthenes still lived in banishment at Megara[9], an act of assembly was hastily passed, stating in the enthusiasm of virtue and patriotism, that the Athenians

[8] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 9.

[9] In consequence of his condemnation for taking a bribe. See History of Ancient Greece, vol. iv. c. 39. p. 369. Conf. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 8. & Plutarch in Demosthen. & in Phocion.

had ever regarded the cause of Greece as their own, and had resolved, as firmly now as heretofore, to assert the national interest and glory by their fleet and army, their property and their persons. By virtue of this emphatic decree, which, as usual with imitations in a degenerate age, copied in lines, bold and exaggerated, the sober magnanimity of the ancient republic, ambassadors were dispatched to every city of Greece from the southern extremity of Laconia to the northern confines of Thessaly. Demosthenes, though convicted, dishonoured, and exiled, joined himself to the ambassadors; and commissioned only by his resentment and love of liberty, enjoyed, for the last time, an opportunity of inveighing against the barbarous Macedonians, and confirming the revived hopes of his country. [10]

The Grecian levies for the war.

When thus instigated to action by ardent embassies from Athens, the Greeks presented not the same well-harmonized picture which we formerly delineated. Their conquerors had adopted the artifice of dividing, in order to govern; and Greece, instead of sixteen, contained above sixty, independent republics. When summoned to this new confederacy, many districts or townships contracted for themselves, regardless of the authority of their ancient capitals. In former times, the power of Athens had been rivalled by Sparta and Thebes. But Thebes was now no more; Sparta sullenly rejected a league of which

[10] Plutarch in Demosthen. Conf. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 10.

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Athens was the head; and both the Achæans and Arcadians feared to engage in distant warfare, while the yet formidable Spartans remained at home, hovering in hostility on their frontiers. But most of the inferior cities, whether capitals or emancipated dependencies, listened to the Athenian orators who inflamed their zeal, and roused their animosity; while the Athenians themselves levied about six thousand domestic troops [11], to reinforce the mercenaries under Leosthenes. That general having marched towards Etolia, had been joined there by above seven thousand young men, the flower of the Etolian nation. Elated by this accession of force, he dispatched emissaries to Doris, Phocis, and the neighbouring districts overshadowed by towering ridges from Pelion to Parnassus, exhorting those hardy mountaineers to unite with heart and hand in a cause not less promising than glorious, and redeem the honour of Greece, too long and too cruelly insulted by the despotism of the Macedonians.

Antipater's preparations for crushing the rebellion.

The bustle of these preparations was sufficient to have alarmed a man less suspicious than Antipater. But the anxious suspense occasioned by the events consequent on his master's death, had occupied and engrossed his mind; and his vigilance is strongly impeached in the omission of taking into pay the mercenaries assembled at Cape Tenarus, especially as Macedon abounded in money, the ransacked spoils of Asia, but was

[11] Ὁπλῖται. Diodor. & Plutarch.

exceedingly drained of men through continual and distant service. Only thirteen thousand foot and six hundred horse are said to have followed Antipater into Thessaly [12]; but he demanded assistance from Leonnatus [13], the governor of Lesser Phrygia, and sent messengers to quicken the speed of Craterus who was marching to Macedon with ten thousand veterans.

The same military object aimed at by both parties.

The object of Antipater, as well as of the allied Greeks, was to seize the straits of Thermopylæ, the principal pass from Thessaly into the central provinces of Phocis and Bœotia. If Antipater attained this end, he would thereby separate the Thessalians from the confederacy, and acquire the seasonable assistance of their excellent cavalry. Should the Greeks anticipate his purpose, they doubted not to have the Thessalians for friends instead of enemies. With this view the domestic troops of the Athenians, levied with much expedition, hastened to Thermopylæ; but in their way thither, encountered unexpected danger from the misguided rage of the Bœotians. That unhappy people, whose fate it was at every important crisis to oppose the general cause of Greece, were blinded on the present occasion by avarice. Having divided among their own cities or communities, the lands and spoils of demolished Thebes, they dreaded a new revolution through which they might be compelled to relinquish their usurped possessions. But the

The Athenians defeat the Bœotians. Olymp. cxiv. 2. B. C. 323.

[12] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 12.

[13] Plutarch in Eumen. *Philotas*, in Diodorus, is plainly an error of transcribers.

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Athenians, assisted by Leosthenes, who, having already reached the straits, hastened with a detachment to their relief, totally routed those unworthy adversaries; and, having taken post at Thermopylæ, firmly waited the approach of Antipater.[14]

Repel Antipater, and shut him up in Lamia.

He arrived, fought, and met with the first severe check which the Macedonians had experienced in the course of their long and various warfare. Unable either to renew the engagement, or to retreat safely towards Macedon, he threw his forces into Lamia, a well-fortified city of Thessaly, near the confluence of the Achelous and Sperchius, whose united stream falls at the distance of six miles into the Malian gulph. Leosthenes attempted repeatedly, but ineffectually, to storm the town, before Macedonian reinforcements should arrive from Asia. He was compelled, with much regret, to change the siege into a blockade.[15] During this tedious service, the Etolians, who formed an important part of his army, craved leave, with their usual inconstancy, to return home: and their request was granted, because the denial of it could not have changed their purpose. Antipater availed himself of this desertion to make a sally, which was bravely repelled by the besiegers, but in which Leosthenes fell while he exposed his person too rashly.[16] To reward his military merit, which had first turned the tide of success against a nation long deemed invincible, he was

Leosthenes the Athenian general slain in a sally.

[14] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 11.
[15] Id. s. 12. & Pausan. Attic.
[16] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 13.

buried with *heroic* honours: his funeral oration was pronounced by the eloquence of his countryman Hyperides; and Antiphilus, both his countryman and friend, was chosen by acclamation to succeed him in the command. [17]

Approach of Leonnatus with his army.

Meanwhile Leonnatus sailed unmolested from Hellespontian Phrygia, the Macedonian fleet under Clytus commanding the narrow seas, and keeping at a respectful distance above two hundred Athenian galleys entrusted to Eetion. The army of Leonnatus amounted to twenty-three thousand, of which number two thousand five hundred were cavalry. Influenced, however, by the intrigues of Olympias, and the levity of his own character, he had assembled this powerful force, not merely to resist the rebellion of Greece, but far more that he might overawe Antipater, and supplant him in his government of Macedon. [18] Upon Leonnatus's approach, the Greeks suddenly quitted their works at Lamia. The useless multitude, together with the heavy baggage and military engines, were deposited in the neighbouring strong-holds of Thessaly, whose garrisons were friendly to their interests. With a light, but well-equipped army, they advanced northwards to meet Leonnatus, and intercept his junction with Antipater. The encounter happened on the northern confines of Thessaly. Notwithstanding the defection of the Etolians,

[17] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 13. & Plut. in Demosthen.

[18] Arrian apud Phot. p. 20. obscurely hints at Leonnatus's intrigues, αλλα φησιτει Λεοννατος επιβουθειν δοκων τω Αντιπατρῳ. These dark transactions are explained fully by Plutarch in Eumen.

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the Greek infantry still amounted to twenty-two thousand; and their cavalry, chiefly Thessalians, exceeded by one thousand that of the enemy. By the resistless impression of this body of horse, commanded by Menon the Thessalian, a brave and accomplished leader, the enemy's squadrons were repelled and routed: Leonnatus, who headed them, was slain; and his phalanx of infantry was compelled to retire in disorder to the neighbouring mountains.[19] While Antiphilus pursued the scattered enemy, and the Greeks offered their accustomed thanksgivings for victory, Antipater found means to join forces with the vanquished. Yet such was his respect for the Thessalian cavalry that, to avoid engaging them on the plain, he retreated towards Macedon over the craggy ridges of Thessalian Olympus, anxiously expecting the arrival of Craterus with a fresh reinforcement from Asia.

Victory of the Greeks. — Leonnatus slain.

Craterus at length arrived with a veteran force, well calculated to retrieve the losses of his country. Besides ten thousand Macedonians, hardened in many a laborious campaign, he brought with him into Thessaly a thousand Persian archers, and fifteen hundred cavalry; the seas being cleared for his transports through the defeat of Eetion the Athenian, by his antagonist Clytus the Macedonian.[20] Having joined Antipater, to whom Craterus readily yielded the chief command, the new army en-

The Greeks defeated in a decisive battle at Cranon. Olymp. cxiv. 2. B.C. 323.

[19] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 15.

[20] Diodor. ibid.

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camped with their vanquished countrymen on the banks of the Peneus, which flows into the Thermaic gulph, through the delightful vale of Tempé compressed by the woody sides of Ossa and Olympus. The united forces of the Macedonians consisted of forty thousand heavy-armed men; three thousand archers and slingers; and five thousand cavalry. The Greeks, originally inferior in number, were weakened by the defection of several petty states, whose contingents had followed the example of the Etolians in returning home to attend their domestic affairs; or, after the first successes of their arms, to enjoy their shows and triumphs, as if a single victory over Antipater had happily terminated the war. Antiphilus and Menon lamented this fatal folly, and studiously avoided an engagement against desperate odds. But the Macedonian generals knew their business too well to humour this inclination, and soon brought the enemy to battle between the obscure town of Cranon and the mountains of Kynocephalæ.[21] The Thessalian horse, headed by the brave Menon, still maintained their pre-eminence; but the Grecian infantry gave way with the loss of five hundred men, before the shock of Craterus's veterans. They retreated to the neighbouring hills, and were joined there by the cavalry.[22]

This battle, so inconsiderable in point of bloodshed, decided the fortune of the war, and Negotiation and treaty of

[21] Plutarch in Demosthen. [22] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 16, 17.

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peace with the Greek states separately.

the subsequent condition of Greece. A herald was sent to Antipater, craving the bodies of the slain. But that general, grown old in the arts of government, declared that he would not receive any message from the Greeks in common; each city must treat with him apart. When the allies rejected this proposal, Antipater proceeded to lay hold on several places in Thessaly, to which he granted easy terms of peace. This artful proceeding detached the Thessalians from the confederacy. Other states, now in despair of success, were forward in making submission[23]; and in professing their readiness to receive Macedonian garrisons as well as to change their democracies into oligarchies; the latter form of republicanism, as the most easily manageable, being that which was always the most agreeable to their conquerors.

The negotiation with the Athenians in particular.

The Athenians and Etolians alone continued refractory. Antipater, therefore, determined to lead his army against Athens. In his progress thither he entered Bœotia, and encamped near the half-ruined citadel of desolated Thebes. Instead of opposing his progress by an army, the Athenians, passing from obstinacy to meanness, met him by a suppliant embassy of three citizens, whose personal influence was most likely to soften his resolutions. At the head of the embassy for peace, they sent Phocion their best general, who had always most earnestly dis-

[23] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 17.

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suaded them from unprofitable wars. To Phocion they joined the orator Demades, an old and steady partisan of the Macedonian interest; and Xenocrates, the revered successor of Plato in the academy: a philosopher whose gravity and austerity seemed likely to command respect from the most triumphant conqueror. But Xenocrates did not meet with even civility from Antipater; who, receiving Phocion and Demades cordially, scarcely saluted the philosopher, rudely interrupted his discourse, and finally compelled him to an abrupt silence. By a zealous Platonician[24], who, in his Life of Phocion, has related some particulars of this negotiation, the behaviour of Antipater is ascribed to his grossness, brutality, and natural antipathy to every semblance of virtue; an accusation itself equally gross and absurd, since glaringly belied by the public and private character of this illustrious Macedonian. But the virtues of the Athenian Xenocrates were disgraced by asperity and obstinacy. As successor to Plato, he defended dogmatically the errors of that fanciful but admired teacher, whose plastic fancy had given beauty and brilliancy to many extravagant chimæras. The *Ideas*, and other vaporous creations of Plato, had been assailed and dissipated by the enlightened reason of Aristotle. Xenocrates considered confutation as injury, and long viewed the Stagirite with hatred, which the latter is said to have answered by contempt.[25] When we con-

Why some particulars of it misrepresented by Plutarch.

[24] Plutarch in Phocion.

[25] Diogen. Laert. in Aristotel. and the Life of Aristotle prefixed to my translation of his Ethics, &c. vol. i. p. 29. 3d edit.

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sider that Aristotle from his youth to his death had continued the most respected friend of Antipater[26], we need not be surprised that the rivalship of the two great literary ornaments of Greece should have influenced the present negotiation. Xenocrates resented the coldness of his reception, by saying, "he wondered not that Antipater should not look him in the face, lest he might have him for a witness of his intended injustice against Athens." Such unseasonable incivility was only calculated to widen the breach of his country with a resistless enemy. But, through the interposition of Phocion, peace was obtained on condition "that the Athenians should new-model their dangerous democracy, should make pecuniary compensation for the expenses incurred by the war, surrender their turbulent demagogues, Demosthenes and Hyperides, and receive a Macedonian garrison into their fortified harbour Munychia.[27] Phocion pleaded strongly against the garrison; but Antipater answered, "My dear Phocion, no request of yours should ever be made in vain, with the exception of that only, which, if granted, would ruin both myself and you." Harsh as the conditions were, the Athenians felt the necessity of ratifying them. In addition to other misfortunes, they had been again defeated at sea, an element long propitious to their ancestors. The action was fought

[26] Diogen. ibid. and Life of Aristotle, p. 36.

[27] Pausan. Achaic. c. 10. Plutarch in Phocion, & Diodor. l. xviii. s. 18.

off the coast of Thessaly in the Malian gulph near the small islands called Echinades, and between the same commanders as formerly, Clytus and Eetion; the latter of whom lost a great part of the hundred and seventy galleys with which he had been entrusted.[28] Dispirited by calamities on every side, they agreed to deprive all citizens, not possessing an income of two thousand drachmas[29], of suffrage in the assembly. Athens then contained thirty thousand citizens, of whom twenty-one thousand were, on account of their mean circumstances, disfranchised.[30] Among these nearly twelve thousand[31], whose seditious poverty had been perpetually embroiling the affairs of the commonwealth, were on this occasion transplanted into vacant districts of Thrace, with a due assignment of lands from Antipater in concurrence with Lysimachus, who commanded in that province. The nine thousand comparatively rich citizens, protected by a Macedonian garrison in the Munychia, thenceforward conducted quietly and prudently the affairs of the commonwealth, under the direction of Phocion, until a new and more bloody revolution.[32]

Death of Demosthenes and

The only victims indeed of the present change of government, were Demosthenes and

[28] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 15.

[29] Sixty pounds, nearly.

[30] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 18.

[31] Plutarch in Phocion. He confounds the number sent into Thrace with the whole number of poor citizens stated at 21,000 in Diodorus.

[32] Diodorus & Plutarch, ibid.

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Hyperides. Olymp. cxiv. 3. B.C. 322.

Hyperides. But of these two, each was a host. They had both fled at the approach of Antipater, and had been respectively overtaken by his emissaries in the small islands of Calauria and Ægina, near the coast of Argos, in the Saronic gulph. The deaths of these orators have been embellished by many tragic[33] circumstances, probably invented in their own times by the admirers of their patriotism, and easily admitted afterwards by the admirers of their eloquence. The seventy-seven orations of Hyperides have long since perished[34]; and his name only lives in the consenting eulogy of criticism.[35] Among the titles of his discourses, we read "impeachment of Demosthenes," probably the speech in which he impartially and boldly arraigned his great coadjutor in the commonwealth, for accepting the bribes of Harpalus.[36] For this offence Demosthenes was banished Athens, and continued in exile at Megara, until the common cause of Greece restored him to his country, and the forgiveness of his ancient friend. As the fame of Demosthenes flourished from age to age with encreasing vigour, a dark shade thickened over the monument of Antipater. The same eloquence, which, with the living voice, arraigned and often tra-

[33] Plutarch in Demosthen.

[34] Photius and others ascribed to him the oration still extant in the works of Demosthenes: περι των προς Αλεξανδρον συνθηκων. Demosth. Wolf. p. 86. But that oration is not marked by excellence, and is only valuable for its facts, unnoticed elsewhere.

[35] Quintilian, Longinus, & Dion. Chrysost. Dissert. viii.

[36] Plutarch in Demosth. & in Phocion. & Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 8.

duced Philip, still continued in the dead letter to vilify and disgrace his honest and able minister; for it is the glory of letters that the wrongs done to any of their real ornaments are immortal!

The Samians recover their country after a banishment of forty-three years.

During these proceedings in Greece, the affair of Samos, which had first occasioned the rebellion, was settled by the authority of Perdiccas, who, notwithstanding his personal hostility to Antipater, still co-operated with him in the common concerns of the empire. The Athenians were divested of their usurped property in the island; and the expelled Samians, or their descendants, now languishing in miserable exile in many different parts of Greece, were reinstated in their hereditary possessions, of which they had been deprived forty-three years.[37]

Fierce resistance of the Etolians.

After the submission of Athens, the Etolians only remained hostile; and that daring people were still undaunted, though on all sides deserted. When Antipater and Craterus marched against them, they assembled to the number of ten thousand fighting men. The helpless part of their communities with their most precious effects were conveyed to strong castles among the mountains. The fields and villages in the open country were abandoned. The warriors took post in narrow and intricate avenues, and often repelled the Macedonians, until, by a new succession of assailants, the receding Etolians

[37] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 18.

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were cooped up within the gorges of hills covered with snow, alike destitute of corn and cattle. When no alternative remained but that of starving amidst winter storms, or descending to combat a far superior enemy, fortune in pity to their valour sent Antigonus from Asia, to display in such strong colours the dangerous views of Perdiccas, that the Macedonian generals were in haste to abandon the Etolian war. To this fierce nation they granted a present peace, firmly resolving, however, as soon as the urgency of more important concerns allowed leisure and opportunity, to transplant such obstinate rebels from Greece into some remote region of Asia.[38] But their meditated vengeance was not carried into execution. The Etolians, encouraged by Perdiccas, renewed the war; though often vanquished by the Macedonians, they were never thoroughly subdued: and their love of independence, or rather their aversion to the restraints of regular government, their rapacity, and ferocity, deform the last pages of Grecian history.

Conquest of Cyrené, by Ptolemy. Olymp. cxiv. 2. B. C. 323.

The ambition of Alexander's immediate successors collected into one sphere of action all the scattered communities belonging to the Grecian name, in the three divisions of the ancient world. During the regency of Perdiccas, the remote colony of Cyrené, which from its establishment on the African coast, six hundred and thirty-one years before the Christian æra,

[38] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 24, 25.

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had taken but a feeble interest in the affairs of the mother-country[39], first emerges into such historical importance, as demands our attention to the primary object or design of that remote settlement; and the principal proceedings through which that desired end was either promoted or thwarted. Upon this disquisition I enter with the greater pleasure, because the observations applicable to Cyrené in Africa, perfectly accord with the history already given of many and more considerable emporiums in Asia.

Early connection of Greece with that part of the African coast.

The amours of Jupiter with the African nymph Cyrené[40], the temple of Minerva on the lake Tritonis[41], the ægis of the goddess invented by the inhabitants of that neighbourhood[42], and the famed garden of the Hesperides, from which Hercules transported the golden apples[43], all these circumstances point to an early intercourse between Greece and that part of the Mediterranean coast, which lay directly eastward of the domain of Carthage. When we descend in history to more solid ground, there is abundant evidence that this intercourse was encouraged by repeated and earnest admonitions of the oracle of Delphi[44]; a circumstance in conjunction with particulars to be immediately related,

[39] See History of Ancient Greece, v. i. c. 8. and v. iii. c. 24.

[40] Pausan. in Laconic. [41] Scylax, Perip. p. 49.

[42] Herodotus, l. iv. c. 189.

[43] Diodorus, Hyginus, Apollodorus. Conf. Rennell's Geog. of Herodot. p. 611.

[44] Herodot. l. iv. c. 164. et passim.

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indicating that the priests of Greece were not less zealous than those of Egypt, Ethiopia, and Assyria, in extending the commercial relations of their country.

Cause of that connection—Commercial geography of Africa.

Africa, whose finest regions since the downfall of the Roman empire in the west, have been desolated by Vandals and Arabs, by sanguinary barbarism, intolerant and more sanguinary superstition, abounded, as it still abounds, in precious commodities, which strike the mind more powerfully, because they are distributed by the hand of nature, into large and distinct masses. The whole continent is separated by the intermediate Sahara or desert, into Libya and Ethiopia; and Libya, the northern division, stretching from the Atlantic to Egypt, was early distinguished into two broad belts, of which the nearest, now called Barbary, forms the whole southern coast of the Mediterranean, and the other partially disjoined from it by scattered branches of mount Atlas, is known by a harsh Arabic name[45] denoting the land of dates; an article in all ages of indispensable use to its inhabitants. The same tract is called by Herodotus the land of wild beasts[46]; and it is still infested by these savages beyond any other country in the world. The wild beasts naturally retired from the populous haunts of men, and the well-cultivated shores of the Mediterranean. In the country of dates, they had fewer enemies to fear; and when at any time very obstinately assailed, might secure

[45] Beledulgerid. [46] Λιβυη θηριωδης. Herodot. l. iv. c. 191.

their safety by retreating into the southern desert. CHAP. III.

Ethiopia.

Beyond this huge belt of sand, in many parts a thousand miles broad, and in length commensurate with the continent which it deforms, the Ethiopia of the Greeks corresponded nearly with the Soudan or Negritia of modern geographers.[47] It comprehended, in general, Africa south of the desert; the inhabitants of its western parts are described in antiquity, as a black, dwarfish, and harmless people[48]; but the eastern Ethiopians were remarkable for their lofty stature, their beauty, and their longevity.[49] The whole country was famed for the rich productions of ivory, ebony, and gold. Its plains were often covered with tall forests of wonderful variety and beauty, and its diversified hills of moderate ascent contained copious mines of gold, within a few fathoms of the surface. With whatever terrors nature had clothed the intermediate regions of Africa, she had, therefore, with her usual bounty made compensation, by enriching and adorning the extremes of Ethiopia and Libya.[50]

Libya.

The western division of Libya, comprehending Mauritania and Numidia, with the proper domain of Carthage, still retains great fertility and populousness, notwithstanding many successive

[47] Herodot. l. iii. c. 114. Conf. Poiret, Description de la Negritie. Labat. relat. nouvelle de l'Afrique, and Proceedings of African Association.

[48] Herodot. l. ii. c. 32. & l. iv. c. 42.

[49] Herodot. l. iii. c. 17. et seq. & l. vii. p. 70.

[50] Herodot. ibid. Conf. Bruce's Travels, v. i. p. 382. et passim.

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ravages of desolating Barbarians. The eastern division, extending from the neighbourhood of Tunis to Egypt, is formidable to mariners on account of the dangerous Syrtes, and repulsive in the interior country on account of the sandy plains of Barca and Marmarica. Yet the Syrtic region itself was renowned for the happy and hospitable Lotophagi[51]; and another district in the same region borrowing its name from the river Cinyps, by which it is watered, equalled[52] in exuberance the Assyrian plains. To the eastward of Cinyps and the great Syrtis, the bold coast of Cyrené[53] projects towards Crete and the Peloponnesus, with the same hostile aspect that Carthage advances to meet, as it were, and defy Sicily and Italy. The gardens of the Hesperides, and the fertile territory surrounding them, which returned all kinds of grain with the increase of an hundred fold[54], had early attracted the notice of those Greeks most ambitious of colonization and conquest. On the greatest part of the African shore their enterprise had been anticipated by the Phœnicians.[55] But their priests, and especially those of Delphi, still[56] directed their views to the elevated tract of Cyrené, which hitherto remained unoccupied, and which, besides the temptation of a rich soil

[51] Strabo, l. iii. p. 157. and Plin. l. vi. c. 7.

[52] Herodot. l. iv. c. 171—198.

[53] Cyrené properly denotes a city, but is commonly applied by Greek writers to the whole territory of Cyrenaica, of which that city was the capital.

[54] Herodot. ibid.

[55] See above Survey, s. iv.

[56] Herodot. l. iv. c. 155.

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for tillage, offered them an easy participation, by the intervention of neighbouring Nomades, in the valuable commerce of gold, ebony, and ivory. As the nations of antiquity traded chiefly with their own colonies, a settlement on the African coast, appeared the surest expedient for procuring those commodities in abundance. Such are the notices which seemed necessary as a key to the following short narrative of the origin, progress, prosperity, and downfall of the first establishment formed by Europeans in Africa.

The Greeks under Battus colonize a desert island on the African coast. Olymp. xxxvii. 2. B. C. 631.

In the diminutive island of Thera, the most southern of the Cyclades, Polymnestus, a powerful citizen, had a bold and ambitious son, who, enduring impatiently an ungraceful[57] hesitation in his speech, applied to the oracle of Delphi, about the best means for remedying that defect. Instead of answering him on the subject of his voyage, the oracle saluted him by the name of Battus, which in the Libyan language signifies a king, and exhorted him to lead a colony into Libya. The foundation of new cities seems, on this as on other occasions, to have been embellished by fables. The disobedience of Battus to the oracle was punished, we are told, by a dreadful drought at Thera, which left not a single tree on the island. The distressed inhabitants having sent a deputation to

[57] Herodotus, l. iv. c. 155. The son of Polymnestus not only hesitated, but had a difficulty in pronouncing certain letters. See Aristotle's definition of ἰσχνφωνια and τραυλοτης (Problem xi. 30.) the defects ascribed by Herodotus to Battus.

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consult the god, received for answer, that their affairs would grow prosperous, if they assisted Battus in colonizing Cyrené. In consequence of this admonition, two galleys, each of fifty oars, sailed towards the African coast, but instead of landing on the continent, only occupied the little desert island of Platæa, in a deep bay about a hundred miles eastward of the lofty table-land, to which the oracle had directed them. In this inhospitable spot, the Thereans might have perished for hunger, had not their wants been relieved by a Samian vessel, which, in her voyage to Egypt, happened to touch at Platæa; and whose generous assistance on this occasion gave birth to the intimate friendship which afterwards subsisted between Samos and Cyrené.[58] Disappointed in the hopes which had produced their migration from Thera, Battus and his companions again had recourse to the god, complaining that though they had obeyed his injunction, and established a colony in Libya, calamity still pursued them in that new settlement. The Pythia answered, that their sagacity was indeed admirable, if they, who had never yet landed in Libya, should know it better than herself, who had travelled in that country. Conformably to this answer, they transferred their colony from the isle of Platæa to a place called Aziris on the opposite continent, a beautiful and well-watered district, almost surrounded by hills of easy ascent, and

[58] Herodot. l. iv. c. 152.

which waved with shadowy forests.[59] At Aziris, and afterwards at Cyrené, which the Libyans encouraged them to occupy, by saying that rain was peculiarly abundant in that quarter[60], the colonists remained forty years under Battus, and sixteen under Arcesilaus his son. They received not however any considerable accession from Greece, until the reign of the second Battus, surnamed the Happy.

A new Grecian colony sent to Africa. Olymp. xlvii. 2. B. C. 591.

Under the fortunate administration of this third king, the oracle strongly exhorted the Peloponnesians, the Cretans, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring Cyclades, to colonize Libya, and to divide its lands with their Cyrenean brethren. In consequence of this admonition, the emigrants were so numerous, and the territories which they required for their subsistence so considerable, that the Libyans, who had treated the first settlers as friendly traders, began to take the alarm, and applied for assistance to Apries, king of Egypt, on promise of submitting themselves as tributaries to that power. Apries listened to their request; but the powerful army which he sent to their relief was so completely defeated in the district Trasa, contiguous to Aziris, that few messengers returned to announce the public calamity[61]: while the disasters above related, of Apries and of Egypt, prevented any retaliation on the part of that monarchy.

[59] Herodot. l. iv. c. 157.

[60] The heavens they said were bored at Cyrené. Id. l. iv. c. 158.

[61] Herodot. l. iv. c. 159.

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Seditions in Cyrené and cause thereof. Olymp. lii. 3.—lxxxvii. 2. B.C. 570—431.

After this illustrious victory, gained five hundred and seventy-two years before Christ, the Greeks, had they remained true to themselves, might have established their dominion so firmly on the African coast, as would have reversed its future fortune, and converted into a source of civilization and light, a country destined to become the perpetual abode of dreary darkness and sullen barbarism. But the insolence of prosperity was accompanied by growing dissensions, among men collected from a variety of coasts and isles, which terminated in rebellion against Arcesilaus their fourth king, son to Battus the Happy. The insurrection was headed by four brothers to the king.[62] Being expelled from Cyrené, the rebels retreated to the distance of fourscore miles into the southern district of Barca, founded the city of that name, and entered into an unnatural alliance with the Libyans. Soon afterwards, Arcesilaus met his united enemies in the field at Leucon, in Libya. The battle was unfortunate; he lost seven thousand heavy-armed men; and returned to his strong-hold of Cyrené in disgrace, followed by sickness. In this condition, a medicine was prescribed to him for procuring sleep; under the operation of which, he was strangled by Learchus, his fifth brother, and the only one not in open rebellion.

Tragic events in the family

Learchus was impelled to this enormity by a criminal passion for Eryxo, the wife of Arcesi-

[62] Stephen. Byzant. voc. Βαρκη.

laus, and the bold avenger of his murder. When solicited in marriage by the traitor, the bold artifice of Eryxo dissembled any personal reluctance, provided Learchus' demand should meet with the approbation of her family. The answer of the family was purposely delayed: the lover grew impatient: an assignation was made; and Learchus, being received into the bed-chamber of Eryxo, was slain by her brother Polyarchus and two armed accomplices.[63]

The tragical deaths of Arcesilaus and Learchus left the throne of Cyrené open to the son of the former, named Battus III. But the distractions of the colonists were not yet at an end. The African Greeks had been collected, as we have seen, from a wide variety of states, some subject to kings, others governed as republics more or less popular. The principal causes of discord were thus of a political nature; and for the removal of them recourse was again had to Delphi. The Pythia exhorted the speedy demand of a legislator from the Arcadian republic of Mantinæa, which at that time was regarded as the model of a wise commonwealth, and which had even introduced, as we have shewn in another work[64], such a refined plan of representative government, as might have been imparted with much benefit to growing colonies, diffused at wide intervals over the African coast. Demonax, the Arcadian, who came to

[63] Plutarch de Virtut. Mulier. and Herodotus, l. iv. c. 160.

[64] See my translation of Aristotle's Ethics and Politics, v. ii. p. 76. 3d edit.

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cure the evils of Cyrené, divided its inhabitants into three tribes; the first consisted of the Thereans and their neighbours; the second of the Peloponnesians and Cretans: the third, of all the other islanders who had assisted in forming the settlement. We are not told whether these tribes were placed with regard to each other on a foot of equality, or by what differences of political rights they were distinguished. Collectively they engrossed all those powers, deliberative, executive, and judicial, which formerly centered in the king; whose prerogative was now confined to the exclusive dignity of certain priesthoods, and to the enjoyment of an appropriate domain, wider and more valuable than the estates of other citizens.[65]

Enormities and sufferings of Arcesilaus IV. and his mother. Olymp. lxxx. 1.—lxxxvi. 4. B.C. 460—432.

Battus IV., who had succeeded to the throne, bore his degradation patiently; being a man of an unambitious temper, and besides, afflicted from his youth with a lameness in his feet, which, in some measure, disqualified him for the fatiguing duties of public life. His son, Arcesilaus IV., endeavoured to resume the plenitude of royal power. He was expelled the country; but restored through the assistance of the Samians, his hereditary friends; and having disgraced his good fortune by atrocious cruelty, was slain in the streets of Barca, by the indignant kinsmen of those Cyrenians whom he had banished, murdered, or burned alive in a great tower distinguished by the name of its builder Aglamachus.[66] Abominable were

[65] Herodotus, l. iv. c. 161. [66] Ibid. c. 162.

the proceedings of Greek tyrants, in all quarters of the world. In proportion to the high spirit of liberty among the people, the more horrid examples seemed necessary to overawe them.

While Arcesilaus still lived at Barca, his mother Pheretima, a woman of a masculine spirit, sustained the government of Cyrené; presiding personally as chief magistrate in the deliberations of the senate. But, upon the death of her son, Pheretima being divested of her authority, escaped into Egypt, and obtained from Aryandes, who governed that province under Darius Hystaspis, the assistance of a Persian army, through which the ambitious satrap hoped to conquer Libya, and with which the enraged queen expected to inflict vengeance on her enemies. The victories of the Persians put Barca into her hands after a long siege. Upon entering the place she impaled and left hanging on the walls the men in arms, and above this horrid fret-work, is said to have raised one still more abominable, the dissevered bosoms of their wives and kinswomen. In attempting to gain by assault the stronger city Cyrené, the Persians were seized with a panic terror. Their return to Egypt was harassed by the predatory pursuit of the Libyan Nomades. Pheretima accompanied their disgraceful retreat, and died soon afterwards most miserably: a just judgement of the gods, as Herodotus piously deems it, against the mad fury of revenge.[67]

[67] Herodotus, l. iv. p. 202. et seq.

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Flourishing state of Cyrené. Olymp. lxxxvii. 1. cxiv. 2. B. C. 432 —323.

The Cyrenians had remained two[68] centuries under Battus and his descendants, whose dominion expired amidst a dreadful accumulation of crimes and calamities. But happier times succeeded; and the period of an hundred and nine years that elapsed between the flight of the Persians and the conquest of Cyrené by the first Ptolemy, is brightened alike by the prosperity and patriotism of its citizens. Their territories were enlarged; their commerce was extended; and their populousness flourished through native vigour, without any dangerous accessions from the mother-country. During the same century, corresponding nearly with the fourth before the Christian æra, Cyrené produced men illustrious in arts as well as arms, and sustained honourable competitions at the Olympic games in accomplishments then exclusively characteristic of Greeks, and their noblest pre-eminence. It would be an invaluable record that should inform us how the institutions of Demonax the Arcadian were upheld and modified so as to produce such happy results. The five cities of Cyrenaica, which conferred on it the name of Pentapolis, should seem to have constituted a confederacy resembling that of the Lycians; arranged with such justice and wisdom, as reconciled the interests of the whole with the pretensions of its component members.[69]

Enlargement of its

In the time of Herodotus, who gave the last

[68] Schol. in Pindar. Ode 1. Pyth.

[69] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 664, 665. Comp. my translation of Aristotle's Politics, vol. ii. p. 77. et seq. 3d edit.

territory. — Philænian altars.

corrections to his history four hundred and eight years before the Christian æra, Cyrenaica extended westward from its capital only a hundred and forty miles along the African coast. But shortly afterwards, a memorable transaction proves that its boundary, in the same direction, had been advanced to the inmost recess of the great Syrtis; and its territory thereby nearly doubled in extent, though not proportionally increased in value. The transaction to which I allude appeared of such importance to a great historian, that he suspends the course of his splendid narrative in order to record it.[70] The height of Cyrenean prosperity coincided with the most flourishing ages of Carthage, before the Carthaginians had been assailed by Agathocles of Sicily, and their finest provinces plundered and desolated by that merciless invader.[71] During this period, Egypt having sadly degenerated under the barbarous yoke of Persia, Carthage was the only power in Africa that could alarm the walled cities of the Pentapolis. Discord arose between nations unfriendly by blood and neighbourhood, competitors for conquest, and rivals in commerce. But the only particular in the war that has come down to posterity, is the memorable incident by which it terminated. This was the adjustment of their common boundary by two Carthaginian youths, the brothers

[70] Sallust. Bell. Jugurthin.

[71] This expedition will be related circumstantially hereafter. It happened 309 years before Christ, and 55 years before the first war between Carthage and Rome.

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Philæni, and two young Cyrenians. It is not clearly explained by what arrangements between the rival states their respective citizens were to set out, at the same time, and from assigned places, so that the spot where they met might be regarded in future as their mutual frontier. They met at the south-eastern extremity of the great Syrtis, where a branch of that gulph penetrates the deepest inland. The Cyrenians, thinking that they had not reached a sufficient distance to satisfy the expectation of their country, complained that the Carthaginians had taken their departure before the stipulated time. The latter denied the accusation; but offered to embrace any just and equal expedient by which the contest might be decided. Then said the Cyrenians, "Allow yourselves to be here buried alive amidst these sands, since we are ready to accept that condition for the sake of extending the limits of our country." The Carthaginians consented, and met death in its most frightful form.[72] Huge mounds of earth[73] composed what were thenceforward called the Philænian altars; unperishing memorials of those who offered, as well as of those who accepted the patriotic alternative.

Description of the Pentapolis — Hesperis.

The enlargement of Cyrenaica to the Philænian altars westward, and eastward to the mountainous Catabathmus, which overlooked the sandy deserts of Marmarica, added far less to the public prosperity, than the high agricultural improve-

[72] Sallust. Bell. Jugurthin. [73] Plin. l. v. c. 4.

ments of the central district. This consisted of a soft and rich soil; it was well watered throughout; it abounded in shady woods and flowery fields; and it afforded in great variety the most useful plants and animals.[74] Its limits were defined by the production of silphium: this plant marked the region of fertility; and where silphium ceased to grow, the soil was unfit for culture. This general notice, from an author of the highest credit[75], is rendered special and satisfactory by the information of Herodotus, that the silphium was confined to the territory between Platæa and the mouth of the great Syrtis[76]; a direct inland journey of only two hundred miles, but far more considerable along the winding coast. The distance exactly corresponds with that between Platæa and the city called Berenicé, now Bernic, in whose neighbourhood concurring testimonies place the far-famed gardens of the Hesperides; for Berenicé was a new name borrowed from the celebrated Egyptian queen, wife to the first Ptolemy, the conqueror of Cyrené, and bestowed on the ancient Hesperis, the most southern city of the confederacy on the immediate frontier of the desert.[77] Here, instead of level sands and unvaried sterility, the ground first began to swell into gentle elevations, to wave with woods, and

[74] Strabo, l. xviii. p. 836. [75] Arrian, Ind. Hist. cap. ult.

[76] Herodot. l iv. c. 170. & 191.

[77] Pliny places the Hesperides near Lixos in Mauritania, but changes this opinion in speaking of Berenicé. Conf. Plin. l. v. c. 1. & 5.

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to be refreshed by fountains. Contrast between such scenery and the dreary desolation in its neighbourhood, procured an early celebrity for Hesperis, above other districts of Cyrenaica. In the fables of the poets, which are often histories in disguise, Hercules was celebrated for conveying from thence the golden apples; and if citrons and oranges are denoted by that name[78], the enterprise well accorded with the beneficent views of a hero who surmounted every danger to transplant the wild olive into Greece.[79]

Taucheira, north of Hesperis, changed its name to Arsinoë, from the daughter of the above-mentioned Ptolemy Soter; but the ancient appellation revived, and prevails to the present day. Both Hesperis and Taucheira were seaports; but Cyrené and Barca, of which the former was fourscore miles north-east of Hesperis, and the latter midway between them, were respectively distant from the coast about twelve miles; and Cyrené, the mother and the queen of all these cities, being situate on a lofty terrace, displayed its glittering towers to distant vessels, as they made for its spacious bay and convenient harbour. Apollonia, the harbour of Cyrené, appears not to have been politically distinguished from the city itself; but the port

[78] Κιτρον καλεισθαι παρα τοις Λιβυσι μηλον Εσπερικον, αφ' ὧν και Ηρακλεα κομισαι εις την Ελλαδα τα χρυσεα, δια την ιδεαν, λεγομενα μηλα. "Citrons were called Hesperian apples among the Libyans, from whom Hercules carried into Greece the apples we name golden from their appearance." Juba apud Athenæum, l. iii. p. 83.

[79] Pind. Olymp. Ode 3.

of Barca, called Ptolemais, must have formed a community apart, since it completed the confederacy of the Pentapolis; a confederacy whose decayed members in the form of towns or villages subsist to the present day under the nearly unaltered names of Kurin, Barca, Bernic, Taukeira, and Tollemata.[80]

Its commerce with the interior of Africa.

While the Cyrenians extended and embellished their territories, they neglected not the primary objects of their establishment. Commerce, both by land and sea, was cultivated assiduously and boldly. Their harbours were crowded with merchantmen, chiefly Greeks; and their inland possessions extended to the region of dates, whose inhabitants have been in all ages the greatest travelling merchants in the world, if greatness is to be measured by fatigue and danger. It must be impossible from the nature of the thing to ascertain the ever-flitting limits of the Nomades that skirted the dominions of Carthage and Cyrené; the Nasamones, celebrated for their enterprise and prowess[81]; the Psylli, universally renowned for their power over serpents[82], although that power is variously ascribed to nature[83], to art[84], and to magic[85]: and the Garamantes, whose character is so dif-

[80] Shaw's Travels. Conf. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 837. et seq.
[81] Herodot. l. iv. c. 172.
[82] Lucan, Pharsal. l. ix. v. 897. Plin. l. vii. c. 2.
[83] Lucan, ibid. & Solin. c. 27.
[84] Aristot. Histor. Animal. & Scylax, Peripl.
[85] Plutarch in Caton Utic.

Somniculosum ut Pœnus aspidem Psyllus.
Helvius Cinna apud A. Gell. ix. 12.

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ferently painted by Herodotus[86], that he may be conjectured to speak of two distinct nations, confounded through some error under one name. Among all these tribes, necessity gave birth to well-appointed caravans, by means of which only, it was possible to penetrate the desert, and procure those rich commodities of southern Africa, which were purchased with emulation on the Cyrenean and Carthaginian shores. The desert, which at first sight seemed to oppose invincible barriers to this traffic, on the contrary promoted it, by the attractive influence of many springs of salt water, forming innumerable saline hills interspersed at convenient distances between its eastern and western extremity.[87] As salt is entirely wanting in Ethiopia, or Nigritia, in the largest extent of these names, the southern Africans had to seek it in the Sahara, and to meet, as it were, half-way the Libyans who came in quest of gold, and the articles of ebony, ivory, and slaves, then deemed as indispensable to luxury as salt is to nature. When Africa is accurately explored, we shall be able to ascertain the routes which Herodotus slightly traces from the neighbourhood of Carthage and Cyrené to Egypt in one direction, and to the nations south of the desert in another. From the confines of the Lesser Syrtis, we shall pursue his fifty days' journey to mount Atlas; and pro-

[86] Conf. Herodot. l. iv. c. 174. & c. 185. The Garamantes are proved by Major Rennell to be the people of Fezzan. Geog. of Herodot. p. 615. et seq.

[87] Herodot. l. iv. c. 185. et seq.

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ceeding southward from that mountain to the present empire of Morocco, traverse the broadest part of the desert, the frightful Zanhaga, to vast salt-mines wrought by the hand of man, clearly distinguishable from the saline springs and huge granulous hills of salt in other parts of Africa, since they consisted of hard mineral rocks, of which the miners built for their accommodation durable houses[88] in that region of eternal drought. Similar mines and in a like situation are described by Leo[89] at Tecazza, twenty days' journey due west of Tombuctoo: which latter place appears, from the latest researches, to be the principal and most remarkable town in the interior of Africa.[90]

Its arts and productions.

Among the commodities calculated to bear the longest transportation by land, the Cyrenians drew from Southern Africa, agates[91], amethysts, and a variety of other gems, several of which, exquisitely engraved, will attest to the latest posterity the ingenuity and taste of this African commonwealth four centuries before the Christian æra. The universal passion of the citizens for this kind of ornament, excited the emulation of artists, and wonderfully improved their skill.[92] The poorest Cyrenian would give the value of thirty guineas for a ring or seal. From the carving of precious stones, there was an easy transition to the cast-

[88] Herodot. l. iv. c. 185.
[89] Leo, African. p. 225. et seq.
[90] African Researches, 1799, p. 131.
[91] Καρχηδονιοι λιθοι, a kind of agate. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 835.
[92] Ælian, Var. Hist. l. xii. c. 30.

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ing of medals with the most beautiful designs, particularly the small Cyrenean medals of fine gold, requiring the assistance of glasses to read their inscriptions and perceive the admirable delicacy of their workmanship. On these gems and medals we frequently meet with the silphium, a *rosaceous* shrub of sweet fragrancy, which, though it grew in Persia, Media, and the Indian Paropamisus, was of such superior excellency[93] in the Cyrenaica, that "the silphium of Battus" was proverbial in antiquity to denote whatever was most precious.[94] The silphium is an annual plant; its juice, obtained by incision from the trunk and stem, was in universal request among the credulous for the purposes of medicine, and among the luxurious for those of cookery. The Greeks bought it for its weight in silver, deeming it of indispensable use in alleviating disease and gladdening festivity. The rancorous disputes of critics[95] have involved in needless obscurity the subject of silphium, which is still found[96] in the neighbourhood of Derna between the isle of

[93] Dioscorid. l. iii. c. 97. Conf. Arrian, Ind. Hist. c. ult.

[94] Ουδ' αν ει δοιης γε μοι τον Πλουτον αυτον, και το Βαττου σιλφιον. "No! nor, should you give me the god of riches himself, and the silphium of Battus." Aristophanes. — Compare Hesychius Βαττου σιλφιον· παροιμια επι των τας υπερβαλλουσας τιμας ευρισκομενων· adding that the silphium was of such high estimation among the Cyrenians, that they stamped their coins with the silphium on one side, and with Jupiter Hammon on the other.

[95] Bentley and others would prove the fragrant silphium to be Assafœtida.

[96] See Memoir of M. le Maire, French consul in Tripoli in 1706, cited in Memoire de l'Academie, v. xxxvi. p. 24.

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Platæa and the modern Kurin. It abounded far more, indeed, during the flourishing ages of the Cyrenean confederacy, and the more plentiful it was, the more vigilantly did the Cyrenians watch its exportation, on which they should seem to have imposed a prohibitory duty. The Carthaginians certainly carried on a contraband trade for silphium from their nearest harbour Charax, on the Great Syrtis, a little eastward of the tower Euphrantas. To Charax, the Carthaginians sent wine and the produce of their manufactures, and brought from thence Cyrenean oil and unguents, various kinds of fruits, flowers of a peculiar hue and fragrancy[97], above all, the silphium, carried clandestinely to Charax by Cyrenean smugglers.[98]

Dissensions between rich and poor. Olymp. xcv. 1. B. C. 400.

The Cyrenians had the means of happiness, but knew not how to enjoy them. Four hundred years before Christ[99], their republic was disturbed by a sedition originating in the ordinary dissensions between rich and poor in the Greek commonwealths. About this time probably they applied to Plato, justly provoked at the Athenians for the judicial murder of Socrates, to visit their country and assist in its legislation. He is said to have declined this honourable office, by frankly declaring that their circumstances were too prosperous to bear

[97] Theophrast. Hist. Plant. l. iv. c. 3. & Athenæus, l. xv.

[98] Των εκ κυρηνης λαθρα κομιζοντων. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 836.

[99] Diodorus places this event. Olymp. xciv. 4. B. C. 401. Diodorus, l. xiv. s. 34.

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the restraint of salutary laws.[100] Under such institutions, therefore, as their condition admitted, they continued to live for fourscore years afterwards, until shortly before the death of Alexander, the confederacy of the Pentapolis was involved in such tumults as finally terminated in its complete subjection under his first Egyptian successor.

Cyrené invaded by Thimbron. Olymp. cxiv. 2. B. C. 323.

In a former work we have seen Harpalus, financial administrator in Babylon, after he had incurred the resentment of his generous master by ill government and profligacy, escape into Greece with five thousand talents and six thousand mercenaries.[101] Banished from Athens through the terror with which Alexander's name filled that and neighbouring commonwealths, he sailed with his troops and part of his treasures to Crete[102], where, as that island is directly opposite to Cyrenaica, he might seasonably avail himself of the troubles in the latter, to form an establishment on the African coast. But the traitor, Harpalus, was perfidiously slain in the isle of Crete by his associate Thimbron, who succeeded to his resources and projects.[103] Thimbron, with a numerous fleet, sailed for the Cyrenaica, where the Grecian confederacy was weakened by disunion, and the principal city in the league torn by intestine discord. His veteran army, seven thousand strong, had been

[100] Plutarch in Lucull. p. 492.
[101] History of Ancient Greece, vol. iv. c. 29.
[102] Diodorus, l. xvii. s. 108.
[103] Id. ibid. Conf. Plutarch. in Demosth. and Phocion.

reinforced in Crete by a large body of Cyrenean exiles, breathing resentment against their country. Under these guides, Thimbron effected a descent; vanquished the Cyrenians in a battle where many of them fell, and many were made prisoners; gained possession of their harbour Apollonia, and having successfully assaulted, was prepared to sack their capital. In this state of affairs, the Cyrenians requested and obtained a suspension of hostilities. To ransom the place from military execution, Thimbron demanded from its magistrates a large sum of money, and one half their chariots of war; at the same time sending embassies to the subordinate cities of the confederacy, offering to them his friendship, upon condition that they assisted him with troops against the neighbouring Libyans. The Cyrenean magistrates paid part of the contribution, and professed readiness to comply with the full extent of Thimbron's demands. Barca and Hesperis also accepted his proposals, Ptolemais the port of Barca imitated the submission of that city. The inconsiderable republic of Taucheira alone seemed anxious to defend its freedom. [104]

Thimbron betrayed by Mnasicles.

When the affairs of Thimbron were in this prosperous state, his rash and unprincipled rapacity prepared for him a sudden reverse of fortune. Having plundered the merchantmen and magazines in Apollonia, in his division of the booty he offended Mnasicles, a

[104] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 19. et seq.

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man of nearly equal weight with himself in the army; by birth a Cretan, through long experience a skilful captain, and uniting great personal courage with all the wiles of his country. Through the defection of Mnasicles to the Cyrenians, a new spirit was inspired into the vanquished. They recovered from the consternation into which they had been thrown by the suddenness and boldness of the descent; placed their city in a posture of defence; and refused to pay the remainder of the contribution due by them. To chastise their breach of faith, Thimbron seized part of their citizens, who had unwarily remained in Apollonia; and, reinforced by auxiliaries from Barca and Hesperis, again besieged Cyrené. But his success was far different from what he had formerly experienced. Unable to make any impression on the walls, he retired with his baffled army to Apollonia. The Cyrenians, not contented with deliverance from danger, retaliated the hostilities of Barca and Hesperis, by ravaging and almost desolating the nearest territories of these states. Thimbron sailed with the greatest part of his troops to the assistance of his allies, leaving Apollonia unguarded. The watchful Mnasicles ably availed himself of this error. With a handful of Cyrenians, he recovered their lost harbour of Apollonia, and the rich magazines contained in it, which were faithfully restored to their rightful owners. He then fortified its entrances so skilfully against Thimbron's ships, that they were thenceforth totally excluded, on that side,

from all communication with the country, by means of which chiefly they had hitherto supplied their wants.[165] Meanwhile Thimbron, after protecting the territories of his allies, overcame the obstinacy of Taucheira, the smallest city in the Pentapolis, but which, being united in itself, had the most manfully resisted his invasion. His advantages, however, in this quarter did not compensate for the loss of Apollonia, since his ships upon their return northward, being baffled in all attempts to enter that harbour, were obliged to land dispersedly on the adjacent coasts; and their crews being thus assailed in straggling parties, were either put to the sword, or compelled hastily to embark in such stormy weather that they were driven on the shores of Cyprus and Egypt. Upon this disaster Thimbron was on the point of abandoning his enterprise, when his courage was revived by a reinforcement of nearly three thousand troops from Peloponnesus. These were a new swarm of Greek mercenaries, who had rendezvoused at the promontory of Tenarus, to whom Thimbron, on his first reverse of fortune, had sent proper agents to engage them in his service. Their seasonable arrival encouraged him to risk a battle with the Cyrenians, who, in the progress of the war, had greatly augmented their domestic army by auxiliaries from Libya and even Carthage, a republic long hostile to Cyrené, but now more jealous of Thimbron and his mer-

[165] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 20.

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cenaries, who had served under Alexander. The whole of their forces amounted to thirty thousand combatants; infantry, cavalry, and chariots of war fighting after the fashion of the heroic ages. This ill-composed army was defeated with great slaughter; its officers were all slain; and such Cyrenians as escaped from the battle were cooped up within their walls, to which Thimbron for the third time laid siege. Their sufferings exasperated those political factions in which all their evils had originated. The nobles and more opulent citizens who wished to capitulate were expelled by the people. One part of them sought refuge with Thimbron, another sailed to Egypt to request the assistance of Ptolemy.[106]

Thimbron made prisoner, and the Cyrenians reduced by Ptolemy's general Ophellas. Olymp. cxiv. 2. B. C. 323.

That sagacious prince, who had strongly fortified his province by walls, troops, treasures, above all, by the grateful affection of his Egyptian subjects, perceived the fair opportunity of extending his dominion over a contiguous and wealthy coast. With the utmost expedition he prepared a fleet and army, entrusting both to Ophellas, his companion in arms under the great Alexander. Ophellas landed on the coast before the complete reduction of the Cyrenians; and his arrival produced very surprising changes in their contending factions. The rich and noble, who had previously fled to Thimbron's camp, endeavoured secretly in the night to join Ophellas. Their design was discovered, and they were cruelly massacred. The popular

[106] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 20.

party, on the other hand, rather than surrender their liberties to Ophellas and their fellow-citizens who accompanied him, resolved to make peace with Thimbron, whom they had recently opposed with obstinate valour; and zealously aided him in resisting the new and more formidable invasion from Egypt. But their united strength was crushed by the powerful armament which Ptolemy had sent against them. Thimbron's army was destroyed, and himself made prisoner. Cyrené was besieged, taken, and garrisoned; the subordinate cities in the confederacy shared the same fate.[107]

Subsequent history of Cyrené, to Olymp. clxxi. 1. B. C. 96.

Such was the termination of the Greek commonwealths in Africa, which had defied the ferocity of the Libyans, resisted the more disciplined valour of Carthage, and repelled the strength of Egypt under her ancient kings. But as the submission of the Cyrenaica was reluctant, we shall see that country in the sequel frequently the scene of rebellion. It remained, however, for upwards of two centuries an appendage to the Greek kingdom in Egypt; and was governed, for the most part, by sons or younger brothers of the Ptolemies. Apion, its last *viceroy*, son to the Seventh Ptolemy, amidst the civil wars in Egypt assumed independent sovereignty; and, ninety-seven years before Christ, bequeathed his usurped kingdom of Cyrenaica to the Romans[108], by whom it was conjoined, about thirty years afterwards, with the neighbouring isle of Crete in the form of a province.[109]

[107] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 21. and Strabo, l. xvii. p. 836.
[108] Appian, Mithridat. cap. 121.
[109] Plutarch in Lucull.

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Ptolemy declines the Protectorship. — Funeral Procession of Alexander. — Aridæus and Python Protectors. — Sedition excited by Euridicé. — Resignation of the Protectors. — Antipater sole Regent. — Abandonment of Alexander's great Undertakings. — New Division of the Provinces. — Antigonus sent against Eumenes. — War in Pisidia. — Ptolemy conquers Syria. — Death and Character of Antipater. — Polysperchon Regent. — Opposition of Cassander. — His Intrigues with Antigonus. — The Regent endangered on all Sides. — He employs Eumenes against Antigonus. — Recalls Olympias from Epirus. — Issues an Edict for restoring Democracy throughout Greece. — Phocion's Accusation and Execution. — Battle of Byzantium. — Athens surrenders to Cassander. — Is governed by Demetrius Phalereus. — Murder of Arrhidæus and Euridicé. — Trial and Execution of Olympias. — Cassander rebuilds Thebes.

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Ptolemy gains the army of Perdiccas. Olymp. cxiv. 3. B. C. 322.

THE conquest of Cyrené, through his general Ophellas, was but a prelude to the glory which Ptolemy gained in person, by his skilful defence of Egypt against Perdiccas, commanding the royal army of Alexander, till then unfoiled in any combat. The disasters of that army in the neighbourhood of Memphis, occasioned, as we have shewn, sedition among the soldiers, and a conspiracy of the officers, which ended in the murder of Perdiccas. Of this emergency, Ptolemy availed himself with equal dexterity and bold-

ness. Upon the day following his adversary's death, he came unguarded to the hostile camp, addressed the soldiers as countrymen and old companions in arms, embraced affectionately their commanders as his dearest personal friends. His camels and waggons then made their appearance, loaded with all sorts of necessaries for men, who, having undergone incredible hardships, were invited to a peaceful entertainment instead of being challenged to a new battle.[1] By this pleasing transition they were filled with transports of joy and of gratitude. They saw no motive in Ptolemy but a concern for their happiness. Neither Python nor Seleucus, who were present, nor Antipater and Antigonus, who were shortly expected, nor any other of their admired commanders, could bear a competition in their affections with the brave and generous satrap of Egypt. Through the admiring acclamations of the multitude, he was encouraged to assume the envied title of protector of the kings and of the empire. But he prudently declined an insecure and anxious office, which must have withdrawn him from the government of his flourishing province; recommending however to this high dignity a friend and benefactor, who, a few months before Perdiccas's hostile invasion, had marched to Egypt on a very different errand.

He refuses the protectorship, and recommends Aridæus.

By the same assembly which fixed the regency, and regulated the succession, the funeral honours

Merit of the latter in con-

[1] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 36. & Arrian apud Phot. p. 221.

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ducting the funeral procession of Alexander.

of Alexander were entrusted to Aridæus[2], an officer in high credit with the phalanx, who employed nearly two years in preparations for this august solemnity. To convey the embalmed remains of the king from his palace in Babylon to the temple of Jupiter Hammon, where he had expressed a desire to be interred, Aridæus had provided a colossal chariot thirty-eight feet high, fourteen in breadth, and twenty-two in length, drawn on four wheels, by sixty-four mules of conspicuous beauty; and uniting in its decorations and design the rich magnificence of the East, with the taste of Ionia, and the ingenuity of Athens. The golden canopy breathing precious perfumes, the golden throne supporting the arms of Alexander, and the burnished gold which composed its resplendent peristyle, formed but vulgar ornaments in a pageant variegated with oriental gems, profusely studding even the collars of the mules. Painting and sculpture, arts highly indebted to the discerning munificence of Alexander, outshone the rubies of Asia, while they represented, with impressive energy, the unrivalled series of his victories; and the perfection of more useful arts which he had so zealously encouraged, was displayed in the gorgeous vehicle[3] itself, whose suspension on a flexible spring, that humoured every inequality

[2] From similarity of name, this general is confounded with king *Arrhidæus*, for so the name is uniformly written by Plutarch in Alexand. Arrian, and Diodorus. The Latin writers, Curtius and Justin, write the king's name Aridæus, making it the same with the general's, which has caused the very general error of uniting into one person two men of most dissimilar characters.

[3] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 26—28. and Arrian apud Phot. p. 220.

of surface, so as to retain the foliated diadem crowning the canopy, in the same horizontal position, will be more readily admired than imitated or even explained by our most skilful machinists.[4] By whatever means the exact equilibrium was preserved, and sixty-four mules were made to act in concert upon such an enormous weight, this moving mausoleum was safely transported nine hundred miles from Babylon to Memphis, and thence to Alexandria.[5]

Why Alexander's successors disobeyed his last will, concerning his burial.

In disregarding Alexander's injunctions for burying him in the temple of Hammon, his successors were unanimous; but this seeming disobedience was really more respectful than would have been the most implicit submission. Shortly after his demise, a prophecy was circulated and believed, that the country which received his remains should surpass all other kingdoms of the earth in splendour and prosperity.[6] Each provincial governor wished to become the depositary of so valuable a treasure; while Perdiccas, himself a native of Pella, and who hoped soon to reign in that capital, insisted with much vehemence that the bones of Alexander ought to repose near those of his fathers in Macedon. But Aridæus, who had been entrusted with a body of troops to escort the funeral convoy, persevered

[4] Such is the opinion of Count Caylus, who, in the xxxvith vol. of the Memoirs of the Academy of the Belles Lettres, has given the plan, elevation, and section of this wonderful car. His ingenious dissertation is disgraced by the error of confounding Aridæus, an enterprising officer, its contriver and conductor, with king Arrhidæus, the feeble-minded brother of Alexander.

[5] Pausanias, Attic. c. 6, 7. [6] Ælian, V. H. l. xii. c. 64.

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inflexibly in his duty, and was proceeding through Syria in his way to Hammon, when he was respectfully met by Ptolemy, whose entreaties proved more effectual than all the threats of his rivals[7]; and prevailed with the conductor of the procession, to make Memphis, and not Hammon, his goal.

Important consequences of his interment at Alexandria.

From Memphis, the precious relicts of the king were shortly transported to the new Egyptian capital. There, Alexander was worshipped in a lofty temple, long bearing his name, with such ceremonies and sacrifices, as the superstition of Greece had appropriated to departed heroes in the cities which they had founded.[8] The consecrated grove surrounding the temple was distinguished by the magnificence of its games and festivals. Allured by these favourite entertainments, by the commercial advantages of the city and country, above all, by the perfect security enjoyed under Ptolemy's administration, multitudes of new inhabitants resorted from all quarters to Egypt. Alexandria became the seat of industry and wealth, of ingenuity and learning. Instead of a provincial city, it gradually assumed the appearance of an imperial metropolis; and Egypt eventually derived from the policy of Ptolemy Soter, and the concurrence of Aridæus in his views, more substantial benefits than could have accrued to that kingdom from a long series of triumphs.[9]

[7] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 28. and Arrian, ibid.
[8] Ibid. l. xx. s. 102. Conf. Dio. Chrysostom, Orat. l. xxxiii. p. 408.
[9] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 28.

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To requite a favour, whose value the sagacity of Ptolemy enabled him duly to appreciate, he recommended Aridæus, together with Python, who had the principal share in the ruin of Perdiccas, as joint protectors of the empire. The soldiers provisionally ratified this nomination until the arrival of Antipater [10]; and the persons thus exalted to the highest situations in the state and army, listened only to the suggestions of ambition, and accepted with eager delight the dangerous dignities conferred on them.

Python joined with Aridæus in the protectorship.

Meanwhile, news reached the camp, that Eumenes had gained a great victory in Lesser Asia; and that Craterus, his ablest antagonist, was slain. Had this intelligence arrived two days sooner, it would have had a tendency to disarm the conspirators against Perdiccas. The effect which it now produced, was only to exasperate the soldiers against the abettors of that tyrant. All his friends within their reach suffered instant death [11]; not excepting his sister Atalanta, wife to Attalus, then commanding his fleet.

Violent proceedings of the army upon learning the death of Craterus. Olymp. cxiv. 3. B. C. 322.

Attalus, upon learning the sad amount of public and private calamity, sailed from Pelusium to Tyre. From thence he continued his voyage to the coast of Caria, purposing to wrest that province from Asander, the boldest enemy of Perdiccas's party in Lesser Asia; but in a sea-fight with the new republic of the Rhodians, he met

The Macedonian fleet taken or destroyed by the Rhodians.

[10] Arrian, p. 221.

[11] Plutarch in Eumen. and Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 37.

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with a defeat so complete and so disastrous [12], that the great fleet laboriously equipped by Alexander, on the coasts of the Asiatic peninsula and Syria, thenceforward disappears from history. Demaratus, a Rhodian, commanded in this naval engagement, which secured the newly recovered liberty of his country, and thereby laid the foundation of its future glory. [13]

The authority of the protectors set at defiance by Euridicé. —Her character and motives.

Meanwhile, the army under Python and Aridæus marched from Egypt towards Syria, in order to carry into execution a hasty military decree, passed against the adherents of Perdiccas; fifty of whom had been specified by name. At the head of the proscribed were Eumenes and Alcetas; the former, since his victory over Craterus, commanding the finest provinces of Lesser Asia; the latter, brother to Perdiccas, and by his dexterity in gaining the Pisidian mountaineers, holding an unbounded authority over the rougher parts of that peninsula. The Macedonians had not proceeded far on their march when the protectors discovered, that besides the public delinquents whom they must first vanquish before they could punish them, other dangerous foes to their authority lurked in the bosom of the army itself. In the debate concerning Alexander's succession, Python had warmly opposed the partisans of Arrhidæus; and when that prince was declared king, had boldly expressed his indignation, "that in

[12] Arrian, p. 226. Photius has probably extracted imperfectly, since the words are only Κρατερου απουρυθρωσαν.

[13] Arrian, ibid.

seeking an heir to the crown, the *family* of Alexander should have been preferred to his virtues.[14] Neither the opposition itself, nor this contumelious expression with which it was accompanied, could ruffle the unfeeling serenity of king Arrhidæus; but the insult sank deep into the mind of Euridicé, whose character was directly the reverse of her husband's. While Perdiccas held the regency, her mutinous spirit had been overawed; but now, that an inferior man, and the object of her personal resentment, exercised that pre-eminent function, she made every exertion to lessen his power, and disturb his government. Through the popular arts with which she well knew how to operate on the rude military mind, Python, and his colleague Aridæus, saw their authority fast declining with the army. They complained, remonstrated, and bitterly reproved the indecorous interference of a woman in matters, by the consent of all nations, exclusively appropriated to men. But in the various altercations respecting pay, preferment, and other military objects, the opinion of Euridicé was still a law with the troops.

In consequence of their resignation Alexander's army commanded by a woman.

The pride of Python and Aridæus could no longer brook such accumulation of disgrace; and whether they really purposed to resign the name of an office, of which another exercised the whole power; or whether they hoped, by a striking solemnity, to recall the soldiers to a sense of duty, they came to the extraordinary resolu-

[14] Curtius, l. x. c. 7.

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tion of publicly abdicating the regency.[15] This ceremony was performed at Trisparadisus, a town in Upper Syria[16]: such was the influence of the queen, that it passed without exciting in the army either repentance or regret; and, wonderful to relate! the soldiers of Alexander were commanded by a woman, when Antipater, by hasty marches, reached the royal camp.

Sedition on the arrival of Antipater.

That wary general had not advanced with sufficient celerity to assist Ptolemy against Perdiccas. It may indeed be suspected, that a man grown old in the arts of war and policy, was not displeased to see his rivals exhausting each other by mutual hostilities, while he himself stood aloof ready to profit by their misfortunes. Being informed by his emissaries of the late transactions at Trisparadisus, he hastened to that place, hoping that his authority with the army would compose all dissensions: But instead of a calm, his arrival produced a new and more dangerous storm. Notwithstanding the reverence in which he was held by the officers and most of the cavalry, Euridicé remained paramount with the veteran phalanx of Alexander, and the silver-shielded *hyspaspists*, ready and licentious instruments in every tumult. She was heard with patience, while she opposed the establishment of any regency: and maintained, what her blindest partisans well knew that she did not believe, the

[15] Arrian and Diodorus.

[16] Την ανω Συριαν, Syria, beyond the Orontes, extending towards Cilicia. The town is called Paradisus by Ptolemy, v. 15. and Pliny, v. 23.

competency of her husband Arrhidæus to manage the state and army[17]; while Antipater, in endeavouring to appease the sedition, and overawe her boldness, narrowly escaped falling a victim to the enraged soldiery. He was saved through the intrepidity of Antigonus and Seleucus, who hastening through the ranks in their resplendent armour, and haranguing the men on subjects the most interesting to their passions, afforded an opportunity for Antipater to escape across a bridge, separating the main army from the division with which he had recently joined it.

His danger.

The disorder of the troops, thus carried to the utmost extreme, had a tendency to cure itself. Perceiving that they had nearly imbrued their hands in the blood of an aged and able commander, who, of all men living, was the best qualified to conduct them victoriously to their longed-for country, they felt compunction at their own proceedings, and joined with men of sounder minds, in recalling Antipater to the supreme command. He obeyed the general summons; and in publicly assuming his office, exposed the character and views of Euridicé in so odious a light, that, high-minded as she was, fear silenced her other passions, and removed her farther opposition.[18]

Repentance of the soldiers who call him to the regency.

Olymp. cxiv. 3. B. C. 322.

The elevation of Antipater to the regency, afforded a fairer prospect of happiness than the

Circumstances unfavourable

[17] Arrian, p. 222. Polyænus, l. iv. c. 6. ascribes the safety of Antipater to Antigonus only.

[18] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 38, 39. and Arrian, p. 221.

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empire had hitherto enjoyed. The unblemished dignity of his character, and his long and prosperous exercise of delegated power in Macedon, promised an administration equally prudent and vigorous; unclogged by competition, undisturbed by envy. Yet, besides his advanced age, for he was now in his seventy-seventh year [19], various circumstances naturally resulting from his connections and habits, tended to blast the public hope. His contest with Eumenes about the government of the city of Cardia, in the Thracian Chersonesus, produced an irreconcileable enmity with the person best qualified to second his views when useful, or to correct them when pernicious. Eumenes, who was now master of the finest provinces of Lesser Asia, was not of a disposition tamely to resign them to the abettor of his own domestic foes, the little tyrants of Cardia, and who had opposed both his father and himself in their zeal for erecting that state into a commonwealth. [20] As the lieutenant and representative of the murdered Perdiccas, Eumenes prepared to set Antipater at defiance; and thus the party disputes, in the little Greek city of Cardia, embroiled the dissensions in a great empire, and rendered them incurable.

to his administration — his old variance with Eumenes.

Another unfavourable circumstance, disqualifying Antipater for the regency, was his uninterrupted residence in Europe during a long life. He was unacquainted with the affairs of Asia,

His advanced age and uninterrupted residence in Europe.

[19] Suidas voc. Antipater.

[20] Plutarch in Eumen.

which, in his mind, occupied but a dark and narrow place; while Greece and Macedon, which he had long prosperously governed, shone with a magnified splendour far beyond their comparative importance. Alexander's great projects for improving the central provinces of Asia, for adorning and enriching Babylon the natural seat of empire, and for harmonising into one social and commercial system the greatest nations of the earth; all these designs were abandoned; the new harbours which he was constructing, the new routes for traffic which he was opening, the new and admirable institutions through which in the space of a few years he had disciplined into manhood the most effeminate of slaves, and reclaimed into humanity the most intractable of barbarians. Antipater was contented with appointing governors for the Asiatic provinces; his narrow span of life admitted not of remote plans of melioration; he was solicitous chiefly, that the revenues of Asia should be carefully collected, and regularly transmitted to Macedon; in which country, now the object of his affections, as formerly the scene of his glory, he purposed to spend the remainder of his days, and from thence, in the name of the kings, to issue his imperial mandates for the government of the eastern world.

Alexander's great plans abandoned.

With these views, he proceeded at Triparadisus to make a new settlement of the empire. The feeble Arrhidæus, and Alexander's posthumous son by Roxana, a child three years old, were again declared its sole legitimate heirs.

New distribution of the provinces by Antipater.

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The governments of the several provinces were continued in the officers actually holding them; only Nicanor was substituted to the proscribed Eumenes in the satrapy of Cappadocia. But Eumenes was master of that satrapy, and many districts in its neighbourhood, from which he had expelled his enemies; he appears also to have defeated and destroyed Menander and Philotas, respectively satraps of Lydia and Cilicia; the former of whom, as above related, had first apprised Antipater of the projected marriage of Perdiccas with Cleopatra; and the latter, as we have seen more recently, had allowed an unobstructed march to the European army which came to assist Ptolemy, through the Cilician passes. New governors were therefore to be appointed for those empty provinces; Philoxenus was named for Cilicia; and Lydia, including Ephesus and other Greek seaports on its coast, was bestowed on Clytus, who had successfully commanded the Macedonian fleet during the Lamian war. Seleucus, whose merit had recently been signalised in appeasing the military tumult, was rewarded with the vacant satrapy of Babylonia, the object of eager desire to that young and ambitious chief, who, of all Alexander's lieutenants, best understood the great views of his master. In this distribution of the provinces, it was not to be expected that the interests of the late protectors should be forgotten. Python, to whom Media formerly was assigned, had been hitherto prevented by various important employments from taking possession

of his government. A Mede named Atropates had rendered himself powerful in his native country[21]; of which he was to be dispossessed, only by an armed force. Python was entrusted with a detachment for this purpose; but Atropates still maintained possession of the northern and rougher division, called from him Media Atrapatena; and transmitted it down to a long line of descendants. Aridæus, Python's colleague in the protectorship, was substituted to the government of Hellespontian Phrygia, vacant by the death of Leonnatus in the Lamian war.[22]

Guards appointed for the royal treasuries.

After thus distributing the provinces, Antipater appointed guardians of the treasuries in various strong-holds of the empire, and regulated the proportions of revenue necessary for supporting the dignity of the imperial court, and for maintaining the great controuling army, one part of which was to accompany the persons of the kings, and another to be ready on all occasions to defend the safety of their dominions, and uphold the integrity of the empire. To procure money for immediate exigencies, a strong detachment was commissioned to transport part of the treasures in the fortress of Susa to Lower Asia. This trust was committed to Antigenes, who had done good service in the removal of Perdiccas; and who commanded three thousand silver-shielded hyspaspists, the

[21] Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. iv. c. 18.

[22] Arrian apud Phot. p. 25. & Diodor. l. xviii. s. 39.

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most audacious among the late mutineers, of whom Antipater was well pleased to purge the army.[23]

Antipater's want of discernment in appointing his lieutenants.—Causes thereof.

There was nothing amiss in these arrangements; but it still remained to appoint a general for suppressing Eumenes and other enemies to the empire; in naming to which office, Antipater was greatly wanting in the discernment of characters. His defect in this particular, may be ascribed to the indolence of age, the unwillingness to alter opinions once formed, and the propensity to view men as they were, when he first examined and appreciated them, rather than such as they had become, through a change of circumstances and of habits. At fourscore, the mind's eye is shut to many avenues of information, which might dart on it new light: through the infirmities of the body, that variety of intercourse and those precious opportunities are intercepted, when men's true characters may be caught in their unguarded moments; and the suspicious severity of age is not calculated to invite from others those discoveries which it is prevented from making by its own observation. In the former part of his life, Antipater had been noted for vigilance and discernment; but in his late removal from Macedon, he had raised to the administration of that kingdom the incapacity and cruelty of Polysperchon; and in appointing a general of the empire in Asia[24], he allowed himself to be blinded by the partiality of private

[23] Id. ibid.

[24] Appian, Syriac. c. 53. calls Antigonus επισκοπος της ὁλης Ασιας.

friendship[25] to the disloyal ambition of Antigonus. His own son, however, Cassander, a youth already distinguished by abilities equal to vast designs, was set over the *equestrian companions*[26]; a commission which, according to the arrangements of Alexander above explained, made him second in command. Having thus adjusted the great affairs of the empire, Antipater joined part of the Asiatic army to the forces which he had conducted from Macedon, and committed the remainder of it to Antigonus that he might punish the public enemies. In proceeding towards the Grecian sea, expedition was unnecessary. The Macedonian dominions in Europe remained in a state of tranquillity. The Athenians were overawed by the wisdom of Phocion, and the terror of a foreign garrison: the Etolians had been repeatedly defeated in battle; and Menon, the brave Thessalian, an implacable enemy to the Macedonians, had perished obscurely amidst the domestic broils of his country. His daughter, Phthia, was married to Æacidas king of Epirus, and the offspring of this marriage, the renowned Pyrrhus, was to rival the merit, and far eclipse the fame, of his grandfather Menon.

Antipater marches homeward, sending Antigonus to reduce Eumenes.

In marching through the peninsula, Antipater detached a body of troops to enable Asander, governor of Caria, to drive the rebels from Pisidia. This undertaking was unsuccessful; for Alcetas and Attalus, partisans, as we have

Why Eumenes prevented by Cleopatra from fighting Antipater.

[25] See above, Ch. IV.

[26] Arrian and Diodorus, ubi supra.

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seen, of Perdiccas, had been joined by many Macedonians of distinction, dissatisfied with the new settlement of the empire. In consequence of a victory over Asander, these malecontents hoped to maintain their strong-holds in mount Taurus until a happier turn of affairs, without condescending to serve under Eumenes, long the object of their envy. Eumenes, who, besides a large body of well-exercised cavalry, commanded twenty thousand infantry, wished by all means to soothe his personal enemies, who were united with him in one great public interest. Could he have joined their forces to his own, he would have augmented his army by one half its actual number; and would have thus been in a condition to oppose Antigonus in the field. From confidence in his excellent cavalry, he had thoughts of fighting Antipater as he marched through the plain of Sardes. But his design displeased Cleopatra, then resident in the Lydian capital. That princess feared that she had already done too much to provoke the ruling powers. If the battle was fought at Sardes, she would be suspected of occasioning it. She therefore entreated Eumenes to remove from her neighbourhood [27]; and Eumenes shewed complaisance to the sister of his revered master. When Antipater, shortly afterwards, arrived at Sardes, he severely reprimanded Cleopatra for still adhering to the ruined cause of desperate rebels. In her zeal to refute the accusation,

[27] Arrian, p. 225. Conf. Plutarch in Eumen.

many high words passed between them in presence of the army. A reconcilement, however, was effected before the protector left Sardes.[28]

Antigonus's treacherous designs,

Meanwhile Eumenes, after reiterated attempts to gain the co-operation of the Pisidian army, all of which were rendered abortive through the pride and obstinacy of its leaders[29], removed to his proper province of Cappadocia, which the avocations of his antagonists allowed time for placing in a fit posture of defence. It might be expected that Antigonus, in whom crafty selfishness was a predominant quality, would not be forward in taking measures for speedily terminating a war, the continuance of which secured that of his own power. By the same authority which constituted him general, he had been reinstated in his government of Phrygia, to which the smaller districts of Lycia and Pamphylia were annexed. The arrangements necessary in these provinces afforded specious pretences for delay. Antigonus farther protracted the time on the plea of winter-quarters during a hard season, thinking that, should his operations be retarded until Antipater sailed for Europe, he would enjoy a fairer opportunity of profiting by military success. During this interval, his endeavours for gaining the affections of the troops, and even for withdrawing their allegiance from the kings and the protector to fix it on himself personally, escaped not the penetrating eye of Cassander, second in

discovered by Cassandar.

[28] Id. ibid. [29] Plutarch in Eumen.

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command. On pretence of taking leave of his father before he crossed the Hellespont, Cassander hastened to acquaint him, that Antigonus was totally unworthy of the confidence reposed in him. Antipater was unwilling to change his opinion hastily, or to alter the destination that he had made. He therefore allowed time for Antigonus's justification [30]; of which delay the latter, who, according to the ancient proverb, knew better than any man how to eke out the lion's with the fox's skin [31], availed himself to remove many unfavourable suspicions by his assumed moderation and affected complaisance. Yet Antipater required that part of their respective armies should be exchanged. Antigonus, accordingly, received eight thousand five hundred Macedonian infantry, and an equal number of foreign cavalry; he likewise received his proportion of an hundred and forty elephants. [32] With the remainder of the forces, and the persons of the kings, Antipater crossed the Hellespont, not without experiencing at Abydus a new mutiny of the veterans, clamorous for arrears and donatives. [33] They followed, however, their general to Sestos, carrying with them seventy elephants; with part of which Pyrrhus, as we shall see hereafter, combated the Romans. They are the first of those warlike animals noticed in the history of Europe, if we reject the fabulous procession of Bacchus drawn in

Antipater returns to Macedon. — Elephants first brought to Europe.

[30] Arrian, p. 225.
[31] Plutarch in Lysand.
[32] Arrian, p. 225.
[33] Id. ibid.

triumph by Indian elephants to Bœotian Thebes.[34] CHAP. IV.

Antipater had no sooner taken his departure, than Antigonus, finding the career for his own ambition thereby unobstructed, took the field against Eumenes in Cappadocia. Without trusting to the superiority of his troops in quality still more than in number, he had employed means for seducing Apollonides commanding the enemy's cavalry, and other officers who dreaded to commit their new levies with the veteran bands of Macedon. In a decisive battle, the scene of which is not specified, Eumenes was deserted by those traitors. After a great slaughter, his army was put to flight; and Antigonus, in hopes of seizing the person of his adversary, was carried in the pursuit to a wide distance from the field. Eumenes, defeated but not disheartened, availed himself of this circumstance to revisit by a secret path the scene of action, and to raise two funeral piles, of which the materials were collected from neighbouring villages, built entirely of wood. On these lofty pyres, consecrated with due form, he burnt the remains of his slain companions; an exploit which, from the superstitious veneration then prevalent for the manes of the dead, wonderfully delighted his friends, while it astonished and terrified his enemies.[35]

Eumenes defeated by Antigonus;

contrives however to inter his slain.

Having lost above eight thousand men in

His dexterity in

[34] Diodor. l. iv. s. 3.

[35] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 40. & Plutarch in Eumen.

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battle, he was unable again to face Antigonus in the field. But the neighbouring intricacies of Taurus, with which he was well acquainted, gave him an opportunity of eluding, and sometimes harassing, his pursuers. In a short time, however, he discovered that as his troops were too few for combat, so they were too numerous for flight. On one occasion, he is said to have deprived them of an opportunity of plundering Antigonus's baggage, which would have rendered them still more unwieldly, by conveying secret intelligence to the officer who escorted it. At length he came to the resolution of disbanding the greater part of his forces, fixing a place of rendezvous, where, at a more favourable crisis, they might again repair to his standard; and with a body of six hundred horse, unalterably devoted to his cause, threw himself into the strong fortress of Nora.[36] Antipater in the extremity of old age had fallen sick immediately upon his return to Macedon.[37] Should his death speedily ensue, Eumenes might expect deliverance from the resentment that persecuted him.

eluding the enemy.

Shuts himself up in Nora.—That fortress described.

The fortress of Nora, judiciously chosen for his retreat, was situate in the south-west corner of Cappadocia, between two arms of the river Halys, and between two branches of Taurus, the northern of which is so lofty that it was said to survey at once the Euxine and Mediterra-

[36] Plutarch, ibid. [37] Suidas voc. Antipater.

nean seas.[38] The whole of the fortified inclosure occupied two furlongs in circuit, with sides exceedingly steep, containing corn, wood, and water; and its defences had been constructed with such solidity by the Cappadocian kings, that their ruins are still discernible at a place called Bour; art thus conspiring with nature to render Nora impregnable.[39]

Antigonus attempts to gain him to his treacherous design.

Antigonus blocked up the place with walls and ditches, but was less solicitous about taking it, than anxious to gain Eumenes for his friend. With such a coadjutor, he would have been in a condition to throw off the mask, and not only to set Antipater at defiance, but every succeeding authority that might rise up in the empire. For attaining ends so desirable, he exhausted all those winning arts, through which, not less than by his great military talents, he had attained his actual elevation. Eumenes, after taking due precautions for the safety of his person, consented to an interview. Antigonus would probably have granted to him the terms which he demanded, reparation for his pecuniary losses, and the restitution of his provinces; had not Eumenes declared, that while possessed of his sword, he never would acknow-

[38] Strabo, l. 12. p. 538. says, that those who had climbed to the top of mount Argæus, who were very few, declared, they had seen at once the Euxine sea and the gulph of Issus, that is, the Mediterranean. They were an hundred miles from that gulph, and two hundred from the Euxine.

[39] Conf. Strabo, l. xii. p. 811. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 41. and Plutarch in Eumen.

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ledge any superior, except in the family of Alexander. This loyal sentiment terminated the conference: Antigonus only rejoining, that the conditions of the surrender of Nora must be referred to Antipater. Eumenes was then remitted to his fortress, which was again subjected to blockade.[40]

Antigonus defeats the rebels in Pisidia.—His extraordinary march thither.

Immediately after this transaction, Antigonus proceeded to assail the public enemies in Pisidia. His celerity was now as conspicuous, as his tardiness had been blameable, before the return of Antipater to Macedon. In a week's time, he advanced two thousand and five hundred stadia, affording a daily march of thirty-three British miles, which was, and still continues to be, the usual rate of Asiatic couriers. But the Greeks, it must be observed, were not loaded with their heavy armour, except on the near vicinity of an enemy[41]; and the rapidity of Antigonus's march is not inconsistent with experience in as far as two great divisions of his force are concerned, the cavalry and the elephants. By the suddenness of his invasion, he surprised and seized the various passes in Pisidia, through which the enemy might have eluded pursuit, and protracted the war. Alcetas with his associates were forced to a decisive battle at Creton. They were completely defeated. Attalus, Docimus, and Lao-

[40] Diodorus and Plutarch, ibid.

[41] This is expressed by Arrian when he says the army was τεταγμενον ὡς επι μαχην, and Curtius, Arma quæ in sarcinis antea ferebantur, l. v. c. ii.

medon governor of Syria, were made prisoners. Most of the troops laid down their arms; received quarter, and reinforced the conqueror. [42]

Death of Alcetas, Perdiccas's brother.—Singular affection shewn to him by the Pisidians.

Of all the generals Alcetas alone escaped, through the activity of his Pisidian mountaineers, whom, as above related, he had attached unalterably to his person by kind offices. Through their zealous assistance he reached Termessus, the principal city in Pisidia, near the northern frontier of Lycia. Antigonus pursued him thither, assaulted the place, and so much intimidated the magistrates and more aged citizens, that they entered into a secret agreement for betraying to him his adversary. They were reduced to this base measure, because the young and warlike portion of their community was so firmly rivetted in affection to Alcetas, that, as the magistrates assured Antigonus, it would be impossible for themselves to carry their design into execution, unless by a feint retreat after a feeble attack, he should decoy their young men from the city; in which case, they would avail themselves of their absence, to seize the person of Alcetas. The stratagem succeeded partially; for Alcetas avoided captivity by a voluntary death. Antigonus disgracefully insulted the remains of his countryman and fellow-soldier. For this brutality towards their deceased friend, the Pisidians of Termessus vowed against him eternal vengeance; and after the departure of his invading army, celebrated Alcetas's obse-

[42] Polyæn. l. iv. c. 6.

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quies with solemn pomp, scarcely restraining themselves, in revenge for the baseness of their magistrates, from swelling the magnificence of his funeral pile by the conflagration of their own city.[43] Such was the affectionate fidelity of the Termessians, worthy of their ancestors the renowned Solymi, whom Homer celebrates as of old the bravest of men.[44]

Conquest of Syria by Ptolemy. — His motives to that undertaking. Olymp. cxiv. 3. B. C. 322.

Meanwhile Ptolemy, who had at first confined his sober views to the possession of Egypt, had been encouraged by favourable circumstances to make the conquest of Cyrené. Syria, in its extensive sense, comprehending Palæstine and Phœnicia, offered him a far more tempting prize. Not to mention the near neighbourhood, the fertility, the populousness, and other general advantages of these provinces, Phœnicia still abounded with mariners and well-constructed harbours; the mountains of Palæstine were replenished with useful metals, particularly iron; and Syria Proper, especially the lofty ridges of Libanus and Antilibanus overhanging intricate vales and irriguous plains, produced in great plenty the finest timber. Ptolemy, who had early discerned the channels through which wealth was destined to flow into his country, and begun earnestly to prepare a great naval force, could not fail to cast wishful eyes on the harbours of Phœnicia, and to view with equal avidity the profusion of iron and timber in Palæstine and Syria, articles peculiarly essential

[43] Diodor. l. xvii. s. 47, 48.

[44] Homer, Il. l. vi. v. 184. et seq. Conf. Strabo, p. 631. & 666.

to his plan, and of which his own satrapy of Egypt was altogether destitute. Laomedon, a native of Mytelené in the isle of Lesbos, commanded in Syria, by the appointment of Antipater and the great controuling army. But the forces with which he had been entrusted for defence, were so inconsiderable, that Ptolemy endeavoured to gain him without a struggle to his views. Laomedon rejected rewards and promotions from a man whom he regarded as his equal. He fought, was defeated, and made prisoner, but found means to escape into Pisidia, where he fell into the hands of Antigonus. Syria Proper and Phœnicia submitted to the conqueror. [45]

The Jews alone manfully resist — are indulgently treated.

But amidst the unwarlike tameness of their neighbours, the natives of Palæstine, restrained by their oath recently tendered to Laomedon, manfully resisted the troops which Ptolemy sent against them. He entered their country with a large reinforcement; made an easy conquest of several subordinate towns, but besieged Jerusalem unsuccessfully, till observing the veneration of its inhabitants for the seventh day of the week, he availed himself of this circumstance to assault and take the place on the sabbath. To break the vigour of a nation whose obstinate bravery and love of independence had often been experienced by the conquerors of the East, he carried with him above a hundred thousand Jewish captives into Egypt; consisting

[45] Appian, Syriac. c. 52. & Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 43.

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chiefly of the young and warlike, and of all who were likely to prove dangerous at home, either by their councils or exertions. The inferior classes of men were left to cultivate their fields and vineyards; and were protected in their useful labours without enduring any oppressive imposts. Notwithstanding the great proportion of the people whom he transported to Egypt, Ptolemy's treatment of the Jews was celebrated for its clemency. The nation flourished in domestic peace; and their expatriated countrymen, by their virtuous and manly behaviour, especially their unwearied industry and inviolable fidelity, gained such credit with their new master, that he promoted them to civil offices of the highest trust, or committed to their defence the most important strong-holds in his dominions.[46]

Their high consideration in Egypt.

Death of Antipater. Olymp. cxv. 2. B. C. 319.

Antigonus, if he was not previously informed of Ptolemy's new conquest, must have learned it from the unfortunate Laomedon.[47] About the same time he received intelligence of a different complexion from his agent and flatterer Aristodemus the Milesian; who hastened with a mercenary diligence to announce the death of Antipater, and the accession of the unworthy Polysperchon to the regency. To a man who

Hopes with which

[46] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1. et Cont. Apion, l. i. c. 22.

[47] Laomedon must, by some unknown transaction, have offended Antipater or his lieutenant, otherwise he would have joined the latter, as a friend, after his escape from Ptolemy. The small body of troops with which he had been entrusted for defending so important a country as Syria strengthens this conjecture.

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expected to raise his own greatness on the ruins of established authority, the intelligence was most important, for Antipater formed the main obstacle to such towering hopes.

that event inspired Antigonus.

Philip used to say that he could sleep soundly when he knew that Antipater waked; and Alexander marked his character with equal brevity, when, to one who observed, that of all his generals, Antipater alone never wore purple, he replied, "Antipater is all purple within!"[48] The more he was adorned with the virtues of royalty, the less he appeared solicitous about its external trappings. Having long acted the second part under the two greatest monarchs in the world, and being called by public admiration to govern the empire in name of their successors, he had nearly reached his eightieth year in the steady performance of complicated duties towards prince and people. In the nomination of Antigonus as his lieutenant in Asia, and of Polysperchon as his successor in the regency, he was guilty indeed of great and irretrievable errors. But in all preceding transactions, deep sagacity, joined with indefatigable diligence, marked his conduct both as a minister and general: and amidst perpetual scenes of treason and sedition, when the uniform loyalty, and temperate dignity of this able and honest man, are contrasted with the wild extravagance and profligate enterprise of too many of his contemporaries, Antipater should seem to

Character of Antipater.

[48] Plutarch, Apophth.

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have casually dropped, as it were, from the disciplined regularity of some more peaceful age, into the turbulent times in which it was his lot to live. During the exercise of the highest employments that any man in the rank of a subject ever filled, he found leisure to cultivate both letters and science. His long and intimate friendship with the philosopher, Aristotle, continued to the death of the latter, five years before his own; and of Aristotle's testament still remaining[49], he is appointed the executor; such offices to his friends not appearing to his unwearied activity, incompatible with the command of armies and the government of kingdoms. He composed several now lost works of history. Those relating to his own times are the more to be regretted, because they would, doubtless, have rescued his name from that obloquy to which it has been exposed with posterity. For, in future ages, Antipater was for ever to be branded as the murderer of Demosthenes, the blazing patriot, and incomparable orator. So profound are the literary merits, so just and so permanent the glory of Demosthenes, that this single transaction, the punishment of an eloquent rebel, whose life could only have served again to embroil the affairs of Greece, excites more popular resentment against Antipater, than his appointment of such men as Antigonus and Polysperchon to govern the most distinguished portions of Asia and Europe; and

[49] Diogen. Laert. in Aristot.

thus subjecting numerous nations to unprincipled ambition and merciless cruelty.

Antipater appoints Polysperchon regent — to the prejudice of his own son Cassander. Olymp. cxv. 2. B. C. 319.

In the worst act of Antipater's life, the recommendation of Polysperchon to the regency, there was an apparent disinterestedness, since he sought for a successor in the commonwealth, rather than in his own family. His son, Cassander, who speedily quitted his uneasy situation in Asia as second in command to Antigonus, had been employed during his father's malady in administering the government of Macedon, and in superintending the turbulent commonwealths of Greece, offices for which he was well qualified by his craft and courage. But being in his twenty-third year, he was not less enterprising in love than in politics, and had successfully courted the high-minded Euridicé, whom, as the mistress of his own affections, he wished to render sole sovereign of the empire; not doubting that, could he procure for her the first place, she would be at no loss how to bestow the second. This intrigue, which had not escaped the notice of Antipater, could not fail greatly to incense him. He knew the pride, and had experienced the boldness of that imperious woman, whose animosity, on an occasion formerly mentioned, had put his life in danger. Her mother Cynna, and her aunt Cleopatra, had both of them disturbed his government. Olympias, above all, had occasioned to him perpetual disquietude, until her reluctant removal to Epirus. From the behaviour of these Macedonian females, equally unprincipled in the gratification of their

Cassander's intrigue with Euridicé.

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fiercer and softer passions, Antipater conceived a general prejudice against the whole sex, which he was at so little pains to conceal, that, as the last injunction to his successor in the regency, he conjured him on no pretence whatever, to permit the interference of women in matters of government, for which they were totally disqualified through the defects both of their talents and of their temper.[50] This advice he well knew would be thrown away on the youth of Cassander; we shall see that it was equally disregarded by the old age of Polysperchon.

Measures for maintaining his power in Europe.

The son of Antipater, who remembered that, as second in command, he had been a mere cypher under the ambitious Antigonus, was not likely to rest contented with a similar condition under Polysperchon. Before the news of his father's death had time to reach Greece, he gave orders to Nicanor, an enterprising officer, recently gained to his interest, to take the command of the Macedonians guarding the harbour of Athens, called Munychia; and he thereby established a new and zealous partisan, in an important strong-hold. When his presence was not required in the army, he resided at his estates in the country; seemingly devoted to hunting and other rural amusements; but much serious business wholly engrossed his thoughts.[51] His old friends were secured: new and useful connections were formed; and having adjusted to his satisfaction the affairs of Greece and Ma-

[50] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 11.

[51] Id. l. xviii. s. 49.

cedon, comparatively domestic concerns, he crossed the Hellespont, on pretence of a great hunting match in Phrygia, to solicit foreign co-operation in the designs which he meditated.

He applies to Antigonus in Asia.—Proceedings and views of the latter. Olymp. cxv. 2. B.C. 319.

Of all men, Antigonus was the last to whom, it might be expected, that Cassander would have recourse: yet, so variable are the hatreds as well as the friendships of politicians, that Antigonus was the person from whom he asked and received the most important aid. Upon the death of Antipater, the fortune of his lieutenant in Asia had flowed with such a prosperous tide, that he ventured in several instances to betray very unwarrantable designs. He traversed Asia Minor, seizing fortresses, displacing governors, and raising heavy contributions.[52] Asander, in Caria, and Aridæus, in the Lesser Phrygia, perceived his drift, but were unable to oppose him. They were gradually cooped up within narrow limits; while a harder fate awaited Clytus in the more important province of Lydia. He was entirely dispossessed of the country, and happy to escape with his fleet to Polysperchon. Antigonus then took possession of Ephesus, and when four vessels sailed into its harbour with six hundred talents, detained this sum intended for the immediate service of the kings, saying that he stood in need of it, for the payment of their Asiatic army.[53] Before these disloyal proceedings, he had made a second unsuccessful attempt for gaining the invaluable friendship of Eumenes:

[52] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 51.

[53] Id. l. xviii. s. 52.

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a man, who in his quality of stranger, was not likely ever to arrogate to himself the first rank, and who, by his consummate dexterity, was peculiarly well calculated for supporting another in that envied pre-eminence.[54]

His negotiation with Eumenes;

Agreeably to their preceding arrangement, Eumenes had sent his friend Jerom of Cardia to Macedon, with the conditions demanded in return for personal submission, and the surrender of his fortress of Nora. Jerom met with nothing but reproach from Polysperchon; but, on his way back to Nora, was kindly received by Antigonus, who committed to him an instrument granting to Eumenes the full extent of his demands, only requiring him to swear a sincere amity with himself. To Eumenes, who was determined never to acknowledge a superior but in the house of Alexander, a treaty of unconditional friendship with Antigonus, seemed equivalent to an oath of fealty to an usurper. When the writing was tendered to him, he therefore inserted before the word Antigonus, as often as it occurred, the names of the kings and Olympias, stipulating thereby a steady adherence to Antigonus, while that general maintained his fidelity to the royal line. Antigonus's division, which blocked up Nora, readily admitted the insertion; neither the officers nor men having any suspicion of their general's guilty designs. Eumenes seized the favourable moment for recovering his freedom with that of his faithful

his escape from Nora.

[54] Plutarch in Eumen.

adherents. Their horses, being kept in daily exercise in their stables, were nimble for flight; and had already carried them beyond the reach of their enemies, when Antigonus, enraged at receiving a different instrument from that which he had tendered, sent orders to block up Nora more carefully than ever.[55]

Succours afforded by Antigonus to Cassander.

The drift and spirit of all these transactions sufficiently convinced Cassander, that Antigonus would heartily co-operate in destroying the authority of the kings and Polysperchon. He received thirty-five galleys, and four thousand veterans; a succour which Antigonus granted to him, on pretence of gratitude and respect for his deceased father, but really with a view to embroil the affairs of Europe, that thereby, his own career of ambition might be unobstructed in Asia. His well-grounded hopes were completely realised.

Measures adopted by Polysperchon for opposing all his enemies. Olymp. cxv. 3. B. C. 318.

Meanwhile, Polysperchon, alarmed by the defection of Antigonus, the preparations of Cassander, and the high credit of Euridicé with the soldiers, which perpetually disturbed his government, even in Macedon itself, deliberated with his council about means of resisting this three-fold hostility. For opposing Antigonus, fortune seemed seasonably to have presented the fittest of all instruments. While that general betrayed his ambitious designs, Polysperchon learned with a pleasing astonishment, that his folly had untied the hands of the man best

[55] Diodor. ibid. et Plutarch in Eumen.

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He appoints Eumenes general of the empire in Asia.

qualified to thwart them. To avail himself of this error, Polysperchon wrote to Eumenes in the name of his royal masters, appointing him sole general of the army in Asia, and submitting to his absolute disposal the treasuries in Susa and Kuinda, and in other strong-holds of the East. At the same time, the neighbouring provincial governors were commanded to join his standard with their respective contingents; and should these forces prove insufficient, Polysperchon added, that he would himself conduct an army from Europe, and strenuously cooperate in a warfare to which they were all summoned by every principle of honour and of duty.[56]

Recalls Olympias into Macedon.

To counterbalance the weight of Euridicé with the army in Macedon, the council of Polysperchon could hit on no better expedient than the recall of Olympias, then residing with her brother Æacidas in Epirus. As mother to Alexander, Olympias enjoyed a degree of credit with the Macedonians, which even the abilities of Antipater had been unable to controul. That illustrious viceroy, who well knew her incurable pravity, had consulted the public safety and his own, by compelling her to live in a sort of honourable exile in Epirus; where she had been recently visited by the beautiful Roxana her daughter-in-law, together with Alexander Ægus her grandchild, then in his fourth year, the joint heir to the empire. With these pre-

[56] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 58. Plutarch, ubi supra.

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cious pledges, endeared to the Macedonians by the memory of their heroic king, Olympias prepared to return in a sort of triumph[57] to a country which she had quitted with deep mortification; hoping to gratify her ambition, above all to satiate her vengeance.

Publishes an edict for re-establishing democracy in Greece.

Cassander's powerful interest in Greece was the third and sorest evil that afflicted Polysperchon. To remedy this seemingly desperate malady, recourse was had to a still more desperate cure; it was determined to destroy in a moment that singular fabric of government which Philip's long reign had laboriously erected in that country. The decree or edict for this purpose affords a memorable instance of the plausible language, with which those entrusted with public affairs too frequently disguise their most blameable undertakings. It was written in name of the kings, "from whose ancestors, Greece was said to have derived inestimable benefits. But during the long absence of Alexander, calamities had fallen on that country through the misconduct of his generals and ministers. The design of the present edict was to redress former errors, to restore numerous exiles to their respective cities, and to re-establish in every Grecian state its hereditary form of democratic policy. In return for such invaluable favours, the Greeks were required, collectively and individually, to stipulate that they would never bear arms against the kings, nor in

[57] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 58. Plutarch, ubi supra.

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any manner thwart their policy." Though the intercourse by resident ambassadors did not subsist anciently among independent states, yet amidst unequal confederacies, the inferior powers generally employed delegates to attend the councils, and watch the resolutions, of the paramount republic or kingdom. In this capacity certain Greeks living at Pella received the Macedonian edict, to be communicated by them to their respective commonwealths; a writing, which, under the guise of favourable concessions, contained mandates equally cruel and perfidious. Its execution was said, in the instrument itself, to be committed to Polysperchon, whom the Greeks were taught to regard as their beneficent protector, and commanded implicitly to obey.[58]

Calamities occasioned thereby in Greece. Olymp. cxv. 3. B. C. 318.

This circular letter of the kings was no sooner diffused through Greece, than Polysperchon, as if he had intended to shew how unworthily such high trust had been reposed in him, wrote a second epistle in his own name, advising the several republics to embrace the present opportunity for taking vengeance on the inveterate enemies of their laws and liberties. The counsel was not given in vain. That popular licence, which had so long been repressed by the weight of Macedon, broke out with an accumulated fury when fomented and inflamed by that domineering power. Throughout most cities of Greece, the individuals distinguished by rank or merit were banished, plundered, or put to death; the

[58] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 55. et seq.

rabble under their malignant and envious leaders tyrannising with unbridled rapine and sanguinary cruelty. [59]

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But in the city of Athens, ever destined to distinction in history, a city itself the source and fountain of democracy, the party of the nobles remained master through the precaution which Cassander had taken to support it. His partisan, Nicanor, kept possession of the Munychia; despised the authority of the kings, defied the threats of Polysperchon, and derided the injunctions and intrigues of Olympias, who, elated with the near prospect of recovering her former credit, presumed, though yet an exile among the barbarous Epirots, unseasonably to interfere in the public transactions of the empire. Nicanor was encouraged to persevere in this boldness by the strength of his walls; the unsettled state of the regency; above all, by just confidence in the abilities of Cassander, in whose cause he had embarked his fortunes. He easily perceived, however, that Athens, surrounded with insurrection, must soon catch the flame. To anticipate that danger, he diligently levied troops; admitted them secretly into the Munychia; and by an assault equally successful and sudden, surprised the Piræus. [60]

Aristocracy maintained in Athens, while all around resumed democracy.

The condition of the Athenians now seemed intolerable; oppressive to their persons, and cruelly painful to their pride. They who had so nobly maintained their freedom against the

Discontents of the Athenians.

[59] Plutarch in Phocion.

[60] Diodor. ibid.

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arms of Macedon, were alone held in subjection in defiance of the express orders of the Macedonian kings. At the moment when they expected to regain the Munychia, they had lost the Piræus; and their servitude was thus rivetted by double and most galling chains; their two renowned harbours, the source of their wealth and power, and the proud monuments of their naval glory. Humbled still more than weakened by their misfortunes, they applied to Phocion, their usual resource on every distressful emergence, and to Conon the son of Timotheus, whose merit ably sustained the fame of an illustrious line of ancestors. These two virtuous citizens were commissioned to treat with Nicanor about withdrawing his garrisons. But, instead of answering their arguments on this subject, he remitted them to Cassander, by whom, he said, the Munychia had been entrusted to him, for whose interests he had seized the Piræus, and to whom only he thought himself responsible.[61]

Revolution in favour of democracy. Olymp. cxv. 3. B. C. 318.

Meanwhile the Athenians pressed Polysperchon with repeated embassies, stating that in their case only, the royal edict remained a dead letter. Careless of such solicitations, but instigated by his own passions and interests, Polysperchon made great levies, and entrusted them to his son Alexander. This Macedonian army was reinforced by a numerous band of Athenian exiles, of out-laws, and of that description of men called *inhabitants*, to denote their mere resi-

[61] Plutarch in Phocion.

dence in the commonwealth, without any right of participation in its offices or honours. The united force marched towards Attica with orders to drive Nicanor from his strong-holds; while Polysperchon and the royal guards attending king Arrhidæus, followed more slowly to reap the fruits of victory. Upon Alexander's arrival at Athens, Phocion endeavoured to convince him of the extreme danger of committing that republic into the hands of the licentious multitude, and was listened to with complaisance, when he advised him, instead of restoring to the Athenians the Piræus and Munychia, should those harbours fall into his hands, to retain them in his own power, and bridle them by vigorous garrisons. Alexander's frequent interviews with Nicanor, whom he had been sent to combat, alarmed the suspicions of the Athenians; but when they discovered the advice given to the former by Phocion, their fears were converted into fury. To men animated by the party passions which domineered the Athenian populace, Phocion's real concern for the safety of his friends and fellow-citizens, could appear in no other light but that of the most manifest treachery to the commonwealth. An assembly was hastily summoned: strangers, outlaws, persons noted with infamy, and even slaves were admitted to the right of suffrage: the aristocracy was abolished, and all those who had participated in its administration, were condemned to death, if they did not elude that sentence by a voluntary banishment. Conon and Pericles fled,

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with many other names of hereditary renown. They were followed by Demetrius Phalereus, a young man distinguished as the favourite scholar of the philosopher Theophrastus, who withdrew himself on this occasion from popular rage, that he might return from obscure banishment at a happier crisis, to promote the best interests of his country.

Phocion recommended to Polysperchon by his son Alexander.

Phocion, and a few friends unalterably attached to him, less anxious for personal safety than zealous for any expedient through which the most worthy portion of the Athenians might be saved from ruin, had recourse to Alexander, by whom they were warmly recommended to his father Polysperchon. The protector sufficiently relished the advice given by Phocion to his son, with regard to the Athenian harbours. His aim was to be master both of them and of the city. If Phocion could have forwarded this object, he would have espoused his party; but that great man was now the victim of mistaken persecution; and Polysperchon saw the inconsistency of governing by an aristocracy the most conspicuous city of the confederacy, after he had just published an edict for restoring all Greece to democratic freedom.[62] In his transaction, therefore, with the unfortunate Athenians who came to solicit his aid, no consideration restrained him from the indulgence of his natural brutality.

The Athenians tried by Poly-

In their journey to Polysperchon in Phocis, the Athenians were accompanied by Dinarchus

[62] Diodor. l. xvii. s. 66.

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a Corinthian, who flattered them and himself with his mighty influence over the mind of the protector in consequence of old familiarity and mutual good offices. Dinarchus fell sick at Elatæa, which occasioned unseasonable delay; for the assembly of Athens, agitated by demagogues, dispatched in this interval an embassy to Polysperchon, arraigning Phocion and his companions. The adverse parties met the king and protector at an obscure Phocian village near the foot of mount Arorion. To give the semblance of regularity and pomp to a trial disgraced by every circumstance of injustice and cruelty, Polysperchon ordered a pavilion to be raised for king Arrhidæus, covered with a canopy of gold: and when the tribunal was constituted in the usual form, shewed that public motives only were to influence his conduct, by consigning his personal friend Dinarchus to the instruments of torture. [63]

Polysperchon. —His execrable cruelty.

It will be easier to conceive the consternation of those who trusted to the intercession of the ill-fated Corinthian, than to imagine the mingled sentiments which agitated Phocion's breast, where humanity ennobled by dignity had long fixed her throne. He had passed his eightieth year in the enjoyment or disdain of the greatest rewards which kings or commonwealths can bestow. Forty-five times he had been elected general of the Athenians, without once soliciting that high station. The allies of his republic

Phocion. —His character and unworthy treatment.

[63] Plutarch in Phocion.

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had presented him with crowns and statues; and even its enemies acknowledged his abilities and venerated his virtues. Philip, and his immortal son who delighted in every kind of merit, laboured successively and strenuously to gain Phocion to their interests. The man who, amidst the lucrative employments of his country, remained poor from inclination and taste, might reject the insolent generosity of strangers; but Phocion did more; he preferred serving a republic whose levity he despised, whose vices he abominated, whose hasty resentment he had often experienced, to the generosity and friendship of princes whom his discernment held in high and just admiration. Having fallen amidst the turbulence and madness of the latter democracy, he often stemmed the torrent of popular frenzy; and the fiercest demagogues had often trembled at the frown of Phocion. All his noble excellences were brightened by the mild lustre of humanity; and this was his true glory, that those terrible eyebrows with which his enemies reproached him, had never rebuked insultingly the meanest citizen, nor ever threatened vengefully the most implacable adversary.

His trial and execution. Olymp. cxv. 3. B. C. 318.

Such genuine dignity of life availed not to avert death from a base tribunal, before which he was often interrupted by the unfeeling demagogue Agnonides, and often reproached by the execrable Polysperchon. At length, stamping the ground with his feet, the protector dismissed sternly the accused persons from his presence, that they might be thrown in irons, and thus

remanded to Athens. In a letter to the new magistrates of that city, he told them that Phocion and his friends appeared to him guilty of many crimes; but that their fate ought ultimately to be decided by the Athenian people. In this forbearance Polysperchon was guided, not by the wish for lessening his guilt of blood, for of that he seemed altogether careless, but by his desire of soothing and seducing the Athenian multitude, who panted for an opportunity of exercising their recently acquired right of impeachment and punishment. Phocion was accused of subverting the free government of Athens, and a time was appointed for hearing his defence. This was the only regular part of the proceedings; for, at sight of the promiscuous rabble crowding the market-place, a virtuous citizen exclaimed, that since the decision belonged to Athenians, strangers and slaves ought to be excluded from the assembly. His observation only provoked the threats of the populace. No one ventured to rise in favour of Phocion; and when he began to plead for himself, his voice was drowned in rude clamours, until he proceeded to ask, "Whether they meant to condemn him justly, or unjustly?" The answer being returned "justly." "How can you know that," he rejoined, "unless I am heard." But his second attempt to speak was overpowered with equal brutality, the multitude only observing the violent and varied agitations of his body while he defended the lives of his dearest friends. On this interesting subject,

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affection invigorating his voice, he was heard to say, "I willingly submit to death, but why should you destroy these innocent men?" The multitude replied, "because they are your friends." Agnonides then read the prepared decree for proceeding to immediate execution.

While the prisoners were conducted to punishment, several of them melted into tears at taking the last farewell of their friends and kinsmen. But Phocion maintained that steady composure and firm aspect, with which he had often led the Athenians to battle, and often returned in triumph amidst the general acclamations of his countrymen. Yet his heroism could not now overawe the brutish multitude intoxicated with their mad victory over abilities and virtues. Many loaded him with reproaches, all rejoiced at his misfortunes, one wretch spat in his face. Phocion only noticed this insult, by saying calmly, "will none hinder the unhappy man from covering himself with disgrace!" Being asked by a citizen who met the procession, whether he had any commands for his son Phocus? he replied, "that he should forget my wrongs and forgive the Athenians." In prison, his friends requested that he would be the last to drink the fatal hemlock. He said the request was painful; that nevertheless he would comply, as hitherto he had never denied them any thing. The hemlock being exhausted, the executioner refused to prepare a new dose, unless he were previously paid twelve drachmas. Phocion desired the money to be given to him,

remarking playfully, "that a man could not even die gratis at Athens." The inhuman treatment of this admirable person was followed by a total extinction of worth in the most ancient and most illustrious of the Grecian commonwealths. The cruelty of his legal murder seemed to his superstitious contemporaries to derive aggravation from the day on which it happened; the nineteenth of May being a festival consecrated to Jupiter, and celebrated at Athens by an equestrian procession. The horsemen, many of whom had fought under the banners of Phocion, halted before the place of his confinement, tearing their garlands from their heads, and bewailing his altered fortune and approaching execution. [64]

Cassander defends the harbours of Athens against the city.

But the guiltless blood which these degenerate Athenians had only pity to lament, the Macedonian Cassander had courage to avenge. To oppose the measures of the protector, he had, as observed above, solicited assistance from Antigonus, who wished to destroy every paramount power in the empire, and from him had obtained thirty-five ships of war and six thousand veterans. With this armament, only four days after Phocion's death, he sailed to the Piræus, then held by his deputy Nicanor. That officer resigning to him the Piræus again resumed the command of the Munychia; and the two *harbours* of Athens defied the *city* under its new democracy, and Polysperchon who marched

[64] Plutarch in Phocion.

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from Phocis with an army twenty-five thousand strong and sixty-five elephants.[65]

Operations of Polysperchon in the Peloponnesus. Olymp. cxv. 3. B. C. 318.

As the Athenian harbours made an obstinate resistance, scarcity of provisions compelled Polysperchon to divide his forces. A part was left with his son Alexander to besiege the Piræus and Munychia; with the larger portion he marched into Peloponnesus, where the Arcadian city of Megalopolis still rejected his royal edict for abolishing its aristocracy. In his attempts to enter the place, he was opposed by fifteen thousand warriors. In vain he employed the butting strength of his elephants for breaking open the gates. Danus, a Megalopolitan, who had accompanied the Indian expedition of Alexander, rendered ineffectual the hostility of these assailants, now first employed in the wars of Greece. Their fury was turned on their conductors by a machinery of wooden planks, armed with iron spikes artfully concealed, and inflicting on them intolerable sufferings.[66]

Sea-fight off Byzantium. Olymp. cxv. 3. B. C. 318.

Disconcerted in his measures at Megalopolis, but happy in filling other cities of the Peloponnesus with sedition and bloodshed, Polysperchon was recalled into Macedon, to co-operate with Olympias in that country. Before leaving Attica, he had sent his admiral, Clytus, with a numerous fleet to assist Aridæus, governor of the Hellespontian Phrygia, who was painfully struggling, as before related, under the mighty grasp of Antigonus. Cassander, to prevent the

[65] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 68. [66] Id. l. xviii. s. 71.

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triumph of the enemy in that important quarter, ordered Nicanor to sail for the narrow seas with the squadron of thirty-five ships belonging to Antigonus, and such an additional force from the Piræus and Munychia, as raised the whole number to a hundred galleys. The hostile fleets met in the Thracian Bosporus, and fought the battle of Byzantium, famous for the rapid alternation of victory, and still more memorable for its important consequences both in Europe and in Asia. In the first scene of the bloody drama Nicanor was defeated; above one-half of his ships was taken; and the remainder happy to find refuge in the neighbouring harbour of Calcedon, directly opposite to Byzantium. But Antigonus, who, at the head of an army, watched the proceedings of both fleets, converted this heavy disaster into the means of signal and brilliant success.[67] Having dispatched proper agents to Byzantium, he collected, in the first part of the night, the small craft and merchantmen lying in that seaport. In these vessels, having hastily embarked the choice of his light-armed troops, he assailed before dawn the unsuspecting victors, who had presumptuously landed on the Thracian coast, encumbered and fatigued with the care of their booty and prisoners. Clytus, unprepared to fight, ordered his men to fly to their ships. Part of them put to sea, but encountered there a new danger; for Nicanor, whom Antigonus had reinforced with

Antigonus's successful stratagem.

[67] Conf. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 72. and Polyæn. l. iv. c. 66.

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a select band, calculated to act as marines, was ready for their reception. Their whole fleet was taken, except the admiral's galley, with which Clytus landed on an obscure part of the Thracian coast, hoping secretly to escape to Macedon. But being recognised in his flight, he perished ignobly by some Thracian deserters; a sad reverse to a man, who, upon his first temporary advantage, had assumed the trident of Neptune, and affected the honours of divinity![66]

Athens surrenders to Cassander.

The momentous consequences of this victory, with regard to the affairs of Antigonus and Eumenes, will afterwards be explained. In Greece also, the success of Cassander's admiral, contrasted with the recent disgrace of Polysperchon before the walls of Megalopolis, greatly encouraged the one party, and proportionally disheartened the other; while the opposite behaviour of the two leaders corresponded with the natural tendency of their contrary fortunes, and powerfully heightened their effect. Old age had enfeebled the understanding of Polysperchon, without moderating his passions. He was rash without boldness, slow without prudence, contemptible through pusillanimity, and odious through cruelty. But the character of Cassander was equally ardent and engaging; and the energy mixed with caution, conspicuous in all his measures, procured for him a decided ascendancy in every republic beyond the Isthmus. Even the Athenians, outrageous as had been

[66] Plutarch, Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

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their recent proceedings, abated of their animosity, repented of past errors, and surrendered on capitulation their city, to a general already master of their harbours. According to the moderate terms agreed on, they were secured in the enjoyment of their country, their ships, revenues, and hereditary laws. The right of suffrage, however, was thenceforward to be confined to those enjoying a thousand drachmas of yearly income; a census, which though falling short by one-half of that established by Antipater after the Lamian war, yet excluded from the assembly and courts of justice the needy rabble, whose recent brutality had eternally disgraced their country.[69] To these conditions an article was added, abridging the liberty of Athens, but encreasing her real happiness. Demetrius Phalereus, of whom we before made mention, an Athenian indeed by birth, but whose father had been a slave in the houses of Conon and Timotheus[70], was appointed to controul the finances and administer the government. Demetrius was in his thirtieth year, when the favour of his friend Cassander raised him to this high station, for which he was equally well qualified by his talents and his temper. To a correct knowledge in ethics and politics, then deemed practical sciences, he united an easy and copious flow of persuasive eloquence, in his judgment as essential to a statesman, in a

Is governed ten years by Demetrius Phalereus. Olymp. cxv. 4.—cxviii. 2. B.C. 317—307.

[69] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 74. [70] Ælian. V. Hist. l. xii. c. 43.

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a free country, as tactics to a general.[71] Among his first public measures, he carefully ascertained the populousness of the community, amounting to twenty-one thousand citizens, and ten thousand strangers; both of these numbers including the males of full age only; and four hundred thousand slaves of every age and either sex.[72] During the ten years that he presided over the republic, he improved the revenues, beautified the city, moderated expensive vanity, and restrained ruinous luxury. By his rewards, and still more his example, he encouraged arts and letters; and it is acknowledged by the warmest republicans of antiquity, that the Athenians experienced more happiness and even more secure freedom under the guidance of this wise and virtuous governor, than they ever enjoyed amidst the factious turbulence of their wild democracy.[73]

Olympias returns to Macedon, and gains the army. Olymp. cxv. 4. B. C. 317.

While the fortune of Cassander thus flowed prosperously in Greece, his admired Euridicé ruled supreme in Macedon. The authority of Polysperchon seemed for ever extinguished; and in vain he would have marched from the Peloponnesus, in hopes to recover it, had not Olympias, with talents for intrigue, improved by long and unremitted practice, returned from

[71] Diogen. Laert. in Demet. l. v. s. 75. Plutarch and Cicero, passim.

[72] Athenæus, l. vi. as explained in my introduction to Lysias, p. 5. et seq.

[73] Cicero de Legibus, l. iii. c. 6. & Strabo, l. ix. p. 398. Diodorus, Plutarch, Ælian, &c. speak to the same purpose.

Epirus, carrying with her Alexander Ægus, whom many regarded as rightful heir to the monarchy. Confiding in this sacred pledge, in the last desperate struggles of Polysperchon, and in the zealous aid of her brother Æacidas, king of Epirus, she hastened to resume her ascendency over the Macedonians, as the wife, the mother, and the protectress of their beloved hereditary kings. Euridicé, when apprised of her intentions, dispatched messengers to Cassander, then in Peloponnesus, requiring his presence; but though his alacrity and ambition were winged by love, he arrived too late to prevent a most melancholy catastrophe. Olympias had reached the obscure Macedonian town of Evia, near the lake Lychnidus, on the Illyrian frontier, where her rival lay encamped, in order to repel the invasion. By insults intolerable to Euridicé's high spirit, she provoked her to battle. While the hostile armies were arraying for combat, Olympias, with a courage that bespoke the descendant of Achilles and the mother of Alexander, advanced between the approaching lines. Her aspect, her voice, the boldness of her graceful action, the tender years and auspicious name of her grand-child Alexander Ægus, all these circumstances affected and overawed the factious but ever-loyal Macedonians. They recalled to memory her former greatness, and remembered the triumphant reigns of her son, and of her husband.[74]

[74] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 11.

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Murder of Arrhidæus and Euridicé. Olymp. cxv. 4. B. C. 317.

With a sudden and unanimous resolution, they deserted the standard of Euridicé. That unhappy princess, with the contemptible Arrhidæus, equally a pageant as a king and as a husband, were intercepted in their flight towards the fortified city of Amphipolis, and by order of Olympias, thrown together into a dungeon, while the implacable conqueror prepared to use her victory, not with the dignity of a queen, the tenderness of a woman, or even the feeling of a human creature. After suffering every indignity for many days, Philip Arrhidæus, who had sat six years and four months on the throne of Alexander, was released by the merciful hands of Thracian assassins. To Euridicé, before whose eyes he suffered, Olympias sent three presents; a dagger, a rope, and a cup of poison. The vengeful pride of Euridicé prayed that these abominable presents might recoil on her adversary; for herself she needed them not: her own zone served to destroy her, which she dexterously prepared for the purpose in presence of Olympias's messengers. Previously to her self-inflicted execution, she asserted her preferable right to the crown, but neither bewailed her premature fate, nor indicated the smallest humiliation at her accumulated misfortunes. The fury of Olympias was yet implacable. The chief adherents of Cassander, about an hundred illustrious Macedonians, were attainted and executed. Her impotent rage ransacked even the tombs of the dead; and the mouldering bones of his brother Jollas, who had been cup-

bearer to Alexander, were exposed and condemned on the derided pretence that he had poisoned his king and master.[75]

Cassander avenges their death.

But Cassander himself lived to avenge all these enormities. Polysperchon indeed guarded the southern frontier of Macedon; and his countrymen, the Etolians, occupied the straits of Thermopylæ. The army, personally attached to Olympias, was committed to lieutenants: that inexorable queen, whose crimes had filled her fierce breast with panic, shut herself up within the impregnable strength of Pydna, accompanied by the young Alexander, his mother Roxana, and an illustrious attendance of female relations, princesses of Macedon or Epirus.[76] Instead of attempting to make his way to her by land, Cassander collected transports chiefly from Locris and Eubæa, and proceeded by sea to Thessaly. Against Polysperchon, who was encamped in Perrhebia, a district of that country, he sent Callas, an able officer, who had the address to excite disaffection in the army of an old and morose general. A revolt, fomented by Cassander's emissaries in Epirus, prevented all danger from that quarter. Cassander in person laid siege to Pydna; which, besides the strength of the place, was defended by a severe and tempestuous winter. It was, however, blocked up by sea and land, until the scarcity became so great, that the soldiers were obliged to subsist for a week on the ordinary allowance

Siege of Pydna. Olymp. cxvi. 1. B. C. 316.

[75] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 11. and Pausanias, l. viii. c. 7.

[76] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 35.

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of a single day. At length it became necessary to kill the horses for food; the elephants fed on saw-dust; the Greeks and Macedonians died of hunger; the Barbarians eat the dead bodies.[77] Having failed in an attempt to escape by night, in a brigantine supplied by Polysperchon, Olympias avoided by surrender the famine fast approaching herself and her illustrious kinswomen. Life was the only boon for which she stipulated; but with this condition, her own dangerous character, and the fickle temper of the Macedonians, rendered it unsafe to comply. She was, agreeably to the legal forms of her country, publicly arraigned; and not appearing to plead, was condemned capitally. Cassander wished her to confirm the decision by voluntary flight; but on pretence of irregularity in the proceedings, she demanded a new trial. This demand was answered by a body of two hundred men, selected from the army as fit instruments for murder. The majesty of her aspect is said to have disarmed the assassins; but her fate was at hand from her personal adversaries, kinsmen to her late victims, and stern avengers of their blood. She suffered death with the same unconcern with which she would have inflicted it[78]: a woman of unconquerable spirit, of boundless ambition, and of inhuman cruelty.

Trial and death of Olympias.

In the fate of Olympias was involved that of

Aristonous in-

[77] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 49.

[78] Conf. Pausanias, Bœotic. c. 7. Diodor. l. xix. s. 51. & Polyænus, l. iv. c. 2.

Aristonous, a man of the highest rank among Alexander's captains, since, at the time of his master's death, he held a place, as we have before seen, both among the *life-guards* and the *equestrian companions*. He had remained in Europe as the likeliest person, failing Antipater, to be raised to the protectorship; but, to the great misfortune of the empire, Polysperchon had been preferred to him. He now commanded in Amphipolis; and at the desire of Olympias, reluctantly capitulated with Cassander on condition of personal safety. But Aristonous was quickly sacrificed to reasons of state; he was a man doubly dangerous by his dignity and his loyalty.[79]

volved in her fate. Olymp. cxvi. 1. B.C. 316.

Cassander marries Philip's daughter Thessalonica.

The capture of Pydna put into Cassander's power, among other illustrious prisoners, Alexander Ægus, with his mother Roxana; Deidamia, neice to Olympias, being daughter to Æacidas, king of Epirus; and Thessalonica, the youngest daughter of Philip of Macedon. The young Alexander and Roxana were shut up in the strong castle of Amphipolis. Deidamia proved an useful hostage for the fidelity of the Epirots; and Thessalonica was made subservient by Cassander to his views of greatness. Descended on one side from the kings of Macedon, and on the other from the illustrious Jason of Thessaly, Thessalonica might have spurned the hand of a man naturally the servant of such families; but her pride durst not decline the

[79] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 50.

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proffered nuptials. They were celebrated with a pomp surpassing that of the obsequies of Arrhidæus and Euridicé; who were interred, however, with royal honours at Ægae, as legitimate wearers of a crown, which rightfully devolved, by their inhuman murder, on Cassander and Thessalonica.

Builds Cassandria. Olymp. cxvi. 1. B. C. 316.

To mark his accession to power, Cassander founded a new city called by his name, on the isthmus of Pallené; a situation uniting peculiar advantages in point both of war and of commerce. Cassandria arose from the ruins of Potidæa; and being endowed with a fertile territory, adorned by a double harbour, and strongly fortified by sea and land, speedily attained, under the fostering hand of its founder, a magnitude proportional to its rank, as the new Macedonian capital.[90]

Restores Thebes.

Yet, as the founder of Cassandria, this fortunate usurper gained less glory, than he shortly afterwards acquired as the restorer of Thebes. In an expedition, undertaken for destroying Polysperchon's adherents in the Peloponnesus, whom he expelled from all their possessions, except Corinth and Sicyon, Cassander passed through the ancient city of Cadmus, so famous in the history, and still more in the fables of Greece. He viewed its desolation with real or well-affected concern, and embraced the resolution of rebuilding its walls, and collecting its wandering citizens within them. Such a

[90] Diodor. l. xix. s. 52.

generous purpose inspired the Athenians and neighbouring states with an emulation of beneficence. Even the Greeks of Asia, Italy, Sicily, and Cyrené, vied with each other in contributions towards restoring the pristine splendour of Thebes; and the renovation of this ancient capital, whose ruin had been invidiously ascribed to the son of Philip, helped to consolidate the power and renown of the supplanter of his family.[81]

[81] Conf. Pausanias, l. xi. c. 7. & Diodor. l. xix. s. 53, 54.

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State of the Empire.—Fancied Theocracy in the Throne of Alexander.—Machinations of the Rebellious Satraps.—Defeated by Eumenes.—He marches into the upper Provinces.—Peculiar Circumstances of their Governors at that Moment.—War between Antigonus and Eumenes.—Their mutual Stratagems, and Battles.—Defection of the Argyraspides.—Eumenes's Captivity and Death.

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State of the empire at the time of Antipater's death. Olymp. cxv. 2. B. C. 319.

THE death of Antipater, the only one of Alexander's successors long practised in government, dissolved the whole vigour of the regency. In Egypt and Cyrené, Ptolemy confirmed his separate sovereignty. On the banks of the Euphrates, Seleucus was meditating designs equally independent and still more lofty. Lysimachus laboriously reared his barbarous monarchy of Thrace; the civil commotions in Greece conspired with the domestic dissensions in the royal family of Macedon to throw these countries into the hands of Cassander; while Lesser Asia exhibited a various and deep drama, ennobled at once by the powers of the performers and the splendid prize of victory. The prize was the golden throne of Lydian Crœsus: the combatants were Antigonus and Eumenes; Antigonus the most energetic, and Eumenes the most dexterous of all the Macedonian captains.

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We have already seen the artful secretary of Alexander released by his own consummate address from the Cappadocian fortress of Nora; and from the successive and abject conditions of a fugitive and a prisoner, raised, as it were, at one bound, to the most efficient station in the empire. In virtue of the office conferred upon him by the protector Polysperchon, he was entitled to summon to his standard the silver-shielded *hyspaspists*, who had faithfully performed the business recently entrusted to them, of conveying part of the treasures of Upper Asia to the Cilician fortress Kuinda, situate among abrupt fastnesses about twelve miles north of Tarsus. The protector's vicegerent in Asia was further entrusted with ample powers over the other treasuries in the empire; and the satraps, in every part of the East, were commanded to assist him to the utmost of their abilities. [1]

Eumenes takes the command in Asia against Antigonus. Olymp. cxv. 3. B.C. 318.

Before he received this ample commission, Eumenes, immediately upon his escape from Nora, had been joined by several thousands of those provincial troops whom he had himself formed, and who now accompanied their beloved commander and friend to the neighbourhood of Kuinda. The treasures in that fortress enabled him to reward their alacrity, to make hasty levies in Caria and Pisidia, provinces still unconquered by Antigonus, and to employ numerous agents in hiring mercenaries from many parts of Greece, and even from Tarentum in Italy. Upon his

Fancied theocracy in the portable temple of Alexander. Olymp. cxv. 4. B.C. 317.

[1] Diodor. l. xix. s. 12. et seq. Plutarch in Eumen.

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appearance in Cilicia, the Argyraspides joined his standard in compliance with the royal mandate. But the submission of their chiefs, Antigenes and Teutamus, was reluctant; the obedience of the troops was precarious, and both officers and men had engrafted the pompous luxury of Asia on their native pride and habitual fierceness. These dangerous passions, Eumenes endeavoured to soothe by kindness and courtesy, and more effectually controuled by an expedient congenial to the superstition of the age, and perhaps suggested by his own. Besides the ample powers contained in his commission, Polysperchon, in name of the kings, had bestowed on him five hundred talents to repair his pecuniary and private losses; a present, which Eumenes told the Argyraspides, as far exceeded his wishes, as the princely authority conferred on him surpassed his birth and his abilities. "Alexander alone was worthy to command the high-minded Macedonians[2]; and from that immortal prince, humble as was his own condition, he had been honoured with a message to them, which being communicated by supernatural means, ought to be respectfully received and implicitly obeyed. In a manifest and distinct vision, he had beheld his august master: he had heard his commanding voice. Alexander had

[2] This speech of Eumenes is illustrated by the most affecting scene in military history, the dismay of the army on the wound, deemed mortal, which Alexander received in the Mallian fortress, and the enthusiasm of joy which followed on his recovery. Arrian, l. vi. c. 12. et seq.

shewn to him an altar and pavilion, declaring that when his friends assembled in the pavilion round his altar, his genius would be present in the midst of them. The royal munificence, intended for myself personally, I will therefore consecrate to him, through whose virtue all our fortunes have been established. On a resplendent throne of gold, let us deposit his armour, sceptre, and diadem: let us daily worship at his altar: around both, let the chiefs assemble on every important emergency: we shall deliberate boldly, yet wisely, when inspired by the presence of our matchless sovereign." The proposal was heard with an enthusiasm of applause; and the design being executed with equal magnificence and celerity, a fancied theocracy was vested in the portable temple of Alexander, which, glowing with the gems of the East, thenceforward directed the motions of the royal army.[3]

Thereby defeats the machinations of Ptolemy and other satraps against him.

While Eumenes was busied with rearing in Cilicia this extraordinary engine of government, Antigonus was still detained at the farther extremity of the peninsula. Aridæus, governor of Hellespontian Phrygia, had been enabled to keep hold of that province through the co-operation of Clytus commanding the numerous fleet of Polysperchon. But the decisive battle of Byzantium, in which Antigonus had prevailed through his personal activity and energy, gave him the entire command of the narrow seas; and as he had now no dangerous enemy behind in Asia,

[3] Plutarch et Diodor. l. xix. s. 19. et seq.

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nor any reason to apprehend the transportation of troops from Europe to wrest from him his conquests, he prepared to march eastward to crush the rival general of the empire, who, equally with himself, maintained the indivisibility of Alexander's succession. The principle of indivisibility was highly obnoxious to Ptolemy. He considered Egypt and Cyrené as completely his own, and expected also to retain his recent conquest of Syria, including Palæstine and Phœnicia. Upon the first appearance of a new power growing up in the centre of the empire, and decidedly hostile to his views, he had sent a fleet of observation to the Cilician harbour of Zephyrium; and his emissaries, as well as those of Antigonus, now crowded the camp of Eumenes, and industriously sowed sedition. Teutamus, one of the leaders of the Argyraspides, was seduced into a conspiracy against his general's life. But these profligate machinations, Eumenes surmounted with such dexterity, that the abortive attempts to alienate his followers, only rivetted their affections more firmly: heightened their zeal, and confirmed their loyalty.[4]

Eumenes marches to Babylonia.

To avail himself of these favourable dispositions, he led his army, now fifteen thousand strong, into the neighbouring province of Phœnicia. Ptolemy's garrisons were weak. He had usurped the country in direct opposition to the authority of the kings and the protector. Eu-

[4] Plutarch et Diodor. ibid.

menes was every where successful in Phœnicia; and was on the point of recovering for the kings the whole of that maritime coast, when he received news of Antigonus's march against him, at the head of the most select part of his army, amounting to twenty-four thousand well-disciplined soldiers. In consequence of this information, it became necessary to move into Upper Asia, whose satraps still respected the authority of the kings: had he remained on the sea-coast, his small force must have been crushed between Ptolemy and Antigonus. By hasty marches, he proceeded through Cœlesyria, traversed the long valley of the Orontes, crossed the Euphrates at Zeugma, and encamped first at Carrhæ in Mesopotamia, and afterwards in the narrower peninsula of Babylonia, thirty miles above Babylon.

Seleucus distresses his army by inundating the country. Olymp. cxv. 4. B. C. 317.

In his march eastward, he had sent an embassy to Seleucus, acquainting him with his commission and his views. Seleucus spoke respectfully of the royal commission; but instead of assisting the general who had been named to exercise it, secretly tampered with the Argyraspides. As preceding wars had consumed the magazines, on the western side of the Tigris[5], Eumenes prepared to cross that river, both for the sake of more plentiful subsistence, and that he might approach the rich province of Susiana, particularly the royal treasury in the fortress of Susa. His design was obstructed by opening the sluices

[5] Diodor. l. xv. p. 1063.

CHAP. V. of an old and neglected communication between the Tigris and Euphrates, which exposed his camp to a sudden inundation: so that when a chosen division of his troops had passed the Tigris in boats hastily collected, they were under the necessity of returning, in order to save the baggage and more encumbered portion of the army. The information of a native Babylonian taught Eumenes how to divert the superfluous waters. While proper measures were using for this purpose, Seleucus, who distrusted his power to repel the invaders, sent to offer a truce and an unmolested passage of the river, at the same moment that he urged by message Antigonus, who was already in Mesopotamia, to hasten his progress to Babylon; that they might co-operate effectually against their common foe.[6] Eumenes meanwhile crossed safely into Susiana, a country enriched by alluvious slime, and celebrated for making returns in wheat and barley of an hundred and sometimes two hundred fold.[7] But the corn was not then in the fields, and the natives concealed their granaries. For the greater facility of subsistence, the army was formed into three divisions: and even with this precaution, was obliged, instead of bread, to be contented with rice, sesame, and dates.[8] From Susiana, he dispatched messengers into Media and the more eastern satrapies, requiring their

[6] Diodor. l. xix. s. 13.

[7] Strabo, l. xv. p. 1063.

[8] Diodorus says, that the eastern bank of the Tigris was ακεραιος, entire and untouched, but it should seem not to have been exempted from the ravages which deformed the opposite side of the river.

governors, conformably to the royal pleasure, to reinforce his arms. He likewise applied to Zenophilus, the keeper of the castle and treasury of Susa; who acknowledged the authority of his commission, and shewed the utmost readiness in answering all his demands.

Eumenes's embassy to the eastern satrapies. Olymp. cxv. 4. B.C. 317.

With his dispatches to the satrapies, he had not reason to hope a ready or universal compliance. Amidst the uncertainty of a disputed succession, and the loose irregularity of government to which they had long been accustomed, the distant governors, always inclined to disaffection, might totally disregard the royal mandate. The time, too, for resisting Antigonus might escape, before the agents of Eumenes could traverse the vast regions bounded by the Tigris, the Caspian, and the eastern stream of the Indus. Both these inconveniences were obviated by a conjuncture not less favourable than unexpected. Python, governor of Media, with whose character the reader is sufficiently acquainted, had shewn an inclination rather to imitate than oppose the rebellion of Antigonus. Not contented with commanding the finest province in the empire, he had employed its resources towards acquiring in the East a pre-eminence not less conspicuous than that of the western usurper. Philotas, satrap of Parthia, who resisted his measures with more boldness than ability, was the victim of his vengeance. The surrounding satraps, alarmed by the fate of Philotas, flew to arms, defeated Python in Parthia, and expelled him successively both from

Their condition at that time.

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that province and from Media. He was thus forced across the Tigris, and compelled to court the protection of Seleucus. The messengers of Eumenes found the confederate satraps assembled in one camp, and the better disposed to listen to their master's demands, because his adversary Seleucus had kindly received Python, the object of their common resentment. They consented unanimously to join his standard in Susiana, and executed their resolution with the same alacrity with which it had been taken. But we are justly surprised at the scanty supplies of troops collected from the massy square between the Tigris and the Indus, the Persian gulph and the Caspian. Except Python, whom we have just mentioned, and Peucestes satrap of Persis, the Proper Persia, the governors of the different provinces included in that vast space, exceeding in extent the half of Europe, were all of them Macedonian officers of the second rank; and who had received their lucrative appointments as the rewards of past services, without ever reaching either high distinction in the army, or high preferment in the personal attendance on their sovereign. Peucestes, as well as Python, was in the number of the eight life-guards of Alexander; and the former had been sent to govern the imperial district of Persis, about the same time that the latter was raised to the command of one of the eight troops of *Companions*. To the standard of Eumenes, Peucestes brought thirteen thousand foot and one thousand horse; Tlepolemus, Sibyrtius, and Stasander, who were

Their respective forces.

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respectively satraps of Carmania, Arachosia, and Aria, commanded small divisions amounting collectively to three thousand nine hundred foot, and two thousand three hundred horse; Androbazus, lieutenant of Oxyartes[9], conducted from Paropamisus only twelve hundred foot and four hundred horse; but Eudamus, who had succeeded to Python the son of Agenor as superintendant of the Macedonian affairs in the Panjab, supplied a formidable brigade of an hundred and twenty elephants, attended by a body of three thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry. According to received accounts the whole[10] reinforcement which Eumenes derived from the East, little exceeded twenty thousand foot and four[11] thousand horse; a number inconsiderable when compared with European armies of modern date, yet it should seem sufficient in that age to command respect in Asia: a circumstance conformable to the experience of after times, since the battle of Plassey, which established the English dominion in India, was gained by three thousand men, of whom only nine hundred were Europeans.[12]

Antigonus crosses the

The vigorous preparations of Eumenes obliged

[9] Oxyartes, the father of Roxana, was prevented through age or infirmity from heading his own forces.

[10] We shall afterwards find, in his army at the first battle, Amphimachus, satrap of Mesopotamia; and in the second battle, Mithridates of Pontus, and Philip of Bactriana; of the junction of these three satraps no notice is taken.

[11] Diodorus says 18,700 foot and 4600 horse; but his particular numbers do not give this general amount. Diodor. l. xix. s. 14.

[12] Rennell's Memoir of a Map of Hindostan, p. 93.

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Tigris to meet the enemy. Olymp. cxvi. 1. B. C. 316.

Antigonus to change his plan. His first aim had been to surprise by celerity; but he now suspended his march, in order to gain by new levies an equality of force. He was joined in the neighbourhood of Babylon by Python the deprived satrap of Media, who commanded fifteen hundred horsemen; and by a detachment from Seleucus, who, anxious to remove the war from his own province, strongly encouraged him to pass the Tigris, and give battle to the enemy. In compliance with an advice congenial to his natural confidence, Antigonus prepared to pass into Susiana, a country intersected by many rivers, being the great drain of Media, and of the intermediate high-lands between Media and Assyria. The first river in his way was the Tigris; and far beyond, flowed the Pasitigris, that is, the Eastern Tigris: between them, were interposed the Choaspes, Eulæus, and Coprates. During the reigns of Darius Hystaspis, and of Xerxes, respectively the æras of Persian glory and of Persian shame, Susa the capital of Susiana was also the capital of the empire, the ordinary residence of the great king, the main depository of his treasures, and the general rendezvous of his court and army. This great and beautiful[13] city is placed by Herodotus on the

[13] Shus in modern Persian means beautiful. In A. D. 260. the Persian Sapor, to commemorate his victories over the Romans an the Emperor Valerian, built, from the stone-quarries in the neighbourhood, the modern capital Shuster, about fifty miles east of the ruins of Shus. The syllable *er* in Shuster marks the comparative degree: Shus, beautiful; Shuster, more beautiful. Major Rennell first showed these ruins to be the ancient Susa; which had been erroneously placed at Tostar.

Choaspes; but most historians[14] have assigned for its site the flowery banks of the Eulæus, and derived its name from the word signifying lilies[15], in which that river abounded. The difference, however, may be reconciled, if we consider that the amplitude of the city must have nearly filled up the whole space between the two rivers; and in fact the ruins of Susa, now Shus, occupy a space above twelve miles in length. They consist of mounds of clay and sand intermixed with broken bricks and coloured tiles; and the Arabs, in digging for hidden treasures, not unfrequently meet with large blocks of marble, inscribed with hieroglyphics. Eumenes fixed his camp on the left bank of the most eastern river, and allowed his enemies, on a bridge of boats, to cross the Tigris; not doubting that he should gain an opportunity of assailing them with advantage, while they crossed one or other of the intermediate streams.[16]

Peucestes brings ten thousand Persians to the assist-

Meanwhile Peucestes, although, as one of Alexander's body-guards, he thought himself degraded by serving under Eumenes, strenuously

[14] Daniel, Diodorus, Arrian.

[15] From lilies, to beauty, the transition is easy.

[16] Diodorus, by confounding the Tigris and Pasitigris, has rendered this campaign unintelligible. He wrote probably from the description of an eye-witness, Hieronymus of Cardia, then accompanying Eumenes. But his universal history is too vast a design for minute accuracy. It would be fruitless, however, to attempt reconciling in every point the ancient with the modern geography; for the rivers have, by dams, been made to change their course, and their waters have, for agricultural purposes, been dispersed into various channels. Compare Dr. Vincent's Nearchus, and Mr. Kinneir's Memoir and Map.

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ance of Eumenes.

co-operated with that general through hatred of Python, and fear of Antigonus: and, for the purpose of harassing the enemy, summoned to his aid ten thousand Persian archers by an expedient often practised, always ready at command, and which had been originally suggested by the singular fitness of local circumstances. In the extent of above five hundred miles along the Persian gulph, the jagged mountains stretching from the bay of Ormus to the bloody dens of the Uxij and Cossæans, were so regularly intersected, that centinels had been posted at nearly equal distances, whose voices could communicate intelligence from one mountain to another in twenty-four hours, over a country that was the march of a laborious month. Of this contrivance the Persian kings had made use, to defend against sudden invasion the central and imperial district of their country, the scene of their decisive victories over the Medes, and the seat of their successive palaces Pasagarda and Persepolis. The same means were now employed by Peucestes, for gaining a speedy [18] reinforcement.

Eumenes surprises the enemy at their passage over the Coprates. Olymp. cxvi. 1. B. C. 316.

Antigonus had by this time reached Susiana. He declared Seleucus governor of that province in addition to Babylonia; and entrusted him with troops to besiege their common enemy Zenophilus, keeper of the royal treasury, in the citadel of Susa. He himself proceeded eastward towards Eumenes, exposed to the heat of the dog-days, and the unwholesome vapours of an

[18] Diodor. l. xix. s. 17.

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alluvial soil. Having arrived at the Coprates, he collected boats for crossing that river, which is deep, rapid, and above fourscore fathoms broad. A considerable part of his army had already passed, and was preparing for encampment, when Eumenes, having watched the decisive moment, surprised his divided and unarmed enemies. Four thousand of them surrendered prisoners; a greater number perished in their flight and in the river; and this disaster, added to his incredible sufferings on the march, determined Antigonus to defer his long-projected battle, and to leave at the mercy of his adversary the fertile province of Susiana, the splendour of its capital Susa, and the vast treasures accumulated in its citadel.[19]

Antigonus marches into Media.

From his encampment on the Coprates, he proceeded, with as much expedition as was permitted by the heat of the season and the sickness of his troops, to the city of Bodaca, situate north of Susa, between the Eulæus and Choaspes. Having halted there, several days, for rest and refreshment, he resolved to march into Media, where his ally Python had still numerous partisans, and where he might be abundantly supplied with every accommodation in point of subsistence or conveyance. But it was not easy to decide by what route he should proceed to so well-provided a country. Two roads penetrated into the most inviting districts of Media; the one to the right, safe and easy,

Nature of the roads thither.

[19] Diodor. l. xix. s. 18.

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along winding and pleasant valleys, confined between the branching ridges of mount Coronus[20], but scorched at that season by heat, and prolonged by the sinuosities of the mountain to a month's journey for an army. By this most frequented passage, he might reach the exuberant district of Choana[21], distinguished in ancient times by the great city Rages[22], and in later times by the Mahomedan capital Rey, second only to Bagdad, and whose greatness is still conspicuous in the amplitude of its ruins.[23] A second and much nearer road lay directly across the mountains; and was at all seasons exposed rather to cold than to heat. But this shorter march conducted through the rugged country of the fierce Cossæans, who, living fearless in caves on the roots growing in their glens, and on the salted produce of the chace, had been accustomed to sell a passage through their territory to the Persian kings, and whose ferocity had been chastised, not subdued, by the arms of Alexander. Antigonus, who aspired to rival the boldness of his late master, preferred

The Cossæans

[20] Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxiii. c. 6. and Ptolemy, l. vi. c. 1. But Wesselingius refuses to defend his conjecture of ὑπο Κορωνου, instead of επικολωνος.

[21] Choana surrounded the site of the modern city Koom, and extended in a north-east direction towards the Caspian strait, and Tehraun, the present Persian capital.

[22] Polyb. l. x. c. 4. Tobit, c. v. vi. Diodor. l. xix. s. 24.

[23] Chardin and Otter's Travels. Their amplitude only is remarkable; for the cities in central Asia, being built, chiefly, of bricks dried in the sun, leave behind them, when deserted, only mounds of earth or sand covered or intermixed with broken bricks or lacquered tiles.

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the direct and dangerous road; and disdaining the advice of Python, who was more conversant with those Barbarians, refused to purchase from them an unmolested passage. His proud obstinacy was severely punished. The Cossæans beat up his detached quarters; surprised his advanced parties; and by the dexterous use of their bows and slings, as well as by rolling down stones from the craggy summits of their rocks, greatly annoyed the main body of his army. At the end of nine days, he with difficulty escaped from these inhospitable fastnesses, having lost a great part of his force, and highly offended the remainder, by needlessly exposing it to fatigue and danger. But the country into which he emerged was calculated to repair, in some measure, the evils which his rashness had occasioned, and to still the angry murmurs of his troops. It lay at no great distance from the rich Nisæan plain[24], abounding in all necessaries

harass Antigonus's march.

[24] The most fertile and most beautiful portion of Media is that separated from Susiana by the continuation of mount Zagros, now called the mountains of Lauristan. It includes the celebrated Nisæan pastures, and extends eastward to Ecbatana, now Hamadan; and, in a south-east direction, towards Ispahan. Kermanshah is now the capital of the Nisæan plain, a flourishing town, containing twelve thousand houses. In a northern range of mountains, about six miles distant, there are caves containing figures and inscriptions resembling those near Persepolis, which will be described presently; and particularly an arch cut in the rock 60 feet high, 24 wide, and 20 deep, exhibiting, among other scenes, the hunting of the wild boar, in which the figures are conceived with a degree of taste and spirit, and executed with a degree of skill and ingenuity, far surpassing the powers of any inhabitants of Persia, since the destruction of the Greek dynasty. Prints of these sculptures are given in Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia.

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for an army, and whose spacious pastures were celebrated for horses unrivalled in size, beauty, and swiftness.[25]

Dissensions in Eumenes's army. Olymp. cxvi. 1. B. C. 316.

Eumenes had been prevented, by dissensions among his troops, and by the arrogance of Peucestes and other generals, whose presumption swelled with success, from availing himself of the decisive advantage which he had gained on the banks of the Coprates. Upon the intelligence that their enemies had entered Media, a new flame was kindled among these impetuous spirits, divided into two factions so equally balanced that they might have totally destroyed each other. The leaders of the Argyraspides, and all those who either possessed or coveted establishments in lower Asia, insisted on returning westward, and seizing the invaluable spoils which Antigonus had relinquished. Peucestes and Sibyrtius, on the contrary, with the other satraps who had joined the army in Susiana, maintained the necessity of defending the more extensive provinces of the East, and particularly the imperial district of Persis, upon which Antigonus, after repairing his strength in Media, would be ready to pour down with resistless fury. Eumenes, lest the army should be ruined by division, joined the party of Peucestes; and thereby deeply offended the Argyraspides.[26]

[25] Herodot. l. vii. c. 40. Strabo, Arrian, Diodorus. Yet Alexander's cavalry, as above mentioned, far surpassed them in speed.

[26] Conf. Diodor. l. xix. s. 21. and Plut. ubi supra.

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Eumenes marches to Persis.

From the eastern branch of the Pasitigris, the first part of the journey towards the palaces of Pasagarda and Persepolis[27], lay through an adust and hollow[28] country, parched with drought, scorched by intense heat, and almost destitute of provisions. But when the army approached that imperial district, the country began at a place called the *ladder*[29], from the shelving ascent on which it stood, to assume a very different aspect, being open and airy, refreshed by copious streams, and beautifully diversified by hill and dale. Both sides of the road were adorned by those artificial parks, which the natives called paradises; or by lofty forests[30], and umbrageous valleys, whose natural beauties scorned art for an auxiliary. In fruit and game, the whole province abounded; it was also the most populous satrapy in the East; inhabited by the most[31] warlike nation; and

Route thither.

[27] See Strabo, l. xv. p. 728, 729, & 730. Persepolis and the more ancient Pasagarda were both in the same district, namely, that of the Pasagardæ, the most illustrious tribe of the Persians. Herodot. l. i. c. 125. Conf. Plutarch de Virtut. Mulierum, p. 246, & Strabo, ubi supra.

[28] This epithet is common with ancient geographers, and enters into the name Cœle-Syria, &c. Strabo, Ptolemy, passim.

[29] A town in Savoy, near the Great Chartreux, has the same name from the same situation. Other *Climaces* or ladders are found in Strabo and Ptolemy, in their geography of Syria and Cilicia.

[30] Mr. Franklin, in his Tour from Bengal to Persia, p. 65. mentions cypress-trees of an amazing height, which the Persians say have stood six hundred years.

[31] This character the inhabitants of Fars, the proper Persia, or Persis, still maintained in the time of Tamerlane. Mansour, prince of Fars, was the boldest enemy encountered by that destroying prince, between the Tigris and the Indus. Cherefeddin.

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Persepolis, its antiquities, &c. described.

that attached in affectionate duty to its governor Peucestes.[32] But a circumstance most propitious to the central district, the seat of the ancient Pasagarda, is the salubrity of the nocturnal air, which is so totally exempt from corroding dews, that the brightest steel may be exposed to it all night long, without undergoing the smallest perceptible alteration.[33] For thirty miles round, the country is studded with ruins; but those of Chelminar, supposed to be the ancient Persepolis, peculiarly arrest the traveller.[34] Chelminar, in modern Persian, denotes "the forty pillars," and the ruins when first discovered contained that number; they are now reduced to nineteen, though there are yet indications that they originally amounted to an hundred and eight.[35] The edifice to which they belong formed an artificial front, as it were, to the mountain Rehumut, which overlooks the beautiful plain of Merdasht.[36] This ruined palace extends nearly six hundred paces in both directions, and consists of three stories, composed of immense blocks of marble piled on each other without mortar or cement, yet so nicely compacted, that the keenest eye can seldom discern their joinings.[37] To the several

[32] Diodor. l. xix. s. 21.

[33] Mr. Franklin made the experiment. See his Tour from Bengal to Persia, p. 153.

[34] Chardin, Le Brun, Niebuhr, Franklin, & D'Hankerville sur les Antiquités de la Perse.

[35] D'Hankerville, p. 155. [36] Franklin, p. 202.

[37] Conf. Voyage de Chardin, tom. ii. p. 200. et seq. & Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 120. et seq.

stories, you ascend by marble stairs of sufficient breadth for thirty or forty persons to mount conveniently abreast. The first flight, of fifty steps, leads to a portico, of which four pilasters remain, about fifty feet high, carved with fabulous animals of colossal magnitude, and with inscriptions in an ancient character, which the ablest antiquaries have not yet been able to decypher.[38] From the terrace supporting this portico, you ascend to the second story, adorned by colonnades of majestic loftiness, and conducting to various apartments, of which the inmost are raised on a third terrace, and their walls carved with the strange quadrupeds above mentioned, and with processions of human figures, some in flowing robes, others in succinct military garb. Behind this third story, and artfully cut in the native rock, you find two square chambers, of which the use may be suspected, from their resemblance to four others at Nackshi Rustan, eight miles north-east of Chelminar. Nackshi Rustan exhibits four apartments, excavated in a steep rock, and universally regarded as sepulchres of ancient kings. They contain bas-reliefs and inscriptions nearly coinciding with those at Chelminar, and equally

[38] These inscriptions are mixed with others of a far more recent date, bearing a reference to the dynasty of the Sassanides, who having supplanted the Parthians, governed Persia from An. Dom. 226., till they were destroyed by the Arabs, An. Dom. 638. See De Sacy, Memoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse. Paris, 1793. There are also later inscriptions belonging to the times of the Caliphs, in the usual strain of Mahometan piety.

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inexplicable. The modern Persians, by an easy solution, refer the whole of these remains to the ingenuity of the Peri[39] or Fairies; but history assures us, that the barbarous Cambyses, when he conquered Egypt, sent from thence the ablest architects and sculptors, that they might be employed in the embellishment of his cities and palaces.[40] The Egyptians, as we have seen, were fully equal to still greater undertakings. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that the style of Egyptian architecture, as far as it now can be ascertained, had nothing of the lightness and airiness discernible in the ruins of Persepolis; their lofty terraces ascending above each other, their spacious stairs, and towering colonnades. But it must be remembered, that Egyptian Thebes contained houses four and five stories high[41]; and we cannot conclude, that its inhabitants disdained buildings of a slighter and more showy kind, because the sole remains of their architecture are confined to short massy pillars, with dark artificial caverns, as gloomy,

[39] D'Herbelot, article Esteckar. Chardin, tom. i. p. 305. says, the Persians ascribed the same works to the kaous or giants. M. Bailli, Astronomie Ancienne, p. 354. dates the foundation of Persepolis 3209 years before the Christian æra. The Indian observations are said to have begun about a century later, that is, 3101 before Christ: the Chinese 2952. But history, founded merely on astronomical phænomena, which by calculation may be extended forwards or backwards indefinitely, is totally unworthy of regard. A chapter in Aristotle, Meteorol. l. i. c. 14. dispels this wild illusion of portentous antiquity.

[40] Diodorus, l. i. s. 46. with Wesselingius's note, p. 55.

[41] Diodorus, l. i. s. 45.

but also as durable as the burrowing rocks of the neighbouring Troglodites.[42]

The Persian kings should not seem to have resided any part of the year either at Pasagarda or Persepolis[43], but these ornamental edifices had been successively raised by them to the honour of their nation, in a district which they regarded as the cradle of their empire, which had been the scene of their decisive triumph over the Medes, and which thenceforward continued illustrious, both for the ceremony of their coronation and the solemnity of their funeral.[44] Their dead bodies, after being conveyed to Pasagarda, were raised by machinery, to be deposited in rocky and inaccessible monuments[45], a circum-

[42] My conjecture concerning the share of the Egyptians in the building of Persepolis, receives some confirmation from the blocks of marble, covered with hieroglyphics, often found by the Arabs in the mouldering ruins of Susa. Kinneir's Memoir, p. 100.

[43] Herodot. l. iii. c. 79. Conf. Xenoph. Cyropæd. p. 230. & Plutarch de Virtut. Mulier.

[44] Ctesias, Persic. c. 9. et seq. & Arrian, Expedit. Alexand. l. iii. c. 22. & l. vi. vers. fin.

[45] Diodorus, l. xvii. s. 71. This applies to the kings after Cyrus, mentioned by Ctesias; for that prince, though buried in the same district, was entombed in a lofty tower embowered amidst thick trees, Strabo, l. xv. p. 730. and Arrian, l. vi. c. 29. The Persians, as well as the Egyptians, called the tomb their eternal dwelling. Zendavesta, l. i. c. 27. On this notion, Mr. Heeren has built an ingenious theory for explaining the nature and design of the palaces of Pasagarda or Persepolis, since he considers them as one and the same place, whose ruins still remain at Chelminar. He thinks, that being the tombs, they are also the palaces of the deceased kings of Persia, provided with all the accommodations and luxuries which those princes enjoyed during life; with a large treasury and troops to guard it; and even with a haram, of which he adduces, as a proof, the multitude of fine women, and vast quantities of female attire found there by Alexander. Diodor. l. xvii. s. 72. In conformity

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stance well agreeing with the artificial caverns above mentioned: and which is farther confirmed by the report that these caverns were depositories of hidden treasure, since the custom of burying money with the dead, is said to have passed from Asia to Europe, and is certainly alike conformable to the superstition anciently prevalent in both continents. [46]

Peucestes's festival.

This sacred spot, the Persians had been at peculiar pains to defend. By an expedient above mentioned, they could summon to it in one day the whole force of the circumjacent country. The same arrangements for defence were still upheld by Peucestes, who had now governed Persis above seven years with much reputation, but who had no sooner decoyed the Greeks into his province, than he began to throw off the mask which had long concealed his unworthiness. His popular manners and generosity had gained the Persians; his military frankness and courage had deceived Alexander. By the ostentatious display of the same qualities, he endeavoured to win from Eumenes the affections

with this system, he regards the carvings on the walls, as a picture of the court and empire of Persia. Heeren, Ideen uber die Politik, &c. p. 194. et seq. D'Hankerville sur les Antiquités de la Perse, gives a quite different and far less interesting explanation of the same monuments.

[46] Mem. de l'Academ. des Inscrip. tom. xvi. p. 131. M. D'Hankerville justly maintains that the custom of burying new coins with the dead, accounts for the vast number of ancient medals in perfect preservation, notwithstanding their high relief. Arts de la Greece, v. ii. p. 46. et seq.

of the soldiery, and particularly of the Macedonian veterans. For this purpose he proclaimed a sacrifice and festival for the European army, and the nobler portion of his Asiatic subjects; and, before the day arrived, had taken measures for distinguishing this solemnity by its regularity and its sumptuousness. Around the altars of the gods, and in four concentric circles, the numerous guests were arranged in such order, and so skilfully attended, that the vastness of the multitude occasioned neither confusion nor delay. The outmost circle, a mile in circumference, was occupied by the mercenaries and allies; the second, extending eight stadia, was assigned to the Argyraspides, and the other bodies of infantry who had served under Alexander[47]; the third of four stadia was appropriated to officers subordinate in command, the *companions*, and other select troops of horsemen; the inmost circle contained the commanders of the several divisions of horse and foot, together with the most distinguished of the Persian nobility. In the middle of the whole enclosure, the altars of Philip and Alexander shone conspicuous among those of the more ancient divinities. The guests commodiously reposed on couches of twisted leaves and osier, overhung with awnings, and profusely strewed with the richest carpets of Persia.[48]

[47] I cannot adopt Wesselingius's conjecture of ἑταίρων instead of ἑτέρων. The ἑτέρων refers to the other bodies of the hyspaspists, who were the same kind of troops with the Argyraspides: the ἑταῖροι are included among the horsemen mentioned immediately afterwards.

[48] Diodor. l. xix. s. 22.

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By which he endeavours to seduce the army from its allegiance. Olymp. cxvi. 1. B.C. 316.

This entertainment, highly congenial to the taste of the Greeks and Macedonians, was farther recommended by the cordial politeness of the master of the feast; which soon met its reward in the undisguised gratitude of the troops. Encouraged by Sibyrtius, satrap of Arachosia, and a creature of Peucestes, they began warmly to declare, that the man who had saved the life of Alexander, and attained the highest rank by the highest of all services, was alone worthy to command them. Eumenes had discovered the intrigues of his rival, and foreseen this dangerous defection. In order to countermine the plot, he produced forged letters from Orontes, governor of Armenia, and a warm friend to Peucestes, containing in few words, "that the kings and Polysperchon had fully re-established their authority in Europe; that Cassander, their most formidable enemy, was dead; and that a Macedonian army had crossed the Hellespont to co-operate with the exertions of a general, in whose courage and conduct the lawful successors of Alexander continued firmly to confide." This advice being industriously circulated through the whole assembly, produced a return to loyalty, not less universal than sudden; of which Eumenes availed himself to accuse Sibyrtius of treason, and thereby compelled that seditious satrap to consult his personal safety by flight. The success of his first stratagem encouraged the artful secretary to employ another formerly practised by his master Philip. In the midst of opulence, he pretended great want of money for

Eumenes defeats his designs.

the public service, and borrowed, in the name of the kings, large sums, at high interest, from Antigenes, Eudamus, and other generals; whose fidelity he was most solicitous to secure.[49]

Meets Antigonus on the frontier of Persis.

Meanwhile some Medes, actuated by hostility to Python rather than by zeal in the royal cause, brought advice of Antigonus's preparations for entering the province of Peucestes. Eumenes, instead of waiting for the invaders in Persis, determined to encounter them on their march thither. Towards the commencement of his expedition, he sacrificed to the gods, and gave a public entertainment, in which, having rivalled the popular magnificence of Peucestes, he was unfortunately betrayed into the intemperance of Alexander. This unseasonable debauch first suspended his march, and afterwards obliged him to be conveyed in a litter in the rear of the army. In such a disgraceful situation, he was informed by his scouts, that his enemies were advancing from the foot of the Parætacene mountains to the barren frontier of Persis and Media, two rival and often hostile provinces. In less than twenty-four hours their advanced guard made its appearance in regular array; for Antigonus had quickened their march upon learning from deserters his adversary's indisposition. Antigenes and Peucestes then led the van; but their troops had no sooner beheld the enemy, than they called aloud for Eumenes.

[49] Diodor. l. xix. s. 23. Cæsar had recourse to the same stratagem for securing the fidelity of his army in one of the most trying emergencies of the civil war. De Bell. Civil, l. i. c. 39.

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He hastened to their aid; and undrawing the curtains of his litter, was welcomed by the clangor of arms, and a salute in the Macedonian tongue: his presence had restored their spirits, and the precision of his orders skilfully arrayed them for battle. Their sudden alacrity astonished Antigonus, till espying the litter of Eumenes gliding briskly along the line, he exclaimed with the loud burst of laughter familiar to him, "Behold the machine which has produced these wonderful movements!" [50] Having expected to surprise the enemy, he thought proper to decline an immediate engagement; and Eumenes, perceiving the roughness of the intervening ground, did not molest his retreat, nor afterwards disturb his encampment.

Antigonus's embassy to the camp of Eumenes.

The armies thus remained four days within half a mile of each other, when, on the fifth, Antigonus sent an embassy to the satraps and other officers in the hostile camp, promising to maintain the former in their respective provinces, to grant lands and appointments to the latter; to take their troops into his immediate pay, and to send home, at his own expence, those Greeks and Macedonians who wished to revisit their native land. The admission of such an embassy, proved that Eumenes, however admired as a general, was not absolute as a master. But the propositions of Antigonus were rejected, his ambassadors were threatened; and Eumenes, while he allowed them to depart in safety, taught

[50] Plutarch in Eumen.

his soldiers, by an apologue, to applaud their own prudence in eluding the snare which had been laid for them. "A lion," he said, "loved a fair maiden, whose father opposed their marriage, lest the lion, in case of dissension, might be tempted to make too fierce an application of his claws and teeth; to obviate which objection, the amorous savage deprived himself of those formidable weapons, when, on the renewal of his petition, the father of the maid attacked and killed him with a club. Thus would you have been treated by Antigonus, had you hearkened to his proposal." [51]

Their mutual stratagems

On the day following, Eumenes was informed by deserters, that the enemy purposed to decamp at the second watch of the night. He justly suspected their intention of escaping to the fertile district of Gabiena in Elymais [52], watered by the upper part of the Eulæus. To anticipate this measure, he sent pretended deserters to Antigonus, with information that his lines would be attacked in the evening. While this intelligence obliged Antigonus to prepare for a battle instead of a retreat, Eumenes suddenly decamped; and proceeding with silence and celerity in the direction of Gabiena, gained an advance of six hours' march [53], before the enemy was apprised of his departure. Antigonus pursued with such speed as would have overtaken a less diligent adversary; but could

render a battle inevitable.

[51] Diodor. l. xix. s. 25. [52] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1080.

[53] Diodorus, as we shall see below, divides the night into three watches; by two of which Eumenes had got the start of the enemy.

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not recover his lost ground, until he had recourse to an artifice, rivalling the dexterity by which he had been distanced. Committing the infantry to Python, he drove forward at full speed with his cavalry; and continuing his pursuit all night, formed at dawn in such complete order, on the side of a hill near to which the enemy had to pass, that Eumenes, perceiving his dispositions, never doubted that his whole force was at hand. He therefore commanded a halt, and prepared for an engagement. Antigonus's infantry meanwhile advanced with a rapid and well regulated motion; and a battle, which had been long avoided by the skill or caution of both generals, the success of their mutual stratagems now rendered inevitable.

Battle at the foot of the Paræ-tacene moun-tains. Olymp. cxvi. 1. B.C. 316.

Of all useless writing, and of all tiresome reading, there is none more obnoxious than the prolix detail of battles, fought by ordinary generals. But the struggle between Antigonus and Eumenes was an emulous exertion of talent, perpetually varied on one side, and successfully encountered on the other. In the present instance, too, their strength was pretty equally balanced; Antigonus having twenty-eight thousand foot, eight thousand five hundred horse, and sixty-five elephants; and Eumenes, though inferior to him by one-third in horse and foot, yet, commanding an hundred and twenty-five elephants, then deemed important auxiliaries; and what was of infinitely more real value, a body of three thousand veterans, perfected by experience, elated by military honours, confident

in their own energy, and from unchequered success, disdaining every enemy. His left wing Eumenes committed to Eudamus, who had brought with him a select troop[54] of horse as well as the elephants from India. Eudamus was reinforced by the cavalry under Stasander and Amphimachus[55], respectively satraps of Aria and Mesopotamia; by Cephalo, who had been substituted instead of the traitor Sibyrtius, to the command of the Arachosians; by five hundred horse from Paropamisus, and an equal number of Thracians from the Danube. The whole wing was covered in front by a crescent of forty elephants, intermixed with slingers and archers. The main body adjoining to this wing was composed, as usual, of the heavy-armed infantry, eleven thousand in number, of which one-half, though drawn from a wide variety of nations, were equipped in the Macedonian fashion. The *hyspaspists* stood next, a lighter infantry, amounting to six thousand, of which number the Argyraspides, those distinguished veterans just mentioned, immediately flanked the heavy-armed phalanx. This whole mass of infantry was also fronted by a bulwark of forty elephants. On the right wing Peucestes and Tlepolemus, satraps of Persis and Carmania, commanded their respective cavalry: they were flanked by Eumenes at the head of the *com-*

[54] This troop is also called αγημα by Diodorus.

[55] Amphimachus, of whose junction with Eumenes, no mention is before made, had succeeded to Arcesilaus, the first Greek satrap of Mesopotamia. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 3.

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panions, and other select troops of horse; the general choosing on this occasion the same post which had been always occupied by his master Alexander. This right wing, in which he greatly confided, was fronted by a line of forty-five elephants distinguished by their strength and fierceness.

Doubtful success.

The superiority of Eumenes in elephants determined Antigonus's arrangement. His left wing, destined rather for show than effect, was filled up with equestrian archers, and other horsemen armed with spears, two thousand five hundred Tarentines trained to loose skirmish, and Thracian vaulters leading respectively several horses, which they used by turns in their desultory assaults. The whole of this wing was entrusted to Python, satrap of Media, from whose province most of the cavalry had been drawn; and who was enjoined to harass Eumenes's right wing with a Scythian-like combat, often remitted and often renewed, incapable, indeed, of making any decisive impression, yet calculated to occupy that important division of the enemy. These irregulars were followed by the phalanx, consisting of nine thousand mercenaries; eleven thousand Lycians and Pamphylians, and other nations of Lower Asia, armed after the Macedonian fashion; and last of all eight thousand Macedonians. Antigonus, as well as Eumenes, assumed for his own post the command of his right wing, composed of the choice of his cavalry, particularly the *com-*

panions[56] commanded by his son Demetrius, and the first troop of which was headed[57] immediately by himself. This wing was fronted by the best of his elephants. The remainder defended his infantry; a very few only were placed in his left wing.

When the adverse armies had approached in this order within a proper distance of each other, the signal was raised on high, the troops shouted alternately, the trumpets sounded a charge. The irregulars in Antigonus's left, performed successfully their appointed service; and availing themselves of their velocity and numbers, harassed the enemy's flank, galling the elephants with their arrows, and after eluding their pursuit, again renewing the same desultory combat. But Eumenes seasonably drew a reinforcement of cavalry from his left; and by a vigorous charge, the more terrible, because followed by his elephants, dissipated those hovering clouds and pursued them towards the mountains. Meanwhile the infantry engaged with great spirit; the ardour on the weaker side, being inflamed to enthusiasm by the conscious worth of the Argyraspides, who upbraided their adversaries, as wretches who combated their fathers. The rapidity of this select body was

[56] The *companions* denoted under Alexander a particular body of men; but under his successors, who formed their armies as much as possible on their master's model, the same technical term denoted different bodies of men in different armies, all bearing the same name, because performing the same functions.

[57] The αγημα, otherwise called the ιλη βασιλικη, because usually commanded by Alexander in person.

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equal to its firmness; and wherever these veterans assailed, their exertions were decisive. Antigonus, when both his main body and his left wing had given way, was advised to move towards the mountains and endeavour to cover the retreat. But the impetuosity of the Argyraspides, in urging the pursuit, had left unsupported the division commanded by Eudamus. Antigonus seized the decisive moment; rushed into the opening with the flower of his cavalry, and by an attack in flank put to rout the whole of this left wing. The swiftest of his horse were dispatched to collect his own fugitives, whom the alternation of victory enabled him to rally and form at the foot of the mountains. Eumenes, perceiving the defeat of his left wing, returned with his cavalry from the pursuit, and also recalled his infantry. Before either army was again prepared for battle, night had come on; but it was then full moon; the sky was clear and serene; and the hostile lines stood so near to each other[58], that they could mutually perceive the distinct flashes of adverse steel, and hear the clang of weapons, the neighing of horses, and the roaring of elephants.

Burial of the slain.

Eumenes, whose loss of men had been inconsiderable, compared with that of his opponent, might have renewed the engagement with advantage; but by the mutinous temper of his troops, he was diverted from this purpose, and

[58] Only four πλεθρα asunder, that is, 400 feet; but the πλεθρον, as a measure of length, is estimated differently by Suidas and Hesychius.

even defeated in the design of interring the slain.[59] The Argyraspides, whose piety had diminished as much as their avarice had encreased, during their long warfare in the East, preferred to a duty deemed most sacred by the Greeks, the care of their baggage and booty, the rich fruits of their Asiatic victories. Their unalterable obstinacy decided the resolution of the whole army, which proceeded with them towards the baggage, while Antigonus moved in an opposite direction, and encamped near the scene of action; by which means he gained an opportunity of burying his slain next morning, whereas Eumenes was reduced to the necessity of craving leave to perform that indispensable ceremony. His herald sent with this view to Antigonus, was detained by him the greater part of the day, and dismissed with the permission of returning next morning. But by this time, Antigonus, having sent his wounded, above four thousand in number, and the heaviest part of his baggage, into neighbouring villages, had secretly decamped, and was hastening to the fertile district of Gamorga in Media. Eumenes, whose men were tired and discontented, did not attempt to pursue the enemy, but immediately began to perform the obsequies of the dead, five hundred and forty foot, and a few horsemen. During this sad solemnity, two Indian women, who had lost their common husband Ceteus, an officer of distinction among the

Singular contention between two In-

[59] Diodor. l. xix. s. 31.

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dian women.

Indian auxiliaries, exhibited a new spectacle to the Greeks, by disputing the honour of being burnt alive on his funeral pile. As the elder was discovered to be with child, her rival gained the preference. Transported with joy at this event, she was gaily arrayed by her attendants, who accompanied her to the scene of suffering, celebrating her virtues by song. Upon arriving at the foot of the pyre, she removed with much composure her bracelets, her necklaces, her rings, and the variegated ornaments of her head; and bestowed them successively with a tender embrace on the companions whom she most loved. Her brother aided her in ascending the lofty pyre. She affectionately reclined on the breathless remains of her husband.[60] The match was lighted; her golden tissue was in flames: she suffered death without a moan to impeach her constancy, or a start to distort her beauty. All compassionated her fate; most admired her fortitude; yet several Greeks reproached the customs of India as bespeaking only the dire superstition of ignorant and perverse barbarians.[61]

Antigonus's bold and dexterous march.

After the funeral solemnity, Eumenes prepared for marching from the inhospitable neighbourhood of the Parætacene mountains; and for fixing, according to his first resolution, his winter-quarters in Gabiena, a district not yet foraged by either party, and well calculated both for refreshment and security. He advanced

[60] Diodor. l. xix. s. 34. [61] Ibid.

successfully and encamped at his journey's end. In this position his army by the ordinary route was distant twenty-five marches from Antigonus's post in Gamorga; but there was a much nearer road between them, of only nine marches, through an intricate and desert country, almost destitute of water. While both parties continued in their winter-quarters, Antigonus learned that great discontents prevailed among his enemies, their generals disagreeing about the command, the soldiers unwilling to obey, and that various bodies of troops, discordant in their minds, had widely separated their cantonments. Upon this information, having determined to surprise their nearest posts, he industriously gave out that he intended to move towards Armenia, but collected necessaries for a far more dangerous journey; consisting in ten days' provisions, of that kind which required not any preparation by fire.[62] Thus unencumbered, he marched five days, without striking a light, through the unfrequented and dreary region above-mentioned, totally unobserved by the thinly-scattered inhabitants of the distant mountains. But his soldiers, growing weary of a precaution which their presumption deemed superfluous, finally alarmed by a nocturnal light the remote villagers; one of whom mounting his dromedary, which could travel a hundred and thirty miles in twenty-four

[62] The σιτα απυρα of Diodorus are mentioned by Plutarch in Sertorio, and de Gloria Athen. and by Polyænus, l. viii. c. 16. and by Suidas.

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hours, seasonably apprised Eumenes of his unforeseen danger.

Eumenes's stratagem stops the progress of the enemy.

The troops of this general were scattered over a distance of six marches; and Peucestes, who was stationed near the skirts of the country through which the enemy had to pass, purposed to fall back on the remoter cantonments. Eumenes, who apprehended lest this movement should discourage the troops, and who wished to meet his opponents as they emerged from the fatigues of the desert, devised an expedient for stopping their progress until his own army should have time to assemble in full force. With this view he selected a sufficient body of men, equipped for expedition, which he commanded to follow him, well provided with fire-pots. This body he diffused over the space of six miles, on the side of a mountain conspicuously situate with regard to the enemy's route, with orders to make large fires at the first watch of the night, to diminish them at the second, and to allow them towards the third gradually to die away, so as to afford to spectators at a distance the appearance of a real encampment. Such it was supposed by the inhabitants of the opposite mountains, who first beheld it, and such it was declared by Antigonus and Python, who firmly believed that the vigilance of Eumenes, having discovered their line of march, had caught them in their own snare. In order to avoid an action with the enemy's whole force, after the fatigues of a long and laborious march, Antigonus led off his army towards a well-cultivated

country on his right; a movement begun with much circumspection, but continued without the appearance of any forces to intercept his stragglers or to harass his rear. From this circumstance, he began to suspect that his fears had deceived him; and his suspicion was converted into certainty by the people of the adjacent district, who told him that they had not seen any great army, and only a few companies of soldiers scattered at great distances, who made fires on the hills.

His precaution saves the detachment escorting the elephants.

Stung with indignation at losing the fruits of his painful and well-concerted march, Antigonus advanced furiously against those soldiers, that although he could no longer hope to surprise the main body of the enemy, he might at least wreak his vengeance on the authors of his disappointment. But this design was also defeated by the celerity of his rival, whose scattered divisions had already been drawn from their quarters, and collected into one camp, judiciously chosen and strongly fortified. Antigonus, with these mortifying circumstances, learned, however, that the enemy's elephants were still behind. To intercept these stout auxiliaries, in whose numbers Eumenes most surpassed him, he immediately dispatched the whole of his light infantry, with a due proportion of horsemen, chiefly Medes and Tarentines. This active body of troops intercepted, attacked, and routed the detachment of hostile cavalry accompanying the elephants, while these ponderous animals, who formed an oblong, en-

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closing the baggage, continually received wounds which their conductors were unable to retort. But during this disastrous combat, a sudden reinforcement came to their rescue, most seasonably dispatched by Eumenes, who, though he knew not the measures of Antigonus, yet, knowing his own duty as a general, anticipated a probable evil, by providing an assured remedy.

Conspiracy formed against him.

The illustrious merit of the commander which encreased the general admiration of the troops, envenomed into deadly hatred the envy of their leaders. Under the immediate apprehension of a battle, for the hostile armies had encamped at an interval of only four miles, and Antigonus longed to decide this obstinate contest, the haughty Peucestes, and the turbulent Teutamus, conspired against the life of Eumenes, whose just pre-eminence was singularly attested by those rancorous enemies, since they agreed to defer his murder, till he had defeated their common foe. The conspiracy was revealed to him by other generals, who had been invited to join in it; and who were withheld from that measure, not by such affectionate duty as the kind courtesy of Eumenes peculiarly merited, but merely through the fear of losing, by his death, the money which they had lent to him at high interest.[63] Upon this distressing information, he lamented his hard lot in living among wild beasts; and retired sad and solitary to his tent, where he wrote his testament, and burned

[63] Plutarch in Eumen.

such of his papers, as might have endangered the persons who had communicated to him any matters of secret intelligence. Whatever might be the consequence to himself, he determined to resist Antigonus, the enemy of his revered master's house; and with an alacrity of countenance, marking a heart void of care, made most skilful arrangements for his last fatal victory. [64]

The last battle between Antigonus and Eumenes.

Since the former battle on the Median frontier, he had received some reinforcements, which rendered him, in point of infantry, superior to the enemy: but he was still inferior by one-third in horse. Antigonus's army had been again recruited to nearly twenty-two thousand foot, nine thousand horse, and sixty-five elephants. Accompanied by his son Demetrius, that general took the command of his right wing; his left was committed to Python: his infantry formed the centre, covered in front by the elephants. To oppose Antigonus in person, Eumenes, contrary to the usual practice, assumed the command of his left, consisting of the choice of his cavalry, and supported by auxiliaries under the bravest satraps, particularly Mithridates of Pontus. His left wing was fronted by sixty of his stoutest elephants. His infantry, which followed, consisted of three divisions; the *hypaspists* on the left; the phalanx on the right; and the Argyraspides in the middle, prepared to move with celerity to

[64] Plutarch in Eumen. & Diodor. l. xix. s. 40.

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every part of the line, where they saw a difficulty to surmount, or a desperate adversary to encounter. In his right wing, Eumenes placed under Philip, satrap of Bactria[65], the least serviceable part of his cavalry and elephants in a diverging line, with orders to occupy, if possible, the opposing division of the enemy, but chiefly to watch the issue of the contest. Before the signal for charge was given on either side, the Argyraspides sent a herald on horseback, to reproach their adversaries with disloyalty and parricide, and at the same time hurled against them a furious defiance, which as much encouraged the one army as it terrified the other. When the trumpets sounded, the troops of Eumenes charged with intrepid alacrity; and his elephants had been roused to such fury, that the foremost fell by the stroke which its impetuous weight had inflicted.[66] But Antigonus's great superiority in horse, began to make the more decisive impression on Eumenes's left wing, as that general, while exerting himself with the utmost bravery, was feebly supported by Peucestes and other envious satraps. The battle might have been lost irretrievably, had not the exertions of the Argyraspides surpassed every thing most memorable in the annals of heroism. With invincible perseverance, these veterens, who were some of them above seventy years old, and few under sixty, successively attacked, and either repelled or cut down, every part of the

[65] Conf. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 3. and l. xix. s. 40.
[66] Diodor. l. xix. s. 42.

opposing line: and without the loss of a single man, (such was their skill and the completeness of their armour,) destroyed above five thousand of their foes[67]: a circumstance wonderful, not incredible; because, in the close combats of infantry, the nature of ancient weapons, leaving no alternative between a skirmish and a bloody rout, might produce dreadful havoc among the vanquished, with little or no loss to the victors.

Incident which provoked the Argyraspides and made them revolt to Antigonus.

Meanwhile, Eumenes had drawn a reinforcement from his right wing, hoping to renew the equestrian combat. But in this he was disappointed by an unforeseen disaster, which produced speedily his own ruin, and eventually the ruin of the royal cause. It happened that the field of battle was covered with a fine sand, impregnated with salt, which, being raised on high by the trampling of the horses, was carried in a thick cloud toward the left of Eumenes's line, intercepting all prospect in that direction. Of this circumstance, Antigonus had availed himself, even in the heat of action, to detach secretly his active Medes and fleet Tarentines, who had turned unperceived the enemy's left, overpowered the feeble guard protecting the women and baggage, and rendered themselves completely masters of both. This event, mortifying to all, provoked the Argyraspides to madness. In vain, they said, their valour had been exerted in defeating Antigonus's infantry; his horse had stripped

[67] Diodor. l. xix. s. 43.

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them of the fruits of twenty victorious campaigns, and had robbed them of their wives and children.[68]

Eumenes seized and slain.

The situation of Eumenes was deplorable. A dark conspiracy hung over his head: his allied satraps, alarmed for their particular safety, were anxious to fly to their respective provinces: his cavalry had severely suffered in the action; and his victorious infantry refused to renew the attack; but forming themselves into an oblong, presented on all sides defiance and terror, to any force by which they might be assailed. They reproached the cowardice of their own cavalry, they arraigned the defection of Peucestes, they accused the neglect of their general. In vain, Eumenes endeavoured to convince them, that by improving their victory, they might still regain all that was lost. They insulted him as a vile Thracian; and, to recover their families and effects, were prepared to accept an accommodation on any terms. To conciliate Antigonus, who withdrew his cavalry at the approach of night, the Argyraspides, on the suggestion of Teutamus, leader in every mischief, embraced the flagitious resolution of disarming and seizing their commander; regardless of his incomparable merit, and of the commission which he then bore, under the lawful representatives of their venerated sovereign.[69]

Death of Eumenes, and fate of

Eumenes was thus delivered into the hands of an ancient friend, converted through disloyal

[68] Diodor. et Plut. ubi supra.

[69] Diodor. l. xix. s. 43. and Plutarch in Eumen.

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his adherents. Olymp. cxiv. 1. B.C. 316.

ambition into an implacable enemy. Demetrius, the accomplished son of Antigonus, and Nearchus, justly famous for his voyage from the Indus to the Tigris, warmly interceded for the life of Eumenes [70], whose merits their own enabled them duly to appreciate. But Antigonus was swayed by policy alone: he knew that Eumenes, while he lived, would resist his usurpation; and the insolent Argyraspides, as well as the perfidious satraps, urged the death of a man whom they had most cruelly injured. [71] Of all Alexander's captains, Eumenes died the youngest; though, of them all, he was the worthiest of a long and prosperous life. From the age of twenty, he had officiated seven years as secretary to Philip: in the same capacity he served Alexander thirteen years, and died eight years after the latter prince [72], at the age of forty-eight, in an honourable warfare for preserving the crown in his master's family. His letters continued extant in the beginning of the second century, and attested a mind that united, with great elevation and energy, the milder and gentler virtues: indulgent humanity, cordial friendship, a natural and persuasive eloquence. [73]

[70] Idem ibid.

[71] Plutarch and Nepos have added some circumstances not very consistent with indubitable matters of fact; and thrown in by way of embellishment, or with a view to palliate the cruelty of Antigonus.

[72] The number in Nepos is forty-five: but it must be erroneous even by his own computation. Conf. Nepos in Eumen. and Diodor. l. xix. s. 42.

[73] Plutarch in Eumen.

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His friend and fellow-citizen, Hieronymus of Cardia, a town in the Thracian Chersonesus, who had been wounded and taken prisoner in the battle, sacrificed resentment to interest, and, after the death of Eumenes, passed into the protection and confidence of his fortunate rival.[74] Yet Jerom appears to have retained a strong and just predilection in favour of his earlier patron; and from his history of Alexander's successors, we have been enabled to describe those memorable campaigns, and to relate those splendid achievements, which in consideration of the upright purposes to which they were invariably directed, raise the fair fame of the Cardian above all contemporary renown. The fate of Eumenes involved that of Eudamus, Cephalo, and Antigenes; the only generals who disdained submission to Antigonus. Antigenes, who maintained unshaken loyalty amidst the unanimous defection of the Argyraspides, was distinguished by the inhuman cruelty of his punishment: being nailed up in a coffer, he was burnt alive.[75] The monster, who perpetrated this

[74] Diodor. l. xix. s. 44.

[75] Id. ibid. Two stories are told of Antigenes, which, though little honourable to him in other respects, serve to account for his invincible loyalty. When Alexander paid the debts of his soldiers, Antigenes pretended to owe a larger sum than was really due by him, and got a banker or merchant, accompanying the army, to attest his lie by a false receipt. The fraud was detected; Antigenes was cashiered; but his disgrace being likely to break his heart, Alexander restored him to his rank, and even desired him to retain the money, that had overcome his honesty, as the reward of his conspicuous valour. Plut. in Alexand. p. 590. On another occasion, Antigenes procured his registration among the old and

horrid enormity, celebrated with decent sorrow the obsequies of Eumenes; and sent his ashes, enclosed in a silver urn, to his disconsolate wife and deploring kindred.[76]

wounded, who were to be conducted back to Greece. The king, unwilling to part with him, desired to know his real motive for wishing to retire. Antigenes acknowledged that he could not bear separation from Telesippé. "Who," Alexander said, "is the woman, and to whom does she belong?" Antigenes answered, "She belongs to no one, but is her own mistress." "That being the case," rejoined the king, "we shall contrive means for making her remain with us." Plutarch de Fortun. Alexand. l. ii. p. 339.

[76] Plut. and Diodor.

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Antigonus usurps the Protectorship. — His cruel Policy. — He destroys the Argyraspides. — Murders Python and Peucestes. — Invades Babylonia. — Seleucus's Flight into Egypt. — Wars in Lesser Asia, in Greece, and in Thrace. — Antigonus's vast Projects. — Battles of Gaza and Myons. — Egyptians expelled from Syria. — Nabathæan Arabs. — Their History and Institutions. — Ill Success of Demetrius against them. — Seleucus recovers Babylonia. — Æra of the Kingdom of the Greeks. — General Peace.

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Antigonus usurps the protectorship in Asia. Olymp. cxvi. 1. B. C. 316.

FROM the death of Alexander to that of Eumenes, only eight years had elapsed; but that narrow span is wonderfully magnified in fancy, by the multiplicity of events, the variety of actors, and the importance of revolutions. The protectoral sceptre, which had been feebly sustained by the old age of Antipater, which had trembled in the hands of Python and Aridæus, and which had just dropped from those of Polysperchon, was a two-edged and bloody sword when wielded by Perdiccas and by Antigonus, respectively the first, and last, who held it. When Polysperchon appointed Eumenes imperial commander in Asia, he promised to assist him, if necessary, with a great European army. But he was so little qualified to fulfil this promise, that he soon found his inability to defend Macedon

itself against the activity of Cassander. The destruction of Eumenes, and the disgrace of Polysperchon, thus enabled Antigonus to avail himself of his obsolete commission from Antipater, of lieutenant to the protector in the East; with this, he immediately usurped the whole power of the protectorship itself[1], and abused it, as we shall see presently, with daring injustice and execrable cruelty.

Occupies the district of Ragas in Media.

Having reinforced his army with the treacherous deserters from Eumenes, he determined to quit the inhospitable mountains of Elymais, and to winter in Media. In that noble province, he took up his quarters in a village near Ecbatana containing a royal palace[2], and distributed the greater part of his troops in the fertile district of Ragas above mentioned, a name probably derived from the oriental Raga[3], but

[1] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 48.

[2] Diodorus, xix. 44. At Kungawur, distant forty-five miles from Ecbatana on the way to Kermanshah, there are ruins of an edifice of great extent, and constructed with extraordinary solidity. The parts of the walls which remain are built of large hewn stones. Trunks of seven pillars are still standing, and fragments are scattered in every direction. The natives of the village say, that there were once four hundred of these pillars, and that the palace was originally built by the Gins, or Genii. Kinneir's Memoir, p. 129. The distance of Kungawur from Ecbatana, 19 schoeni, agrees exactly with that of the village of Koncobar, as given by Isidore of Charax. It was famous for a temple of Diana. In the road between Kungawur and Kermanshah, there is an overhanging rock, Besittoon, with carved figures and inscriptions, which, from a circumstance told of Semiramis in her march to Ecbatana, have been ascribed to that queen. Comp. Diodorus, xix. 110. Otter, i. c. 17.

[3] Translated Rages, book of Tobit, c. i. v. 14. & c. iv. v. i.

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believed by the Greeks to denote the *rending*[4] earthquake, which totally changed the aspect of the circumjacent country; levelling mountains, scooping out lakes, obstructing rivers, and producing new mountains, lakes, and rivers, in the stead of those which had vanished. This earthquake is said to have overwhelmed many cities[5], and two thousand villages. The labours of man were repaired; but the changes in the face of nature have been permanent, and not altogether useless, could we believe that the important defile, called the Caspian Gates, connecting that inland sea with the central provinces of Asia, was the salutary effect of this dreadful convulsion.[6]

Destruction of the Argyraspides.

Immediately after his inglorious victory, Antigonus had punished with death the intrepid fidelity of Antigenes. Other loyalists of less renown shared the same fate, particularly Eudamus, who commanded the detachment from India. While he thus punished his enemies, he determined also to disencumber himself of all suspicious friends. The *Argyraspides*, to whose treachery he was so deeply indebted, were artfully disembodied; and committed in divisions to Sibyrtius, governor of Arachosia, and other obscure satraps, with strict injunctions, that their courageous old age should be consumed by

[4] Ραγας, fissura, Strabo, l. xi. p. 783.

[5] Πολεις συχνας. Diodorus, l. xix. s. 46. and Strabo, l. i. p. 105. & l. xi. p. 783.

[6] See D'Hankerville, Origine des Arts de la Grece, v. ii. c. 2.

danger and labour, so that they might never again collect into any formidable force. In this manner an important division of the veteran army of Alexander melted away in Asia, without obtaining its fond wish of revisiting the beloved shores of Greece and Macedon.[7]

Deception and death of Python.

Antigonus had been joined by two generals of the name of Python; one son to Crateas, the other to Agenor. The son of Agenor reinforced, as we have seen, his old friend Antigonus, at the same time that Eudamus, joint superintendant over Indian affairs, brought a considerable addition to the royal army. This Python continued thenceforward a stedfast adherent to Antigonus, and was one of his ablest officers. But Python, the son of Crateas, who had formerly shared the protectorship, and recently, as governor of Media, had aspired to empire in the East, was not of a temper to act tamely a second part. While Antigonus occupied the fertile country adjacent to Ragas, Python fixed his quarters at a distance near the southern extremity of Media; and availing himself of the resources of a country, in which he had many adherents, began to cabal against a master whose cruelty to others he had witnessed, and whose speedy vengeance he was himself destined

[7] Polyænus, l. iv. c. 6. Voc. Antigon. Diodorus, l. xix. s. 48. Plutarch in Eumen. vers. finem. Diodorus observes, "that impious deeds, however useful to men in power, as subservient to their ambition, generally prove ruinous to the instruments by whom they are perpetrated."

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to experience. The crafty tyrant affected to disbelieve any unfavourable reports of so gallant an officer, and so meritorious a coadjutor. He industriously announced his intention of marching into Lower Asia, and rewarding the services of his friend with supreme command in the eastern provinces. This purpose was declared to Python himself, in a letter containing warm expressions of affection, and presenting to his lofty thoughts the most bewitching prospects. Caught in a snare into which the blindness of ambition only could have fallen, Python hastened to join the standard of Antigonus, and to meet his fate. In one short day, he was accused, condemned, and executed. His rich satrapy was bestowed on Orontabates, a Mede, controuled, however, by the Macedonian Hippastratus, commanding three thousand five hundred of his warlike countrymen. Having made this arrangement for governing the finest province of the empire, Antigonus proceeded to Ecbatana, the capital of Media, drew five thousand talents from the treasury in its citadel, and prepared for a laborious march of twenty-five days to Pasagarda, the imperial district of Persia.[8]

Antigonus's march to Susa through Persis—

Peucestes, the satrap of that country, had no sooner learned the defection of the Argyraspides after Eumenes's last battle, than he surrendered himself to Antigonus with ten thousand

[8] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 46.

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destruction of Peucestes. Olymp. cxvi. 1. B. C. 316.

Persians. He now accompanied the conqueror in firm hopes of being reinstated by him in his province. But Antigonus had far other views; in which he was confirmed on beholding the populousness and plenty of this favoured land, which, under the Persian dynasty, had been cherished with paternal affection, and adorned with royal munificence. Its inhabitants, ostentatious and vain of their pre-eminence, delighted in the expensive splendour of Peucestes, which recalled to them the memory of their ancient kings. Notwithstanding many odious vices, the satrap of Persia had carefully followed Alexander's maxim of respecting the habits, and even humouring the prejudices, of his subjects. His adoption of their dress and fashions gained him great popularity. Antigonus therefore determined that this satrap should no longer govern them. Asclepiodorus, a creature of his own, was substituted to Peucestes: the change excited faint murmurs among a people enured to despotism; while the deposed governor himself, partly deceived by vain hopes, and partly intimidated through Antigonus's resistless power, condescended to follow the standard of his oppressor towards Susiana[9], and is thenceforward unnoticed in history. Python and Peucestes were officers of the highest rank in Alexander's service; the latter being a *life-guard*, and the former both a *life-guard* and *companion*. The

[9] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 48.

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bounties of their discerning master, together with the boldness and enterprise by which they had deserved them, are the only topics in their favour: their name was high as soldiers; but in prudence and sagacity they were far surpassed by Seleucus, a much younger man than either, and who now formed the main obstacle to Antigonus's designs in the East.

Antigonus soothes Seleucus, and gets possession of the Susian fortress — its riches.

Before leaving Persia, that crafty usurper made a new distribution of the provinces, artfully confirming in their authority all those satraps whom his arm was unable to reach. With this view he wrote in friendly terms to Oxyartes, father-in-law to Alexander, who commanded in Paropamisus, as well as to Stasander and Tlepolemus, respectively governors of the outlying countries of Bactria and Carmania; although the forces of all these satraps had served against himself under Eumenes in the royal army. To Seleucus, he assigned not only Babylonia, already in his possession, but annexed to it the contiguous province of Susiana. This valuable portion of the rich Assyrian plain had been proposed by Polysperchon as a reward to Antigenes, commander of the Argyraspides; who, it was intended, should obtain the satrapy of Susiana, as soon as his successful co-operation with Eumenes had suppressed Antigonus's rebellion. But the cruel punishment of the intended governor had made room for the annexation just mentioned. Antigonus now marched in a peaceful manner towards the possessions of a man whom he had

so greatly benefited, and was met on the banks of the Pasitigris, by Zenophilus, commander of the Susian citadel, who, at the express desire of Seleucus, came to put into the hands of the new protector the keys of that strong-hold. Antigonus gladly accepted a present of which he knew the full value. He treated Zenophilus with distinguished regard, and proceeded with him to his fortress, from whence he carried away fifteen thousand talents. He had collected ten thousand talents in Media and Persia; so that the whole of his pecuniary acquisitions fell little short of seven millions sterling. They consisted in silver, and were transported on camels.[10]

Antigonus marches to Babylonia. — Seleucus's flight to Egypt. Olymp. cxvi. 2. B. C. 315.

In twenty-two days, he marched from Susa to Babylon. In the latter city he was honoured by Seleucus with royal presents, and his whole army was entertained with unbounded hospitality. But, on the slight pretence of an injury done by Seleucus to one of his officers, he chose to be much offended, and demanded from the Babylonian satrap an account of his revenues. Seleucus saw that celerity was requisite to avoid the fate of Python and Peucestes. He escaped in the night with forty horsemen, and by rapid journeys travelled above nine hundred miles to seek the protection of Ptolemy in Alexandria.[11] Antigonus did not at first endeavour to intercept his flight: it seemed a piece of good fortune to

[10] Diodor. l. xix. s. 48.

[11] Appian, Syriac. cap. 55. and Diodorus, l. xix. s. 55.

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have rid himself so easily of an enemy, whose mild government had endeared him to the Babylonians. He was now master of the rich central provinces of Asia. In Europe, Cassander was his ally. Ptolemy might reign in Egypt and Cyrené, and from thence extend his arms over the barren sands of Libya. Lysimachus might consolidate his bleak and barbarous kingdom of Thrace. But from the Grecian sea to the Indus, Antigonus was determined to allow of no power but his own; to crush every obnoxious vassal, to break every unbending rival. These lofty thoughts were however abashed by the Chaldæan priests who had prophesied to Seleucus the empire of Asia. When Antigonus learned this prediction, though less enslaved by superstition than most of his contemporaries, he instantly sent a nimble detachment of cavalry in pursuit of the fugitives. But Seleucus and his attendants, carried on the wings of fear, escaped its grasp, and arrived safely in Egypt, where they were received with open arms by Ptolemy, who readily joined with Seleucus in an embassy to Lysimachus and Cassander, arraigning the tyranny of Antigonus, the common and unrelenting foe of all who enjoyed any pre-eminence in the empire.[12]

Asander's successful opposition to Antigonus in Les-

Ptolemy's conduct may have been influenced by that compassion for Seleucus, to which it is wholly ascribed by historians: but the character

[12] Appian, Syriac. cap. 55. and Diodorus, l. xix. s. 55.

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of Ptolemy, whose humanity was never at variance with sound policy, combined with the condition of Lower Asia at that crisis, will reveal to us a less generous but more vigorous motive. During the three years that Antigonus had pursued his victorious career in the great countries of the East, Asander, governor of Caria, the most considerable enemy that he had left behind him in the Asiatic peninsula, had maintained an unremitted and successful struggle not only for keeping possession of his valuable province, but for extending his authority over Lycia and other parts of the contiguous coast.[13] Encouraged by repeated advantages over Antigonus's generals, he had even penetrated into the heart of the peninsula, and aspired to the complete conquest of Cappadocia.[14] The events of this warfare, forming but a subordinate plot in the bloody drama, are not circumstantially described. It appears, however, that the operations in Lower Asia had been carried on by sea as well as by land, and that the maritime enterprises of Asander had been peculiarly fortunate; since Antigonus at his return to Cilicia found scarcely a single galley remaining of the large and victorious fleet of which he was in possession, three years before, at his departure from the sea-coast in pursuit of Eumenes.

ser Asia. Olymp. cxvi. 2, B. C. 315.

Ptolemy, who was well acquainted with these

Ptolemy's motives for

[13] Diodor. l. xix. s. 75. calls him master of Asia, ὁ της Ασιας κυριευων. Conf. l. xix. s. 62.

[14] Id. 58. et seq.

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raising opposition to Antigonus.

transactions, in which, perhaps, he had secretly co-operated, also knew that Antigonus's power would be strenuously exerted for recovering his lost dominions in the peninsula, and for raising a new fleet. For attaining both purposes, his readiest means would be the invasion of Cæle-Syria and Phœnicia, provinces that would lie at the mercy of the great army accompanying Antigonus from the East; and which, by supplying transports or the materials for constructing them in any number, would enable him more easily to crush Asander in Caria and Lycia by invading the sea-coast, than by laborious marches across the mountains. But Cæle-Syria and Phœnicia were essential appendages to Egypt, if Egypt ever aspired to become a great maritime power. In espousing the cause of Seleucus, Ptolemy, therefore, was in fact providing for the defence of his own. He foresaw the evils ready to assail him, and created a confederacy to resist them.

Mutual embassies between Antigonus and his enemies. Olymp. cxvi. 2. B. C. 315.

Meanwhile, Antigonus, as if he had felt similar alarms to those which he inspired, sent ambassadors to Cassander with a view to consolidate more firmly the alliance long subsisting between them. He dispatched others to Ptolemy and Lysimachus, desiring a continuance of their amity, and explaining in the most favourable manner whatever might appear criminal in his late proceedings in the East. But while he seemed thus to invite their friendship, he made vigorous preparations for resisting their hostility. Having placed Python, the son of Agenor, in

the vacant satrapies of Seleucus, Antigonus marched towards Cilicia, drew from the fortress of Kuinda ten thousand talents, collected eleven thousand[15] from the governors recently appointed by him in the East, and hastened towards Syria[16] to carry into execution his designs against that country. In his progress thither, he was overtaken by ambassadors from the allied princes. They explained the demands of their respective masters. Seleucus demanded the restitution of his provinces. Ptolemy required that his right to Syria should be acknowledged. Lysimachus insisted on the annexation of the Lesser Phrygia to Thrace, that he might command both sides of the Hellespont. Asander[17], satrap of Caria, who had heartily entered into the confederacy, was determined to maintain his conquests in Lycia and Cappadocia. Cassander, recently in alliance with Antigonus, to whom chiefly he owed his great success in Macedon and Greece, appeared contented with his possessions in these countries; but joined with the allies in urging one most important point, that the sums of money taken from the royal treasuries should be faithfully accounted for and equitably divided.[18] To these

[15] The two sums collectively exceed the value of 4,000,000*l.*

[16] Historians speak of Syria in general, not mentioning, without necessity, its divisions into Syria Proper, Cæle-Syria, Palæstinian Syria, and Phœnicia.

[17] His name is so written by Arrian apud Phot. p. 226. The transcribers of Diodorus write Cassander, which has given occasion to the general error of making one person of two men, whose parts in history were extremely different, and each highly important.

[18] Diodor. l. xix. s. 57.

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Antigonus's final answer to the confederates. Olymp. cxvi. 2. B.C. 315.

multifarious demands Antigonus made one general and short answer, "he was actually marching against Ptolemy, and after he had settled his differences with that satrap, would proceed in due time to deal with his perfidious and insolent confederates." As the ambassadors were departing from Antigonus, they were met by his son Demetrius, then in his nineteenth year, just returned from hunting. Slightly regarding the strangers, and without laying aside his javelins, Demetrius flew to embrace his father: "Tell this also," said the old man, "at your return to your several masters, that they may know on what terms I live with my son;" an observation expressive of the odious character of the times, when fathers feared to be embraced by their armed children, and prophetic, according to the superstition of antiquity, of the wonderful harmony that afterwards prevailed in the family of Antigonus, which reigned an hundred and twenty years in Macedon with only one example of parricide.[19]

Importance of that transaction.

The transaction just related, though conducted with little formality, was attended with momentous consequences, whether we regard the vastness of their extent, or the length of their duration. In Antigonus's answer to the embassy of the allied princes, the knot was tied of a memorable drama, involving the fortunes of mankind from the Hadriatic to the

[19] Plutarch in Demet. The word parricide is used in its large acceptation; for the last Philip of Macedon, to whom Plutarch alludes, killed his son.

Indus, and from the frozen banks of the Danube to the scorching sands of Libya. The conflict, after being maintained a dozen years with no less dexterity than energy, terminated in the establishment of four independent monarchies; Syria, Egypt, Thrace, and Macedon; whose transactions with each other, and with foreign nations until their successive reduction under the Parthian and Roman power, serve to impress some of the most useful lessons and salutary warnings that are to be found in the whole series of ancient or modern history.

Antigonus conquers Syria and Phœnicia, and prepares a naval force. Olymp. cxvi. 2. B. C. 315.

After his haughty answer to the ambassadors, Antigonus hastened to Syria to make good his threats. The whole of that country lay at the mercy of his invading army, except the strong towns, Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza; the first of which, though sacked only eighteen years before, had again recovered such a share of its ancient commerce and opulence as enabled it to stand a siege of fourteen months. The other cities were surrendered by their feeble Egyptian garrisons; but from the situation of Tyre, formerly described, it could not be taken without a fleet, essential also to the other designs which Antigonus then meditated. For creating a navy with celerity, capacious dock-yards were erected at Tripolis, Byblos, and Sidon; copiously supplied with timber from the waving ridges of Libanus, covered in every age of antiquity with cedars, cypresses, and the more useful pine. By the labour of eight thousand men, and a thousand yoke of oxen, the

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forest was transported to the sea-shore. The Phœnicians were ordered to collect from all parts of their country their workmen in wood and iron. The three cities above-mentioned glowed with the ardour of naval preparation. The harbours and docks of Cilicia were amply stored with timber from the neighbouring ridges of Taurus: while the island of Rhodes, which had begun within a narrow circuit to exhibit a wonderful extent of commercial and productive industry, was furnished with imported materials for exercising the activity of its shipwrights in the lucrative service of a prince who lavished his oriental spoils, to call forth every exertion that wealth can purchase.[20]

Arrangement of the transactions in the complicated war of four years.

In thus preparing to form fleets fit to cope with those of Greece, of Macedon, and above all of Egypt, wonderfully improved in maritime affairs by Ptolemy during the seven years in which he had been master of Syria, Antigonus determined to avail himself to the utmost of his natural advantages over a confederacy, in the prompt execution of his designs, as well as in the systematic harmony with which they were concerted. The inland parts of Syria were ordered to provide two millions and seven hundred thousand bushels of wheat[21], at which he estimated the annual consumption of his army. Besides an ample provision of troops and treasures, he enjoyed that without which

Antigonus's lieutenants.

[20] Conf. Appian, Syriac. c. 58. Diodor. l. xix. s. 58.

[21] I reckon six bushels for each *Sicilian* medimnus, by which it is probable that Diodorus, himself a Sicilian, would compute.

all other warlike resources are of little avail, able commanders both by sea and land: Nearchus, the illustrious Cretan navigator; Andronicus the Olynthian; Idomeneus, Agesilaus, Medius, Bæotus, Macedonians educated in the school of Alexander; with his favourite son Demetrius, and his nephews Dioscorides and Ptolemy; youths born for war, and carefully formed to it under the eye of a watchful though indulgent master. With such ready instruments, he began to assail his enemies wherever they were most vulnerable. His nephew, Ptolemy, in whose abilities he had great confidence, was sent with other generals to dispossess Asander of Cappadocia; and after performing this service, to proceed towards the Hellespont, with a view to guard the narrow seas against Cassander and Lysimachus. Agesilaus sailed to Cyprus to detach that valuable island from the confederacy. Idomeneus had formerly succeeded in a similar design at Rhodes: while Aristodemus the Milesian, peculiarly qualified for the errand by his talent in buffoonery and adulation and address, carried large sums into Greece for the purposes of recruiting and bribery; and of gaining by every expedient Polysperchon, his son Alexander, and all men naturally hostile to the authority of Cassander in that country.[22] By means of these and other engines, seconded by numerous bodies of troops, as fast as transports could be provided for con-

[22] Diodor. l. xix. s. 57.

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veying them, Antigonus kindled a war that lasted four years, in Lesser Asia, Greece, Thrace, and Syria; and then terminating in an hasty and perfidious accommodation, broke out with renewed violence in all those countries to which it had formerly extended. The important transactions in the first part of this complicated drama will arrange themselves perspicuously, if we shift their respective scenes in the order just given, beginning with Lesser Asia, and ending with Syria, because the events in one country grew out of those in another, and a single unfortunate incident in the Syrian war occasioned such a revolution in the Eastern provinces as inclined Antigonus to peace, though on all sides victorious.

War in Lesser Asia. — Gallant exploit of Polycleitus, Ptolemy's admiral. Olymp. cxvi. 2. B. C. 315.

Asander, the stubborn enemy of Antigonus in Asia Minor, was besieging Amisus in Pontus, when a strong division of the Syrian army drove him from that city. His ally, Zipætes the Bithynian, was compelled to raise the siege of Chalcedon, and to request pardon from the generals of Antigonus. The forces of this prince expelled the enemy from their strong-holds in Pontus and Cappadocia, and recovered for their master the northern shores of the peninsula. But Asander still defended himself with such vigour on its western and southern coasts, as excited the warmest exertions of the confederates in his defence, and thereby baffled, during two years that Antigonus was employed in other undertakings, the skill and enterprise of his nephew Ptolemy and other able commanders. Ptolemy,

the satrap of Egypt, whose fleet as yet far surpassed that of Antigonus, assisted Asander with ten thousand mercenaries. Soon afterwards, his admiral Polycleitus surprised succours not less considerable, that were advancing to reinforce the enemy. At Aphrodisias, a port of Cilicia, so named from its temple of Venus, Polycleitus learned that an armament, equipped by Antigonus in Rhodes, and accompanied by a land force, was advancing eastward from Lycia to co-operate in the expulsion of Asander from the neighbouring coast. By a stratagem, skilfully concerted and dexterously executed, Polycleitus made himself master of both fleet and army. The whole of his marines were posted in ambuscade in a defile through which the enemy had to march. His fleet was carefully concealed behind the Cilician promontory of Anemurium. Perilaus, who commanded Antigonus's soldiers, fell into the snare. He was made prisoner, and his troops either taken or slain. Suspecting some disaster from circumstances which the smallness of the intervening distance enabled him to observe, Theodotus, the co-operating admiral, hastened to land with his fleet to defend the intercepted army. But while he precipitately pushed to shore, Polycleitus with his ready squadrons darted from their concealment, and completed the defeat of men already half conquered by surprise and terror. The admiral of Antigonus was mortally wounded; all his ships were captured. Polycleitus pursued his voyage to Cyprus, whither he was destined,

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and thence to Pelusium in Egypt, loaded with military and naval trophies.[23]

Rivalled by an exploit of young Ptolemy, Antigonus's nephew.

This successful stratagem was balanced by an exploit equally brilliant on the side of Antigonus. Cassander of Macedon was not less diligent than Ptolemy of Egypt, in assisting their common ally. He had furnished Asander with a great reinforcement in the beginning of winter, at which time, young Ptolemy, Antigonus's nephew, who conducted the war in Caria, having cantoned his troops in their separate quarters, was piously employed in performing with much solemnity the funeral of his father, a man altogether unknown in history, except from the filial duty and conspicuous merit of his son. Elated with the great succours recently received, Asander, who had learned his adversary's security, hoped to surprise his cantonments. For this purpose, eight thousand foot, with a proportional body of cavalry, were entrusted to Eupolemus; a general, whose auspicious name[24] ill accorded with the malignancy of his fortune. The vigilant Ptolemy was seasonably apprised of the enemy's design. From the nearest quarters he collected a force with such expedition, that he was enabled to surprise those who had approached to surprise him. Towards the dusk of evening, he advanced with silence and celerity, and at midnight assailed the hostile camp, slightly fortified, and altogether unguarded. Eupolemus and his men were made prisoners of war.[25]

[23] Diodor. l. xix. s. 62. [24] Good in war. [25] Diodor. l. xix. s. 68.

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Seleucus commanding the Egyptian, braves the Syrian fleet. Olymp. cxvi. 2. B. C. 315.

The principal circumstance that enabled Asander to keep his ground on both coasts of the peninsula, was the great superiority of the Egyptian fleet. Amidst the important affairs in which his own activity was employed, Ptolemy committed a hundred sail to his warlike guest Seleucus, whose versatile talents were alike qualified for military and naval command. While Antigonus was busily employed in constructing ships in the Phœnician seaports, and in reducing the few places that still held out against him in that neighbourhood, Seleucus, in a fleet splendidly equipped, sailed northward from Egypt towards Asia Minor, braving contumeliously the hostile coast of Syria. The sight of this magnificent fleet damped the ardour of men, still occupied in preparation, encouraged the enemies of Antigonus, and disheartened his allies. But the alacrity of a general, grown old in victory, was not to be repressed by this ostentation of superiority. With his usual boldness of asseveration, he swore, that within a year's time, he would have five hundred sail ready to put to sea.[26] In that short interval, he actually equipped two hundred and seventy ships of war, most of which exceeded the ordinary rate of trireme galleys, and were impelled by four, five, nine, and even ten banks of oars. Till this time, penteremes, or ships with only five banks, were the largest known to antiquity. Antigonus at once doubled this number; and thereby augmented their size

[26] Diodor. l. xix. s. 58.

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in a far greater proportion. These vast floating machines were the contrivance of his son Demetrius, then in his twenty-first year.[27]

Antigonus's march to Celænæ, in Phrygia.

When his preparations were completed, Antigonus, tired with the unsuccessful warfare carried on by his generals in Lesser Asia, determined to take the field in person against Asander. His son Demetrius was left to command in Syria: Medius was entrusted with his fleet; with the flower of his army, Antigonus marched towards the Grecian sea. It was the heart of winter; the cold was extreme; and in crossing the defiles of mount Taurus, in Cilicia, his army was assailed by a snowy tempest, which buried many brave men under its cold weight. The remainder, after being long retarded by the uncommon severity of the weather, at length pursued their comfortless and dreary way through the neighbouring mountains of Isauria, till the Greater Phrygia, and particularly the dry district of Celænæ received them into its warm and hospitable bosom.[28]

He defeats and ruins Asander, satrap of Caria. Olymp. cxvi. 4. B. C. 313.

In the Celænæan territory, whose fruitfulness was cherished by subterranean fires[29], Antigonus fixed his head-quarters while he remained in the peninsula of Asia. From thence he sent reinforcements as well as orders to his distant generals, and in the beginning of spring assailed Asander of Caria so vigorously by sea and land,

[27] Plutarch in Demet.

[28] Diodor. l. xix. s. 69. Conf. Dion. Chrysost. Orat. l. xxxv. p. 432.

[29] Strabo, l. xii. p. 579.

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that the obstinacy of this rebellious satrap, as Antigonus affected to represent him, was compelled to surrender all his conquests on the coast as well as in the midland country. Asander was thus confined to his original province of Caria; and for his dutiful behaviour there, condescended to give his brother Agathon as a hostage. Shortly afterwards he repented of his submission; and having enabled his brother to escape from the hands of Antigonus, again applied to his former confederates. Provoked at these acts of treachery[30], Antigonus invaded Caria by land, while his admiral Medius, and young Ptolemy, now serving in the fleet, assailed the numerous cities on its deeply indented shores. The whole province was completely subdued. The fate of Asander is unknown: if he did not fall in battle, he probably sank into a private station, since his name does not occur in the treaty of peace which was concluded the following year, and in which Antigonus was acknowledged by the confederates as sovereign of all Asia.

War in Greece against Cassander. Olymp. cxvi. 3. B. C. 314.

The war in the Asiatic peninsula, thus terminated by the ruin of Asander, had been supported by powerful reinforcements from his allies. Antigonus therefore, while he endeavoured to weaken the exertions of Lysimachus and Ptolemy, by means that will hereafter be described, was peculiarly diligent in finding such employment for Cassander at home, as

[30] Diodor. l. xix. p. 75.

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should prevent him from looking abroad, and taking part in the Asiatic warfare. Aristodemus, the Milesian, carried large sums of money into Greece, and procured from the degenerate Spartans the permission of recruiting in their territory. He was soon at the head of eight thousand mercenary Greeks of Peloponnesus; while his emissaries stimulated to inroads into Macedon the fierce Etolians, the warlike Epirots, the barbarous and greedy Illyrians and Triballi. Aristodemus also gained the friendship of Polysperchon and his son Alexander, who respectively held Corinth and Sicyon. The former was declared general in Peloponnesus; the latter had instructions to repair to Antigonus, then in Syria.

Accusations urged against him by Antigonus.

Upon the arrival of Alexander in the camp, the Macedonians there, were joined by their countrymen in the neighbouring cities and garrisons. In this assembly of the nation, for those who remained in their own country in Europe were disregarded in comparison with the armies who had conquered Asia, Cassander was arraigned as the persecutor of the royal family, as the murderer of Olympias, as the violator of Thessalonica, and as the usurper of royal power, which he glaringly displayed in the city Cassandria, insolently called by his name. Vengeance was denounced against him, unless he instantly released Alexander Ægus and his mother from their confinement, and in all things complied with the orders of Antigonus, the

protector of that young prince, and of the empire.

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By the same decree, *unconditional freedom* was restored to every city of Greece, implying thereby the restoration of its ancient equitable laws, and a complete exemption from contributions and garrisons. Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, returned with this decree into Greece, and with large sums of money to facilitate its execution. Through his exertions and those of Aristodemus, Cassander, whom they branded as a traitor and a murderer, was deprived of most of his possessions in the Peloponnesus, and was on the point of losing the whole of that peninsula, when he found means of gaining[31] the treacherous son of Polysperchon, and thus converting the zealous patriot, and indignant accuser, into a partisan of the very man, whom he had recently and publicly reproached with the most enormous crimes. The perfidious Alexander did not live to obtain the reward promised him in the generalship of all Peloponnesus. He was slain at Sicyon, by persons who called themselves his friends.[32] An insurrection of the citizens ensued, which was quelled by Cratisipolis, the wife of Alexander, a woman distinguished by her beauty and her gallantries, but not less by her craft and courage.

Cassander gains the son of Polysperchon.

The defection of her unworthy husband only delayed the success of Antigonus. By this time

Great success of Ptolemy.

[31] Diodor. l. xix. p. 75. [32] Diodor. ibid. s. 69.

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Antigonus's nephew, in Greece. Olymp. cxvii. 1. B. C. 312.

the fleets of that prince were prepared for sea. Telesphorus, his general, sailed to Peloponnesus, with fifty galleys and a large army. Under pretence of giving freedom to that country, he expelled Cassander's garrisons, and replaced them with his own. Corinth indeed was still held by Polysperchon, to whom Cratisipolis had also resigned Sicyon. Except these cities, the rest of the peninsula lay entirely at the mercy of Telesphorus; and as Polysperchon had not joined in the defection of his son, the general of Antigonus might still regard him in the light of an ally, heartily united in animosity to Cassander their common enemy. Meanwhile, Aristodemus's intrigues and bribery began to operate in the northern divisions of Greece. The Etolians and Bœotians sent ambassadors to Antigonus, requesting his friendship. Young Ptolemy, whose presence was no longer necessary in Lesser Asia, hastened to protect them against Cassander with a fleet and army. He gained possession of Chalcis in Eubœa, the key to that island; he expelled the Macedonian garrison from Thebes; in Phocis and Locris, his arms were equally successful; the whole country, from the isthmus of Corinth to the straits of Thermopylæ, acknowledged his ascendency; and as he granted an alliance to Athens, still governed by Demetrius Phalereus, and treated with great mildness the places taken by force, as well as those which had yielded to persuasion, his authority over the persons of the Greeks, was strengthened by in-

terest in their affections.[33] Cassander, harassed in war by the Epirots and Illyrians, and threatened by invasion from Hellespontian Phrygia, was unable to prevent the farther ruin of his affairs in Greece, much less to repair past losses. Of all his former possessions in that country, Thessaly alone remained to him.

Frantic proceedings of Telesphorus.

Antigonus rejoiced in the happy exploits of his nephew; and without regarding the unequal merit of Telesphorus, entrusted Ptolemy with the sole administration in Greece. Telesphorus was enraged to madness by this disgrace. He determined no more to see his master; he sold the fleet committed to him; and when the Elians disapproved his proceedings, he entered their sacred city, seized the Olympic treasure, gained to him by bribes a body of adventurers as daring and desperate as himself, and prepared to defend the usurped dominion of Elis, by bridling it with a new citadel. From this inland capital, he extended his ravages to the Elian seaport of Cyllené, which was oppressed by his mercenaries; while the once-renowned Spartans, and other warlike states of Peloponnesus, remained tame spectators of the profanation of a consecrated territory, equally endeared and ennobled as the scene of their most revered religious solemnities. But that, which the Greeks had not spirit to do for themselves, was effected by a young Macedonian officer in the service of Antigonus. Upon the first intel-

Young Ptolemy's merit and success. Olymp. cxvii. 1. B.C. 312.

[33] Diodor. l. xix. s. 78.

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ligence of Telesphorus's frantic behaviour, Ptolemy hastened to Peloponnesus, expelled the outrageous oppressor from Elis and its territory, levelled his new citadel in the dust, replaced in the Olympian temple its dedicated treasure, and, together with their solitary harbour of Cyllené, restored to the peaceful Elians their ancient and sacred security.[34]

The issue of the war in Greece, highly favourable to Antigonus and his family.

In this manner the war in Greece terminated, not only to the advantage, but real glory of Antigonus. He thenceforward enjoyed in that country an influence, which, though it underwent great variations, descended to his posterity, and finally enabled his family to acquire, and long retain the crown of Macedon. History is silent as to the punishment of the sacrilegious Telesphorus; but even its silence attests the actual weakness of the Greeks, who, amidst the greatest insults, and in passing from one master to another, performed not any exploit worthy of commemoration; nor even attempted any thing distinguished by boldness of design.

War in Thrace also favourable to Antigonus. Olymp. cxvi. 4. B. C. 313.

Lysimachus, of Thrace, had joined in the league against Antigonus; and during the expedition of the latter into Upper Asia, had invaded Hellespontian Phrygia, with a view to appropriate that valuable province, so conveniently situate with regard to his own maritime possessions. Antigonus, however, at his return to the sea-coast, contrived to create such disturbances in Thrace itself, that its rapacious satrap

[34] Diodor. l. xix. s. 87.

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was unable to yield any assistance to the confederacy, or even to defend his acquisitions on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont. In addition to the hostility of the fierce Thracian mountaineers under their hereditary chieftains, Lysimachus experienced a revolt of the Greek cities, planted for the commercial purposes explained in a former part of this work, on the shores of the Euxine. Odessus, Calatis, and other places of less note from the eastern extremity of Mount Hæmus to the mouths of the Danube, expelled his garrisons and defied his vengeance. Calatis, a colony of Pontic Heraclæa, sustained a siege of several years, during which it was repeatedly succoured by Antigonus with fleets and armies. The friendly intercourse between this city, and the Scythians beyond the Danube, procured for it the powerful aid of those formidable Barbarians.[35] It is uncertain whether Lysimachus ever compelled the place to surrender; and shortly after his death, Calatis appears in the rank of an independent commonwealth, waging an obstinate war with Byzantium.[36]

Antigonus's prosperity and high designs.

Victorious in Thrace, in Greece, and in the peninsula of Asia, Antigonus imprudently rejected proposals for peace, which the allies separately made to him. He purposed to reduce them all to unconditional submission; and might have succeeded in this design, had not events in Syria, to which the transactions hitherto related

[35] Diodor. l. xix. s. 73. [36] Memnon apud Photium, c. 28.

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are but bloodless preludes, given a new turn to the war, and threatened the total ruin of his affairs. Shortly after his first invasion of Syria, he had taken Gaza and Joppa by assault. Tyre surrendered to his arms after a blockade of fourteen months. Thus master of the only places which had held out for Ptolemy, he considered Syria, a country of great resources, and now completely subdued, as peculiarly well calculated, from its central situation, for becoming the seat of an imperial capital, and the head of his vast monarchy in Europe and Asia. At his march towards the Grecian sea, he had left in that important province his son Demetrius with a considerable army, assisted by the councils of confidential friends and able generals; purposing, after he had settled affairs in the West, to return himself into Syria, and by an invasion from that quarter, to enlarge his extensive dominion by the fertility and wealth of Egypt.

Ptolemy invades Syria. Olymp. cxvii. 1. B.C. 312.

Ptolemy was not unacquainted with his views; but his first care had been to appease the troubles excited by the enemy in Cyrené. The cautious Egyptian satrap was slow to shew himself on the foreground of the war; but in proportion to his prudent delay, he appeared at length with higher dignity and more decisive effect. By means of his fleet, still superior, if not in strength, at least in skill and practice, he completed the conquest of Cyprus, whose harbours were conveniently situate for invading Syria and Cilicia. In the former country, he gained the seaport of Posideium, at the mouth of the

Orontes: in the latter, he carried with much bravery the strong fortifications of Mallos. Both places were plundered; their inhabitants were made slaves; and the districts dependent on them, which had been sources of copious supply to the enemy, were desolated by fire and sword. Young Demetrius, who had been left by his father to defend this central portion of his dominions, was not of a temper to see it wasted with impunity. Having collected his cavalry and light-armed troops, he hastened by forced marches into Cilicia: but if he had been provoked to learn the proceedings of his enemies in that province, he was still more mortified to find that they had withdrawn from it, carrying with them its rich spoils to Cyprus. To prevent some new disaster in Syria, on whose southern frontier he had reason to fear an invasion, he returned thither with such celerity that he is said to have accomplished an ordinary march of twenty-four days, in six only. Ptolemy, meanwhile, having assembled the military force of his province, was advancing to the frontier city of Pelusium, separated by a desert of an hundred and twenty miles from Gaza, the principal station of the enemy. His standard was followed by eighteen thousand foot, and four thousand horse, Macedonians or mercenaries. This regular army was attended by a crowd of Egyptians; merchants, purveyors, carriers, many of whom were armed after the comparatively awkward manner of their country. By means of precautions formerly described, the expeditious march

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through the desert was performed without danger. Emerging from this dreary ocean of sand, Ptolemy encamped[37] near a place called Old Gaza, distant a few miles from the city of the same name, demolished after a stubborn siege by Alexander, but afterwards more strongly fortified by that conqueror, and now garrisoned by the troops of Antigonus.

Demetrius prepares to give him battle.

In this neighbourhood, Demetrius collected fifteen thousand foot, five thousand horse, and forty elephants; his youthful mind glowing with impatience to meet his antagonist. In vain his experienced counsellors, Python the son of Agenor, and Bœotus the most intimate friend of his father, dissuaded him from risking an unnecessary battle against a superior army, commanded by such generals as Ptolemy and Seleucus. He was master, as they represented to him, of all the surrounding territory. The walls of Gaza, Tyre, Sidon, Joppa, and other fortified cities, afforded to him secure places of arms; from which, without endangering his high fortune, he might continually infest his opponents, beat up their quarters, intercept their convoys, cut off their advanced parties, and finally compel them to a retreat through the desert, equally ruinous and disgraceful. Neither Demetrius himself, nor the troops whom he commanded, were capable of listening to this salutary advice. His youth, his talents, and his temper, all conspired to inflame his hopes and pervert his

[37] Diodor. l. xix. s. 80.

judgment. Having summoned the soldiers that he might justify by their decision his own obstinate rashness, he mounted the military tribunal in complete and royal armour, and prepared to address the surrounding multitude. His air and aspect recalled to the Macedonians the image of Alexander. But in his twenty-second year, the son of Antigonus felt not that confidence in himself, and that inborn dignity, by which the son of Philip, at an earlier age, had challenged the submission of mankind. In the presence of so formidable an audience of armed veterans and experienced generals, all frowning disapprobation, his resolution began to shake, his countenance fell, and his memory forsook him. A great majority, however, of the troops, flushed with a long series of victories, encouraged him by their favourable acclamations to proceed. The light mind of Demetrius, animated by this mark of their affection, passed from timidity to transport. The hopes with which his own bosom panted, were communicated warm and entire to his hearers, while he exhorted them by every motive of honour, of interest, and of duty, to prepare for a battle, which must unalterably confirm their own fortunes and the stability of his father's empire.[38]

Battle of Old Gaza. Olymp. cxvii. 1. B.C. 312.

On the day of battle Demetrius posted his best troops on the left wing, and reinforced it by the elephants, with which kind of auxiliaries

[38] Plutarch in Demet.

CHAP. VI. the enemy had not provided themselves, because they well knew, it is said, that the African elephants could not be brought to engage those of India. The great body of his infantry formed the centre. His right wing contained the least serviceable part of the army, on which account it receded in a waving line from the hostile front; and its commander, Andronicus, was ordered to provoke a battle without attempting to sustain it. By the vigorous onset of his left, Demetrius hoped to make an impression the more decisive, because, according to the Macedonian arrangements above explained, the general with his select bands of cavalry never fought without some evident local reason in that quarter of the field. But Ptolemy and Seleucus, having discovered that Demetrius meant thereby to deceive them, moved from their left with three thousand chosen cavalry. The equestrian combat was animated and persevering; both sides having broken their lances had recourse to their swords; the companions of Alexander striving to preserve the laurels which they had dearly earned, and Demetrius, who only knew by report the glory of that prince, aspiring by his prowess in the present battle to equal the renown of the greatest captains. But unfortunately a part of his force in which he much confided, and which Alexander's better science disdained, principally occasioned his defeat. His elephants being roused to the charge advanced with seemingly resistless weight, when they were withstood, how-

ever, and rendered useless by a simple-enough defence, with which the Egyptians had the precaution to be provided. This was a sort of portable barrier, studded with iron spikes, and strongly connected by massy chains. When this moveable wall was thrown in the way of those fierce animals, it totally prevented them from using with effect their butting strength. From the huge weight of their bodies, their feet are comparatively weak and tender. Their assault is chiefly formidable on a smooth and soft ground. Disabled by the unevenness of their footing, and tortured by piercing spikes, they were exhausted by their own fury, while the Indians, who exerted their utmost skill in vainly endeavouring to govern them, were overwhelmed by missile weapons. This unexpected disaster dismayed Demetrius's left wing; and, together with it, drove his whole army into flight. Under this sad calamity, the desperate valour of the general was zealously seconded by Python and Bœotus, who strove by voice and arm to rally the fugitives. But their meritorious exertions only procured them an honourable death, since both fell gloriously while attempting with unequal strength to stem the torrent of pursuit. Their bravest companions shared the same fate. Demetrius, perceiving the battle irretrievably lost, fled northwards to Gaza, but was so closely pursued by the victors, that he could not safely enter that place. As many of his followers, however, had deposited there the whole of their effects, nothing could

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restrain them from endeavouring to recover their dearly-purchased booty. Rushing heedlessly into Gaza, they were followed by Ptolemy's cavalry, who thus augmented the number of their valuable captives, and gained possession of a strong city, containing the baggage of the whole army, together with the rich furniture and numerous domestics belonging to its commanders. Demetrius still pursued his flight northwards, until he was received within the friendly walls of Azotus, thirty miles distant from the field of battle.[39]

Vast loss on the part of Demetrius.

In this city he was apprised of the full extent of his misfortune: five thousand, principally horsemen, were slain; eight thousand, chiefly infantry, were made prisoners. The loss of trinkets and treasures in Gaza seemed of no account: His bravest soldiers, his beloved friends had fallen; and their bodies still lay unburied on the field of battle. To remove this last and worst disgrace, heralds were sent to Ptolemy, craving leave to inter the slain. Together with this permission, which it would have been impious to deny, the heralds brought back to Demetrius his camp-equipage and effects, and the sad remnant of his surviving friends, with a generous message from Ptolemy, "that he contended not for all things at once, with the son of his ancient partner in arms, and formerly faithful ally." Demetrius accepted his bounty, but implored the gods

[39] Diodor. l. xix. s. 81. et seq. & Plutarch in Demet.

that they would relieve him from a gratitude burdensome, because due to the enemy of his father.[40]

Irretrievable consequences of that battle.

His vow was heard; he was enabled in a short time to repay Ptolemy's favour. Yet the consequences of his defeat at Gaza were irretrievable, since it enabled Seleucus, while Demetrius was repairing his affairs in Syria, and Antigonus still busy in the peninsula, to regain possession of Babylonia, and thereby eventually to become master of Upper Asia. This memorable revolution will be circumstantially related, after we have concluded the less important transactions in Syria and its neighbourhood.

Ptolemy forgives the insults of Andronicus governor of Tyre.

From Azotus, in which Demetrius first found a short respite from the pursuers, he retreated northwards to Tripoli, thus abandoning to the enemy two hundred miles of the Syrian coast. Ascalon, Acca, Joppa, Samaria, and Sidon, opened their gates to the conqueror. Andronicus, who, having escaped from the battle of Gaza, had resumed his command in Tyre, ventured, however, not only to defend that place, but to answer Ptolemy's summons with insults. A revolt of the citizens compelled him to surrender. His brave resistance was praised, his insolent language was forgiven; and by this seasonable lenity Ptolemy acquired fair renown while he prudently converted a stubborn adversary into a zealous partisan.

[40] Diodor. l. xix. s. 81. et seq. & Plutarch in Demet.

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Demetrius surprises Ptolemy's general Killes, and completely defeats him. Olymp. cxvii. 1. B. C. 312.

Demetrius, with defeated troops but a mind undismayed, yielded not to that despondency too natural to youthful impatience under its first painful reverse. It was his character to harden under the blows of fortune. By one of those rapid marches in which he rivalled Alexander himself, he crossed mount Taurus, assembled the veteran garrisons in the eastern provinces of the peninsula, and appeared unexpectedly in the heart of Syria. Ptolemy, whose genius led him still more strongly to improve his dominions than to head armies, had entrusted the command in Syria to Killes, a general chosen, as it should seem, with little discernment, since he committed the greatest of all military errors, that of despising his enemies. In his march to encounter Demetrius, he advanced rashly, and encamped carelessly near the obscure town of Myons. His vigilant adversary, duly apprised of his security and negligence, led his army by divisions, through narrow and unfrequented paths; and by well-concerted movements, surprised at the hour of midnight Killes in his defenceless camp, gained a large booty, and made seven thousand prisoners. His success filled him with inexpressible joy, as the means of *disburdening* his gratitude to the Egyptian satrap. Killes, the confidential friend of Ptolemy, was instantly released; and, together with other officers of distinction, sent back to Egypt loaded with presents.[41]

[41] Conf. Diodor. l. xix. s. 93. & Plutarch in Demet.

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Meanwhile Antigonus having triumphed over his enemies in the West, moved from the Grecian sea to oppose Ptolemy in Syria. His approach, combined with the recent and ruinous disaster of Killes, filled the Egyptian satrap with alarm. The great army of Antigonus had hardened in many a victorious campaign, their admired commander, in a life of continued warfare, having passed his seventieth year without once losing a battle. Ptolemy's generals were ordered to evacuate Syria, that they might be ready to defend the fortresses of Egypt and the banks of the Nile.[42] In their retreat from the former province, they were followed by many of its inhabitants, particularly by many Jews, *the Syrians of Palæstine*, who preferred to their native country a residence in the flourishing capital of Alexandria, where their nation, adroit and hardy, had, as before related, been endowed by the discernment of Ptolemy, with many valuable immunities. In the number of Jewish emigrants, historians have distinguished Hezekiah, a chief priest, respectable for eloquence and wisdom; and Mosollam, a soldier, highly admired by the Greeks for his skill in archery and his valour; and who challenged their admiration more justly, by the contempt which he boldly expressed for their puerile superstition. In marching towards the Red Sea, a detachment, escorting the baggage, was suddenly stopped by orders of the soothsayer. Mosollam

The Egyptians evacuate Syria carrying with them many Jews.

Hezekiah and Mosollam.

[42] Conf. Diodor. l. xix. s. 93. & Plutarch in Demet.

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asked the reason of the halt. The augur desired him, and them all, to observe a bird at which he pointed. "Should this messenger of the gods," he said, "remain at rest, we ought likewise for the present to repose; if he rises and flies onward in the line of our march, we may then proceed with confidence; but should our sure guide take a contrary direction, we must then return to the place from whence we last came." The grave admonition was scarcely uttered, when an arrow flew from the unerring hand of Mosollam, and brought down the bird fluttering in its blood. The diviner and the whole Grecian detachment were moved with indignation. Amidst the blind rage of a capricious multitude, glory or disgraceful death depend on the decision of the moment. The Jew was saved by his presence of mind and intrepidity. "Your anger," he said, "is groundless. You think that the bird was acquainted with the destiny that awaits us and the whole army; yet the thoughtless little wanderer was plainly unconscious of its own fate, otherwise it would never have roved to this unfortunate spot, to be transfixed by the arrow of Mosollam the Jew."[48]

Why Hecatæus of Abdera and Jerom of Cardia treated the Jews so

From the conversation of the Jews now accompanying the Egyptian army, Hecatæus of Abdera, a Grecian colony on the coast of Thrace, was enabled to compose his elaborate and faithful history of a people whose transactions and

[48] Joseph. contr. Apion. l. i.

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differently in their respective histories.

institutions have been strangely disfigured by the vain prejudices of Greece, and more strangely overlooked or calumniated by the proud ignorance of Rome. Hecatæus of Abdera, as well as Jerom of Cardia, assiduously cultivated letters amidst the cares and labours of warfare; like Ptolemy, Eumenes, Aristobulus, and other generals of an age equally pre-eminent in arts and arms. After the death of Alexander, Hecatæus attached himself solely to Ptolemy; while the compliant Jerom followed successively the fortunes of Eumenes, Antigonus, and Seleucus; the first of whom was destroyed by the second, as was the second by the third. Under the empire of Seleucus, Jerom, who lived to the age of an hundred and four years, was employed as governor of Syria, in which Palæstine was included. Yet in his history of Alexander's immediate successors, it was remarked that Jerom had passed over the wonderful peculiarities of the Hebrew race in total and incomprehensible silence; a silence, however, that may in some measure be accounted for, if we consider that the natives of Judæa were either open enemies or reluctant subjects to the princes whom he tamely and anxiously served; whereas Hecatæus, being the friend of Ptolemy, the beloved protector of the Jews, deduced the memorable series of their exploits and sufferings from the age of Abraham to his own times [44]; a work, the

[44] Joseph. Antiq. l. i. c. 8. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. l. ix. and Origen. contr. Cels. l. i. p. 13.

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loss of which is the more unfortunate, because the religion and polity of Palæstine must have been placed in a light equally striking and new, by the candid impartiality of this curious and well-informed stranger.

Nabathæan Arabs.—Their character and pursuits.

Having thus recovered the undisputed possession of Syria, Antigonus, before invading the powerful satrapy of Egypt, determined to round, as it were, and fortify on all sides, the country which he had chosen for his imperial residence, the station for his fleet and army, and the centre from which his orders were to pervade the most distant provinces. The command of the intermediate deserts between Syria and Egypt, and a controul over their roving inhabitants, must have appeared also a necessary preparative for facilitating the conquest of Ptolemy's well-fortified dominions. The Nabathæan Arabs, inhabiting these deserts, formed a powerful branch of the great Nomadic nation, who, as formerly explained, served from immemorial antiquity for carriers in the commercial intercourse between Egypt and Phœnicia on one hand, and in that between Ethiopia and Assyria on the other. From the desolating wars that had long prevailed in all those countries, and especially from the downfall of Egyptian Thebes, Phœnician Tyre, and Assyrian Babylon, the traffic of the Nabathæans had greatly declined. But the natives of the wilderness in all ages compensated for the allotment of a sterile territory by the force of arms, as well as by the frauds of

trade.[45] Although they had given no particular provocation to Antigonus, it seemed sufficient that they were always able and willing to offend; and this consideration, conspired with other motives to precipitate him into an expedition, often undertaken by the greatest conquerors both before and afterwards, but in which it should seem that no laurels were destined ever to be won.

Their history and institutions.

The nature of the country, and not less the genius of the people, seemed peculiarly well fitted for repelling invasion. They derived their name from Nabaioth[46], the eldest of the sons of Ishmael, and are honourably distinguished by their ancestors, whose history is faithfully recorded[47] when that of the world consisted in the tradition of scattered families; and still more terribly conspicuous for the valorous enthusiasm of their descendants, since the concurring testimony[48] of Greeks and Barbarians entitles them to claim Mahomet for their own. Nine centuries before the Christian æra, their decaying institutions were restored to their primitive vigour, and thenceforward perpetuated under the most awful penalties. With submission to the stern laws of Jonadab, powerfully enforced by their country and climate, the Nabathæans

[45] Plin. l. vi. c. 32. Conf. Diodor. l. ii. s. 48.

[46] Genesis, c. xxv. v. 13. I follow the writing of the Septuagint.

[47] Genesis, passim.

[48] That of the Greek Theophanes, Chronograph. p. 277., and of the Syrian prince, and geographer Ishmael Abulfeda, in his Directorium Region. p. 11.

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abstained from practices elsewhere indifferent or meritorious; they neither built houses, nor planted fruit-trees, nor drank wine, nor sowed corn.[49] Amidst an ocean of sand, intersected by sharp rocks, they were without rivers to irrigate and fertilize their adust soil; and their wells were so scanty and precarious that the collected rain was carefully deposited in strong cisterns, whose mouths, constructed with artful concealment[50], were only discernible by the keenness of an Arabian eye. These were the hidden treasures of the desert, by which the Nabathæans supported their laborious lives, and from which they watered their weary flocks, conducting them, as occasion required, over wide intervals of barrenness to rare and meagre pastures, diversified chiefly by the spreading tamarind and hardy acacia. The Nabathæans lived wholly in tents; their food consisted in flesh and milk; their luxuries were pepper and honey[51]; sheep, camels, and horses formed their principal wealth; their first passion was to live independent and fearless, their second to inspire terror into all their neighbours.[52] Surrounded on three sides

[49] Jeremiah, c. xxxv. v. 8, 9. 2 Kings, c. x. v. 15. Conf. Diodor. l. xix. s. 94.

[50] The opening was small at top, but gradually enlarged in a quadrangular form. Each side of the square at bottom was sometimes a πλεθρον, that is, 100 feet long.

[51] I adopt Wesselingius's correction, και μελι απο των δενδρων. Polyænus, Ælian, and Aristotle, mention this wild honey found on the leaves of trees; the same substance on which St. John fed in the neighbouring wilderness. From whom the Arabs got their pepper, I formerly explained, p. 222.

[52] Diodor. l. xix. s. 94.

by the most flourishing nations of antiquity, they communicated on the south with the pastoral kingdom of Yemen, whose happy shores were enriched by precious aromatics. The myrrh and frankincense furnished at stated fairs by the southern tribes, the Nabathæans deposited in huge caverns, particularly those of the rock Petra, distant about an hundred miles from the Mediterranean, and half that number from the Dead Sea, called by the Greeks the lake Asphaltites. From these magazines, they supplied with spices and perfumes the commerce of Phœnicia, the luxury of Egypt, the magnificence of Assyria, and the costly superstition of all those countries, whose inhabitants they alternately over-reached in trade and plundered in war. [53]

Antigonus's expedition against them. Olymp. cxvii. 1. B. C. 312.

Antigonus, as master of part of the contiguous territories, and hoping shortly to engross the whole, determined to assail these common enemies; and by the terror of his arms, to render them subservient to his views. Having selected four thousand foot and six hundred horse, the best prepared for expedition, he waited till the Nabathæans travelled southward to one of the periodical fairs above-mentioned, after leaving only a slight guard at Petra, consisting chiefly of old men, to defend their wives, children, and most precious effects. Athenæus, who conducted the enterprise, in a forced march of thirty-six hours, surprised Petra; put its ob-

[53] Diodor. l. xix. s. 94. and l. ii. s. 48.

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stinate defenders to the sword; and returned towards Gaza loaded with much valuable merchandise, besides five hundred talents of silver and a crowd of young slaves. Before the military caravan had proceeded twenty miles on its route, the fatigue of a sandy road and the almost vertical blaze of the sun occasioned a hasty encampment, in the full confidence that little danger was to be apprehended from so distant an enemy. But the Arabs had already taken the alarm. Accustomed to clear skies and naked plains, their experienced eyes discerned from afar the faintest shadows of warriors to avoid, or travellers to plunder: and whether they wished to fight or fly, the velocity of their horses and dromedaries[54] was always ready to second their purpose. At their return to Petra, they learned from their fathers, yet weltering in blood, the full extent of their disaster; and they flew with fury to avenge it. To the number of eight thousand, they assailed the unguarded tents of the Macedonians; massacred part of them asleep, slew others as they roused from their slumber: the whole infantry perished; only fifty horsemen escaped, and these bleeding with their wounds.[55]

Its unfortunate issue.

Having satiated their revenge, the Arabs returned to Petra, and sent messengers to Antigonus, with a letter in the Syrian character, complaining of his cruel and unprovoked in-

Second expedition under his son Demetrius.

[54] I use this word to express the swiftest camels. Volney denies their two bunches. Voiage en Syrie.

[55] Diodor. l. xix. s. 95.

vasion.[56] The Macedonian dissembled his wrath, and loudly condemned Athenæus, who, without any orders from himself, had undertaken a mad and wicked enterprise, that had been justly punished. But while he thus endeavoured to lull the fear of the enemy, he equipped a new detachment far more numerous than the former, which being amply furnished with food not requiring preparation by fire, was committed to the zeal and boldness of his son Demetrius.

Proves fruitless.

The fair words of Antigonus deceived not that suspicious caution which is the natural characteristic of robbers. Sentinels were posted on the rocks skirting the Nabathæan desert; and, according to the eastern custom, supplied with torches for signals. The general blaze announced Demetrius's invasion, and gave time to provide against it. Petra was stripped of its treasures, which were conveyed farther into the wilderness; but a trusty band was left to defend the place itself, a natural fortress well improved by art, with one narrow entrance near the summit. Demetrius led his men to the assault, but was so vigorously received by the Arabs, that it became necessary to sound a retreat. Next day the attack was on the point of being renewed, when the loud and clear voice of a Nabathæan chief strongly urged the folly of invading a territory, which was so sparingly provided with those objects, for the sake of which only any

[56] Diodor. l. xix. s. 95.

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war can reasonably be undertaken. "Our country is adust and desolate. We alone are born to inhabit it, because we prefer freedom to all other enjoyments. So deeply rooted is our love of independence, that should you enthral our bodies, you never could subdue our minds. All to be obtained by conquest, would be a crowd of obstinate or spiritless slaves, incapable of enduring any other institutions than those under which they have immemorially lived." Demetrius, on whose mind this speech was peculiarly well calculated to operate, received presents and hostages, and instantly withdrew his army.[57]

Demetrius's retreat.

The lake Asphaltites, and the surrounding country.

To compensate, however, for the failure of this expedition, he engaged in an undertaking seemingly more practicable, and, if it succeeded, certainly more lucrative. The singular appearance of the country through which he had travelled to Petra, would have excited the attention of a man of less curiosity. The horror of its grim aspect must have been heightened by contrast with the smiling fertility and beauty of the northern regions of Syria, which he had just left, and in which, though equally mountainous with the southern division of that country, the mountains pleased and allured, their sides being richly clothed with vines, olives, and the umbrageous fig-tree; while their summits waved with pines and cedars, the loftiest offspring of the forest; and the intermediate

[57] Diodor. l. xix. s. 97, 98.

valleys were diversified with yellow harvests, and an abundant variety of such shrubs and fruit-trees as flower in the mildest climates. Such is the general picture of northern Syria[58]; but in approaching *Palæstinian* Syria, a country which once owed advantages, denied it by nature, to the stubborn industry of man, the hills of the same Alpine elevation[59] are bleak and barren, almost uniformly white, rugged, and shapeless. The scene grows inexpressibly dreary around the lake Asphaltites; rude without being romantic, deformed with all the horrors of savageness, without any of the charms of wildness. This tremendous lake, which the Jews named variously from its pernicious vapours and its bitter saltness, the Dead, and the Salt, Sea, is immersed in a bituminous steam, the work of dire subterranean fires, since the pestilent effluvia are highly deleterious to almost every form of animal and vegetable life. Into its northern extremity, the rivers Jordan and Arnon continually flow, and are continually absorbed and corrupted in its dismal pools[60]; which extend generally in breadth about twelve miles, and stretch sixty miles in length, from the Aulon or great valley of Judæa, to the land of Edom, and the skirts of the Nabathæan desert.

[58] Brown, Volney, &c.

[59] From the continuance of snow on mount Libanus, its elevation has been estimated at 1600 fathoms. The highest of the Alps, mount Blanc, is 2600 fathoms, and the Pic of Ossian in the Pyrenees, 1900.

[60] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 98.

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Their productions.

This odious and deadly landskip, whose actual appearance so forcibly commemorates the ancient punishment of its abominable inhabitants[61], contain however two valuable treasures, the balm of Gilead, and the above-mentioned Asphaltus or bitumen; the former of peculiar request in medicine, and the latter indispensable to the Egyptians in embalming their dead bodies.[62] As motives of gain generally prevail over considerations of health, the high emolument derived from the traffic of these articles had attracted colonies to both sides of the Dead Sea; men more gloomy and repulsive than the shores where they dwelt. For collecting the Asphaltus, they employed rafts of wood, which two mariners navigated, while one warrior, armed with his bow and lance, repelled those who either obstructed their labour, or sought to appropriate its fruits.[63] A lawless banditti living in perpetual hostility with each other, Demetrius found it easy to overawe, and might hope with little difficulty to extirpate. He carefully examined the lake, and brought to his father so favourable an account of the profit which it was calculated to yield, that Antigonus sent forces

Jerom of Cardia left to collect bitumen, but obliged to aban-

[61] The modern Syrians call the Lacus Asphaltites, the lake of Lot, and shew to credulous pilgrims shapeless blocks of detached rock, as indubitable monuments of Lot's wife; yet that worldly-minded woman was only involved in a pillar of salt, easily dissolvable, not converted into stone like Niobe.

[62] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 99. says, "the embalmers could not exercise their trade without this production of the lake:" "dont la salure," Mr. Volney observes, "est infiniment plus forte que celle de la mêr."

[63] Diodor. l. xix. s. 99.

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to gain possession of the territory. Their success was complete: and Jerom, the historian, was left with a detachment to superintend the collecting of the bitumen. But he had scarcely begun this useful work, when the Arabs, to the number of six thousand, attacked and destroyed his boats, killed the greatest part of his men, and compelled him to return with precipitation to his employer.[64] The artful Jerom, however, well knew how to varnish his disgrace; and his representations prevailed with Antigonus to relinquish all prospects of revenue from the lake Asphaltites, and all hopes of vengeance from a renewal of the Nabathæan war. In this resolution, he was confirmed by very alarming intelligence from both extremities of the empire.

Abandon that design.

Bad news received from different quarters by Antigonus.

In the West, Lysimachus and Cassander had grown more powerful, not only through the vigour of their own exertions, but in consequence of the languid or treacherous proceedings of young Ptolemy, who, upon some unexplained wound given to his pride, had taken offence at his uncle, and begun to tamper with Cassander, to whom he afterwards revolted.[65] From the East, Antigonus was informed by Nicanor his governor of Media, that the provinces of Upper Asia were in the most dangerous commotion; that part of them was already lost, and that the speediest exertions were requisite for saving the remainder.[66]

[64] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 100.
[65] Ibid. l. xx. s. 19.
[66] Ibid. l. xix. s. 90. et seq.

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The victory obtained by Ptolemy over Demetrius at Gaza, was attended with a consequence which neither of these generals had foreseen. Seleucus, who had so important a share in that brilliant action, and whose activity never slumbered, availed himself of the good fortune and gratitude of his ally, to obtain from him a body of troops for invading his ancient satrapy of Babylonia, of which three years before he had been divested by Antigonus. During four years that he had formerly governed there, the vigilance and impartial justice of Seleucus had endeared him to the natives.[67] Imitating the liberal policy of Alexander, he indulged the Asiatics in their inveterate habits of thought and action; gradually engrafting, however, on the oriental stock, those simple yet solid improvements, of which daily experience clearly evinced the utility. With little regard to national distinctions, he acknowledged those chiefly of personal merit. The vanquished were protected in common with the victors; and both were promoted in just proportion to their zeal and ability in the public service. With energy equal to his ambition, the love of power in Seleucus was called royalty of soul.[68] His praises were highly sounded among Greeks and Barbarians; and as he was younger by many years than Antigonus[69], and even than Ptolemy or Lysimachus, a circumstance of much weight with the vulgar, the popular oracles of

[67] Παση προσεφερετο καλως. Diodorus, l. xix. s. 91.

[68] Appian in Syriac.

[69] He died forty-two years after Alexander, aged 70. Id. ibid.

many nations had foretold his future greatness and unbounded prosperity.[70]

Seleucus recovers Babylon.

Encouraged by these circumstances in his favour, he ventured on his expedition to Upper Asia, with a thousand infantry and three hundred horse.[71] Demetrius was still stunned with his defeat, while Antigonus was laboriously occupied in completing the conquest of the Peninsula. Of this fortunate crisis, the only one which the war had afforded, Seleucus availed himself with decisive resolution, and invaded Babylonia as seasonably as, during the ascending star of Antigonus, he had relinquished that invaluable province. On their weary march through the desert, his followers were refreshed by the prophecies of the Chaldæans, and those of the Branchidæ of Miletus[72], announcing their beloved leader as the destined lord of Asia, and founder of a new and endless dynasty. The fortified post of Carrhæ in Mesopotamia opened its gates on the first summons, and the garrison consisting of a body of Macedonian veterans joined the party of the invader. In the progress of his march, he met with the welcome reception of a hereditary prince, who arrives to rescue his birthright from a cruel usurpation. Antigonus's soldiers in Babylon were unable to repress the joy of its citizens, who went forth in crowds to hail their deliverer. Diphilus, commanding one division of the troops left to overawe the

[70] Conf. Diodor. l. ii. s. 31. & l. xix. s. 55. & 90.

[71] Appian, Syriac.

[72] Diodor. ubi supra.

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city, threw himself into a fortified palace, with a number of principal Babylonians by way of hostages; while Polyarchus, another general, forsook the odious cause of Antigonus, and joined his rival with upwards of a thousand warlike Macedonians.[73] Seleucus had thus sufficient force to assail and carry the fortified palace or citadel, which had previously been converted into a state prison, since he found in it many illustrious captives, his companions and friends, whom Antigonus had confined in that stronghold on taking possession of Babylon.[74] The victory of Seleucus was now complete. The banks of the Tigris and Euphrates again smiled under a benignant master; evincing, in the easy and almost bloodless revolution, the importance of the people's affections, even in countries long enured to despotism.

Successfully defends it.

But this successful enterprise, which restored to Seleucus millions of affectionate subjects, had not given him the command of any considerable military force. His diligence was exerted in making new levies of infantry, and in distributing horses to those qualified to use them. The rapidity of his enemies anticipated his preparations. Antigonus indeed was remote; Demetrius, as we have seen, was occupied in other pursuits; but Nicanor and Evagoras, respectively governors of Media and Persia, were in arms to defend the cause of a master to whom they owed their appointments. With upwards of ten

[73] Diodor. l. xix. s. 91. [74] Id. ibid.

thousand foot and seven thousand horse, they hastened to the eastern bank of the Tigris, where Seleucus, who could scarcely oppose them with half those numbers, had recourse to art for supplying his deficiency in force. The enemy, confident in their strength and prowess, encamped without guards or sentinels, and without previously examining the adjacent country. There, Seleucus had laid an ambush among the thick and lofty reeds of a neighbouring marsh. The hostile camp was surprised in the night; Evagoras was slain in the first attack; most of the soldiers surrendered; and Nicanor with a few followers avoided destruction by flying into the desert. Their camp, their treasures, and, what to Seleucus was the greatest treasure, a large body of well-disciplined Macedonians, rewarded the success of this bold stratagem.[75]

His stratagem.

From the recovery of Babylon by Seleucus, or rather from this victory by which the invaluable possession was defended, the historians of all nations, except the Chaldæans alone, date the æra of the Seleucidæ, the long line of the Greek dynasty in Upper Asia; an æra still recognised in the East, by Christians and Heathens, Mahometans and Jews. It commences in the autumn of the year three hundred and twelve before Christ. The Jews named it the æra of contracts, because, by it solely, till the eleventh century after Christ, they dated all legal transactions[76]; the books of the Maccabees call it

Æra of the kingdom of the Greeks. Olymp. cxvii. 1. B. C. 312.

[75] Diodor. l. xix. s. 92.

[76] Usher, Petav. &c. de ær. Seleucid.

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"the æra of the kingdom of the Greeks;" and the Arabs still distinguish it by the epithet of "two horned[77]," expressing the great emblem of power in oriental antiquity; an emblem adopted by Alexander himself, and still conspicuous on his own coins, as well as on those not less beautiful of the Seleucidæ, his Assyrian successors.

Demetrius's expedition against Babylon. Olymp. cxvii. 1. B.C. 312.

The Chaldæans alone dated the kingdom of the Greeks a year later than other nations. This distinguished cast, comprising the sacerdotal and other learned professions in Babylon, whose privileges were peculiarly concerned in the issue of the contest between Seleucus and Antigonus, did not think their country completely rescued from the grasp of the latter, till the disgraceful repulse of Demetrius in the ensuing spring. That prince, after his unsuccessful expedition against the Nabathæan Arabs, rejoined his father in Syria, where they received the mortifying intelligence, that Seleucus, after the recovery of Babylonia, had pursued Nicanor into Media, reduced him to the necessity of fighting, and slain him, with his own hand, in a battle that procured for the victor the immediate submission of Upper Asia.[78] To the sanguine temper of Antigonus, these misfortunes seemed not irretrievable. Demetrius was sent with fifteen thousand foot and four thousand horse to reconquer Babylon, a city first rendered defenceless through the jealous despotism of the

[77] Golij Not. ad Alphragan, p. 58.

[78] Appian, Syriac. c. 55.

Persians, and still altogether unprepared for resisting a vigorous assault. Patrocles, who during Seleucus's absence commanded in the place, was apprised of the enemy's motions, and lost not any time in communicating the news of them to his master. But the rapidity of Demetrius would have anticipated a less distant foe. He had already passed the Euphrates, and was marching through Mesopotamia, when Patrocles proposed to the inhabitants of Babylon a very extraordinary measure, which was embraced with yet more extraordinary consent.

The Babylonians fly their country.

This was nothing less than that the vast multitude of peaceful and industrious natives should abandon their city to an invader, whom they had not arms to resist, and patiently wait for a change of fortune, either through his own success against the enemy, or the return of Seleucus with his victorious army from the East. The whole body of the people, not excepting those privileged orders of men long proverbial for pomp and luxury, left their habitations and comforts; and fled in various directions, with their families and treasures; some pursuing the road through the desert, others crossing the Tigris to the fertile province of Susiana; while Patrocles, with his Macedonians, and such natives of Babylon, as had courage to follow his standard, after garrisoning two strong palaces or castles, lurked amidst the marshes and canals of the Euphrates, watching an opportunity of some stolen advantage over assailants whom he durst not openly oppose. Demetrius mean time ad-

Which Demetrius.

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vanced, and upon entering the gates without resistance, found to his astonishment the city ransacked and deserted. The two strong fortresses on opposite banks of the Euphrates refused, however, to surrender at his summons. One of them was taken after an obstinate resistance, sacked without mercy, and strongly garrisoned. But the other held out so long, that the patience of Demetrius was exhausted. The time had elapsed which Antigonus had fixed for his return into Syria. He therefore left his lieutenant Archelaus with five thousand foot, and one thousand horse to prosecute the siege, and marched towards the sea-coast, indulging his troops in the utmost licence of plunder.[79]

plunders in his retreat.

The cruelty of his invasion, and the vengeful desolation of his retreat, riveted the Babylonians more firmly than ever to Seleucus. The besiegers, whom Demetrius had left behind, soon became the besieged; and they, as well as the garrison, occupying the fortress which he had taken, surrendered unconditionally[80]; it is uncertain whether to Patrocles, after he emerged from his concealment, or to Seleucus in person after his triumphant return from the East.

The Babylonians thereby riveted in affection to Seleucus.

This sudden revolution in the upper provinces, which it would require his undivided exertions to recover, induced Antigonus to listen to the pacific overtures which Cassander and Ptolemy had separately and repeatedly made to him.[81]

General peace between Antigonus and the confederates, Seleucus

[79] Diodor. l. xix. s. 100.

[80] Plutarch in Demet. and Diodor. ubi supra.

[81] Diodor. l. xix. s. 62. and 75.

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Victorious in three scenes of the war; in Syria, in the peninsula of Asia, and in Greece; the compactness of his dominions, as well as the superiority of his army, which, when commanded by himself had never suffered a defeat, threatened Egypt on one side, and Macedon on the other. He seemed entitled therefore to dictate the terms of peace to which Lysimachus, still employed in the obstinate siege of Callatis, gladly acceded. In the treaty which immediately followed, no mention is made of the fair division of the provinces, or the equal partition of treasures; demands which had given birth to the war. The dominion of all Asia is conceded to Antigonus; an article by which the allies clearly abandoned the interests of Seleucus. Egypt, with its dependencies in Africa, was assigned to Ptolemy; Macedon, to Cassander; Thrace, to Lysimachus: and it was agreed on all sides that Greece, meaning thereby the Greek republics in Asia as well as Europe, should be allowed to resume, and thenceforward permitted to enjoy, its beloved hereditary freedom.

only excepted. Olymp. cxvii. 2. B. C. 311.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

ANCIENT GREECE,

ITS COLONIES, AND CONQUESTS:

Part the Second;

EMBRACING

THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD,

FROM THE

DOMINION OF ALEXANDER TO THAT OF AUGUSTUS;

WITH A

SURVEY OF PRECEDING PERIODS,

AND A CONTINUATION OF

THE HISTORY OF ARTS AND LETTERS.

By JOHN GILLIES, LL.D.

F.R.S. AND S.A. LONDON, F.R.S. EDINBURGH, INSTIT. SOC. PARIS, AND
ACADEM. REGIÆ SCIENC. GOTTING. CORRESP.
AND HISTORIOGRAPHER TO HIS MAJESTY FOR SCOTLAND.

Εκ μην τουτε της απαντων προς αλληλα συμπλοκης και παραθεσεως, ετι δε ομοιοτητος και διαφορας, μονως τις αν εφικοιτο, και δυνηθειη κατοπτευσας, αμα και το χρησιμον και το τερπνον εκ της ιστοριας λαβειν. POLYBIUS, l. i. c. v.

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Murder of Alexander

THE empire of Alexander, though in reality divided among his lieutenants, was still held together in appearance by a pretended venera-

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Ægus and Roxana. Olymp. cxvii. 2. B. C. 311.

tion for his family. In the late treaty of peace between Antigonus and Demetrius on one hand, and Ptolemy with his allies Cassander and Lysimachus on the other, it was stipulated that the government of Macedon should be administered by Cassander, until the youth Alexander Ægus, now in his thirteenth year, attained the age of majority.[1] This condition was specified on the presumption that the son of the Macedonian hero would naturally establish his court in his ancient hereditary kingdom, from whence sovereign orders would flow[2] to the long chain of dependent provinces. When the young Alexander reached the age of manhood, the viceroy of Macedon might then be entrusted with some other government; and in the same manner, the other generals, holding their appointments provisionally, would either be confirmed in them, or removed, according to the will of the king, approved by his council and confirmed by his nation. Such were the specious hopes with which the generals of Alexander insulted the family of that prince, and deluded the deep-rooted loyalty of the Macedonian people, who, both at home and abroad, still formed the sinews and pride of their respective armies. Alexander Ægus remained meanwhile in strict confinement with his mother Roxana, in the strong citadel of Amphipolis. In consequence of the treaty acknowledging his just title to the throne, the

[1] Diodor. l. ix. s. 105.

[2] For the political freedom of Macedon, see above, p. 28.

voice of the public became louder in his favour, claiming not only his release, from unworthy captivity, but demanding for him an establishment becoming the high dignity to which he was destined. Provoked by these clamours, Cassander at once secured the permanence of his own power, and gratified the views of the other satraps, with whom he had just confederated, by procuring the death of the young prince. Glaucias, the keeper of the citadel of Amphipolis, is said to have been his agent in this execrable crime. The beautiful Roxana was involved in the fate of her son.[3] The circumstances of their murder were never clearly brought to light, otherwise it would have been impossible to restrain the vengeance of the enraged multitude.

Polysperchon brings into Greece Alexander's son Hercules. Olymp. cxvii. 3. B. C. 310.

The consequences of this deed of darkness occasioned, from an unexpected quarter, a new alarm to its author. The old and selfish Polysperchon, who retained possession of some strongholds in Peloponnesus, still laboured on the brink of the grave to gratify his lust of power. Shortly after the premature death, as it was called, of Alexander Ægus, he gave intimation of that event to Hercules the son of Alexander by Barcina, then residing in Pergamus, four years older than his brother recently murdered, but from the illegitimacy of his birth deemed incapable of succession. Notwithstanding this circumstance, Hercules, at the instigation of

[3] Pausanias, l. ix. c. 7. & Diodor. l. xix. s. 105.

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Polysperchon, made sail towards Greece in hopes of mounting the throne of his ancestors.[4] In promoting this bold undertaking, which would have had a dazzling kind of merit, had it proceeded from honest motives, Polysperchon obtained the hearty co-operation of his countrymen, the restless Etolians: his standard was joined by many malecontents from Macedon: he stood on the frontiers of that kingdom, with an army twenty thousand strong; and the troops with which Cassander marched to oppose him, wavered in their affections. The danger was imminent; but Cassander knew the man with whom he had to deal. By bribes and promises he prevailed with Polysperchon to murder the youth, whom he affected to honour as his sovereign.[5] Polysperchon did not obtain the principal object which he had in view, in perpetrating so dreadful an enormity. This was the command in Peloponnesus, towards which country, with the recommendation and aid of Cassander, he now directed his march. But the inhabitants of that peninsula, assisted by the Bœotians, opposed his return southward.[6] He was obliged to winter in Locris, and from thence retired to a castle commanding a small district between Epirus and Etolia. The recovery of this strong-hold, which had formerly belonged to him, and of which he had been deprived by Cassander, now rewarded

Murder of that young prince. Olymp. cxvii. 4. B. C. 309.

[4] Diodor. l. xx. s. 20.

[5] Diodor. l. xx. s. 28. It is uncertain whether Hercules was poisoned or strangled. Conf. Pausanias, l. ix. c. 17. Plutarch, tom. ii. p. 530.

[6] Diodor. ibid.

his detestable wickedness; and here probably this veteran in villany, who had once swayed the protectoral sceptre, ended many years afterwards his ignominious life; a life deformed by every thing atrocious in cruelty and base in perfidy.[7]

Murder of Alexander's sister Cleopatra. — Occasion thereof. Olymp. cxviii. 1. B. C. 308.

As the destruction of Alexander Ægus had inflamed the ambition, and produced the swift ruin of Hercules, so the removal of both these sons of the great Macedonian, revived the hopes, and occasioned the speedy murder of his sister Cleopatra. That princess, of whom we have before spoken, still resided in Sardes the capital of Lydia. She had been successively courted by Leonnatus and Perdiccas, who, when their nuptials with her were on the point of consummation, had fallen unpitied victims to their ambitious love. The cautious Ptolemy had delayed to solicit her hand, until the death of her nephews made it a prize more worthy of his pursuit. Cleopatra accepted the proposal; and was preparing to leave Sardes, when Antigonus commanded the governor of that place cruelly to frustrate her purpose. The murder of Cleopatra was ascribed to a treacherous conspiracy of her attendants[8], who were punished by a public execution; while the princess herself was interred by Antigonus with royal honours; an artifice which repressed clamour, without deceiving the public. Of all the family of Alexander and his father Philip, Thessalonica, the

[7] Tzetzes in Lycoph. Cassand. v. 801.

[8] Diodor. l. xx. s. 37.

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wife of Cassander, alone survived. Her fate was suspended sixteen years longer; then also to end most tragically.

Antigonus's fruitless expedition against Seleucus.

The confederates in the war against Antigonus had gladly concluded peace, in order to save their respective dominions. That general himself had been determined to the same measure, by the hope of wresting from Seleucus the eastern provinces. His expedition into Upper Asia shortly after his accommodation with his western enemies is a matter of record. A battle is mentioned of doubtful issue; after which, Seleucus, by making his men sleep in their armour, surprised his adversary next morning, and obtained over him a decided advantage.[9] But neither is the year of these events ascertained, nor are any of their incidents or consequences particularly related. It should seem that Seleucus, strong in the affections of his subjects, and elated with a long series of eastern triumphs, was able to make such stout resistance, as determined Antigonus to suspend farther hostility in that quarter, until he could assail the foe with a more commanding superiority. Although, from local circumstances above explained, nature herself seems to have determined, by the interposition of mountains, marshes, and deserts, that Upper and Lower Asia should not be subject to the same power, yet Alexander's successors were continually encouraged by his example, in the hope of conquering the East

[9] Polyænus, l. iv. Voc. Seleucus.

through the valour of the West. Antigonus, therefore, might resolve to build up and firmly cement the dominions of which he was already in possession, postponing to a fitter time the design of directing their consolidated weight against his great oriental adversary.

Importance of Antigonus's dominions.

Besides the invaluable country of Syria formerly described, he was master of almost the whole peninsula of Asia, inhabited by a mixed assemblage of agricultural and commercial nations, sprung partly from Greece and the contiguous provinces of Europe. This strong admixture of European blood gave, in a military point of view, great advantages to a territory naturally fertile, highly cultivated, and whose lands derived a vast increase of value from the rich and populous seaports that every where enlivened its western and southern coasts. Besides these seaports, inhabited chiefly by Greeks, the peninsula contained eleven distinct territories, of which the seven smaller extended, each of them, about seventy or fourscore miles in diameter. Of these seven, Mysia, Lydia, and Caria, looked towards Greece, from which their shores had been colonized. Lycia and Pamphylia were washed by the Mediterranean; Paphlagonia and Pontus, by the Euxine. The four larger provinces were Phrygia and Cappadocia in the centre; Bithynia, contiguous to the northern district of Paphlagonia; and Cilicia, to the southern district of Pamphylia. [10]

[10] Strabo, l. xiv. passim. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 27. et seq.

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Young Ptolemy revolts from his uncle Antigonus. Olymp. cxvii. 3. B. C. 310.

Not contented with this long list of territories, Antigonus retained possession of Greek commonwealths on his coasts, which, according to an article in the late treaty, ought to have resumed their ancient liberties. His nephew, young Ptolemy, was commanded also to keep firm hold of his conquests in Greece itself. But this young man, whose ruling passion was the love of fame, and who, as we have before seen, had acquired great glory as the deliverer of Greece from Cassander, very negligently observed his uncle's orders: and upon some unknown cause of disgust, his wounded pride threw him into the party of those who ventured once more to declare themselves the enemies of that formidable usurper.[11] Cassander, in defiance of his engagements, still maintained his garrisons in Athens and Megara; and Egyptian Ptolemy sailed with a large fleet that, under pretence of carrying the treaty of peace into execution, he might claim his equal share in the common booty. Such was the natural consequence of the fallacious agreement giving freedom to states, which, as the contracting parties well knew, had neither military resources nor patriotism to defend the inestimable present.

Is suspected and put to death by Egyptian Ptolemy.

The Egyptian fleet easily gained possession of the smaller Greek seaports on the southern coast of Lesser Asia; and Ptolemy was strenuously employed in the siege of Halicarnassus, the capital of Caria, when the arrival of Deme-

[11] Diodor. l. xx. s. 19.

trius with a still superior fleet, obliged him to raise the siege, and gradually to abandon all his conquests in that peninsula. The neighbouring isles, many of which had been garrisoned by Antigonus, were the next object of his pretended emancipation.[12] In the isle of Côs he was joined, according to his desire, by young Ptolemy, who heartily concurred with the pretended generosity of his views; and who had given orders to Phœnix, his deputy it seems in Hellespontian Phrygia, to maintain for him that province against the arms of his uncle. Antigonus dispatched his younger son Philip with a force that effectually crushed the rebellion of Phœnix; about the same time that his master fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of his namesake, the Egyptian satrap. That crafty prince, who really entertained none of the romantic notions of young Ptolemy on the subject of Grecian liberty, distrusted his impracticable character, his pride, and the engaging popularity of his behaviour towards the soldiers. On the suspicion that he tampered with their allegiance, the nephew of Antigonus was seized, imprisoned, and obliged to drink hemlock[13]; a death well merited, it may be thought, by his treachery to his uncle; yet, had this extraordinary youth lived at a happier æra, and been abetted by followers worthy the Grecian name, he might have proved the deliverer of once illustrious com-

[12] Diodor. l. xix. s. 19. & 27.

[13] Diodor. l. xix. s. 27.

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monwealths from the iron grasp of stern military usurpers.

Ptolemy divides the strongholds of Greece with Cassander. Olymp. cxviii. 1. B. C. 308.

The Egyptian satrap having perpetrated this act of cruelty in the isle of Côs, and joined the troops of young Ptolemy with his own, sailed to the continent of Greece, and under pretence of restoring freedom to that country, gained possession of Corinth and Sicyon. To aid him in completing his professed plan, the states of Peloponnesus were required to raise, by a fixed time, certain subsidies in money and provisions. But as they neglected to perform this condition, Ptolemy declined further interference in their affairs; entered into an agreement with Cassander, that each should retain the cities which he actually possessed; and having placed strong garrisons in Corinth and Sicyon, returned with his fleet to Egypt. [14]

Demetrius's expedition for emancipating Greece. Olymp. cxviii. 2. B. C. 307.

The delusive project of emancipation, thus openly abandoned by Ptolemy, was undertaken by Antigonus. By strenuous preparations on the coast of the peninsula and of Syria, he had equipped two hundred and fifty galleys. With this fleet, and a sum of five thousand talents, Demetrius was sent to execute the generous purpose of his father; whose concern, however, for the happiness of the Greeks in Europe was exposed to well-grounded suspicion, since their brethren in Asia were really treated by him as conquered subjects. But this inconsistency Antigonus endeavoured by artificial distinctions

[14] Diodor. l. xx. s. 37.

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to reconcile; and to a counsellor, who advised him to lay fast hold of Athens as a ladder for climbing to the sovereignty of Greece, he replied, "that the only ladder not subject to accidents was the love of the Athenians, which he was determined to merit by good offices; since their immortal city, he considered as the light-house of the world, calculated to blaze[15] his renown through the most distant nations of the earth."

His successful and generous proceedings.

The armament of Demetrius greatly exceeded the expectation of friends as well as enemies to the Macedonian interest in Athens. When it appeared off the coast, the Athenians of all parties believed that so powerful a fleet could belong only to Ptolemy, Cassander's ally. In the profound security of the partisans of the latter prince, then invested with the entire disposal of the national force, the Piræus was left unguarded, until the vessel of Demetrius approached so nearly, that he himself could be distinctly seen by the spectators who crowded the shore, beckoning them with his hand, and requesting the favour of an audience. He declared in few words, "that he had been sent by his father to expel the Macedonian garrison, and to liberate from unworthy bondage the most illustrious city in the world." His speech being re-echoed by the clear voice of a herald, the Athenians were in commotion; the majority threw down the

[15] Διαπυρσεύειν. Plutarch in Demet. A metaphor from the signals by fire, above described.

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arms which they had hastily seized; and Demetrius landed amidst loud acclamations that drowned all opposition. Having thanked his friends, he exchanged hostages with the magistrates, and received possession of a city which Demetrius Phalereus had governed during ten years. The Phalerean, who, notwithstanding the mildness and popularity of his administration, justly dreaded the capricious resentment of the Athenian populace, was kindly protected by the invader; entertained with the respect due to the splendour of his talents and virtues; and, at his own desire, allowed to remove under a proper escort to Thebes, which, as a city deeply indebted to his friend Cassander, he chose for the place of his retreat. The fortified harbour Munychia was indeed still defended by the gallantry of Dionysius, commanding a Macedonian garrison. Demetrius left part of his troops to besiege it, and with the other surprised the city of Megara, about twenty miles distant; expelled Cassander's garrison; and proclaimed freedom to that small but once respectable commonwealth. Having returned to Athens, he gained the Munychia after an obstinate assault of two days. Dionysius and his troops were made prisoners. The revolution, remarkable for its mildness, was now complete; and, in order to render it permanent, Demetrius, whose mind appears to have undergone a revolution not less sudden, promised amply to supply the emancipated Athenians both with the means of subsistence and the instruments of defence. The

want of corn in their own narrow and barren territory they had been accustomed to supply by copious importations, chiefly from the coasts of the Propontis and Euxine. But their ships of war were no more, by which only they could protect this distant and indispensable branch of commerce. At the request of his son, Antigonus sent them timber for building an hundred galleys, and provided them at once with an hundred and ten thousand quarters of grain; accompanying these presents with high professions of respect, and the restitution of the isle of Imbros, which, until the fatal issue of the Lamian war, had been the immemorial possession of their ancestors. [16]

Change operated on Demetrius at Athens.—His romantic character.

In this generous proceeding, Antigonus followed, indeed, the *letter* of his own positive declarations, but he adopted it in reality at the earnest solicitation of Demetrius, whom he had long cherished with the fondest partiality. Besides undeviating filial duty, Demetrius had many qualities fitted to excite esteem. His zeal in his father's service was seconded by indefatigable activity. To great military and great naval talents, he added the more appropriate merit of great mechanical ingenuity, displayed in his engines of superior efficacy in sieges [17], and in his galleys of an unexampled size and

[16] Plutarch in Demet. and Diodorus, l. xx. s. 45, 46.

[17] In these discoveries he appears to have been assisted by Epimachus an Athenian, and Hegetor of Byzantium. Vid. Athenæi Lib. de Machinis Bellicis ad M. Marcellum, apud Veteres Mathematicos. Paris, 1693.

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inimitable swiftness. His mind refined by art, sharpened by science, and enlarged by an experience far beyond his years, was however fatally enslaved by the love of fame and of pleasure; passions inflamed to the most vicious excess through the indulgence of his father, and the boundless servility of the Athenians. The extravagant honours heaped on him by the multitude, who treated him as their god, their saviour, the oracle whom on all occasions they were bound to consult and obey, and whose decisions alone constituted right and wrong; these absurdities, which appear to the modern reader equally ridiculous and unaccountable, originated chiefly in the external qualities of Demetrius, operating on the fantastic and degenerate superstition of his times. His person, to use the language of antiquity [18], was arrayed in that dignity of beauty which beamed from the statues of the gods, and particularly of Bacchus, not the jolly divinity of modern poets, but the awful and benignant conqueror, uniting the loftiest majesty with ineffable grace. Bacchus, therefore, was the model which the son of Antigonus aspired to rival, both in his indefatigable exertions in time of war, and in the splendid festivities with which he improved and embellished the fruits of victory: when glory summoned to arms, the most enterprising, the most vigilant, of men; but when the conflict terminated in triumph, relaxing into soft effe-

[18] Aristot. Politic. l. i. c. 2.

minacy and unbridled voluptuousness. Among all the surviving generals of Alexander, since Ptolemy was still contented to be thought the son of Lagus, Antigonus alone deduced his origin from Temenus, the descendant of Hercules, and revered founder of the Macedonian dynasty. The pride of blood thus conspired with other peculiarities in Demetrius's situation to exalt his hopes, and inflame his ambition: his romantic enthusiasm received with complacence such distinctions as might be conferred on him consistently with the genius of paganism; and the lightness of his ill-balanced mind was assailed, and completely overset, by flatteries in direct contradiction to the received maxims of the Athenians in matters not only of religion but of government and morals. He was honoured with the title of king, a title for many preceding centuries held in the utmost abhorrence by those zealous republicans. The establishment of annual archons was abolished; and the Athenian year was thenceforward to be named after the priests of the new god, Demetrius the saviour: *his* shrine was to be consulted instead of the Delphian oracle; *his* name was to be substituted for Dionysus in the festival of the Bacchanalia; and by a law surpassing every extravagance of adulation that despotism ever extorted from oriental slavery, all the words and actions of Demetrius were declared to be essentially characterised by piety towards the gods and justice towards men. It is not to be imagined, however, that the

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Athenians were unanimous in this abominable prostitution of their ancient dignity. The disgraceful decrees, proposed by demagogues and buffoons, were lashed with sharp ridicule in the comedies of Philippides and Menander, and rejected with scornful disdain by the indignant schools of Theophrastus and Stilpon. But the majority of a degenerate populace [19] was not to be corrected either by reason or by ridicule; and their resentment, long impotent in the field of battle, became again formidable in the courts of justice. Demetrius Phalereus, whose equitable and mild administration, had greatly benefited his country, was tried in his absence and condemned capitally. His statues were insultingly mutilated; and his friend Menander narrowly escaped death, having incautiously remained in person within the cruel grasp of an enraged popular tribunal. [20]

He embraces sincerely the design of liberating Greece.

The vile behaviour of the Athenians received a false colour from the ruling passions of Demetrius, and excited in his susceptible breast the liveliest emotions of gratitude. He considered not, that the loftiest honours may be degraded and rendered of no value, through the total unworthiness of those by whom they are conferred. In the warmth of his undistinguishing fancy, he was betrayed by the sameness of a name, and spoke of the Athenians of his own time as if they had consisted of those

[19] Plutarch in Demetrio.

[20] Diogen. Laert. in Vit. Demet. Phaler. l. v. s. 79

heroes and patriots, whose renown had once filled the world. Instead of the meanness of contemporary objects, he beheld only the ancient glory of the republic; the wisdom of its laws, the prowess of its arms, the splendour of its monuments, the pre-eminence of those unperishing productions of the mind, by which its fame was to be indefinitely extended in point both of space and of time. The project of liberating Greece, or at least Athens, which had been merely a pretence with other generals, became with Demetrius a serious undertaking, a real substantial concern.

Is sent by Antigonus to make the conquest of Cyprus. Olymp. cxviii. 2. B. C. 307.

Amidst his measures for this purpose, he was recalled, however, by orders from Antigonus, who perceived with regret that, while Ptolemy was possessed of the isle of Cyprus, it would be impossible to defend the southern coast of Lesser Asia against naval descents. He had at length equipped a fleet fully equal to that of the Egyptian satrap; and the acquisition of Cyprus, while it secured his other dominions, would give him the decided sovereignty of the seas. A most unjustifiable transaction on the part of his rival, loudly summoned to that quarter the fiercest rage of the war. Ever since Ptolemy had acquired the ascendency in Cyprus, his half-brother Menelaus had remained there, commanding a sufficient force to overawe the petty princes, among whom the island had long been divided. The venerable line of Teucer and Evagoras, the most illustrious in the country, had transferred its government

State of that island.

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from Salamis, the ancient capital, to the Arcadian[21] colony of Paphos, ennobled by the partial fondness of the fairest and softest of all the female divinities. Within the limits of a narrow jurisdiction, a narrow but wealthy island, the descendants of Teucer still displayed the magnificence of royalty; and the reigning prince, Nicocles, a hereditary name endeared by the virtues of those who had borne it[22], rivalled the glory of his ancestors in arts and letters, enjoyed the affections of his subjects, and flourished in the midst of a numerous and happy family, conspicuous for domestic concord. The ambition of Alexander's successors, by degrading the dignity of Cyprus, arrested the long unaltered course of its peaceful prosperity. A prince who boasted his descent from the line of Ajax and Achilles, could not patiently brook vassalage under an upstart Macedonian: Nicocles longed to throw off the ignominious yoke; his defection was encouraged by Antigonus; but the measures concerted for his emancipation, escaped not the spies of Ptolemy; who, upon the first hint of the conspiracy, sent two of his own friends into Cyprus, to punish the rebel by death. These friends and assassins, furnished with troops by Menelaus, surrounded the Paphian palace, and eagerly demanded the king, to whom they announced the stern command of their employer. Resistance would have been

Tragical events that had been occasioned there by the cruel orders of Ptolemy. Olymp. cxvii. 3. B. C. 310.

[21] Athenæus, l. xv. p. 676.

[22] History of Ancient Greece, vol. iii. c. 28.

fruitless ; excuse was inadmissible ; and no delay was allowed. The miserable monarch perished by his own hand, in the midst of his family.[23] His queen Axiothea[24], whom Ptolemy had shewn a desire to save, disdained to survive her husband. Having previously consigned to death her virgin daughters, she prevailed with her numerous sisters-in-law, to share her untimely fate. The wretched brothers of Nicocles, carrying into real life the most frightful fictions of tragedy, then set fire to the palace, and expired amidst the ruins of their own and their country's grandeur[25] ; since, after this miserable catastrophe of the royal house, Cyprus never thenceforward aspired to the dignity of independent government.

Demetrius's success in Cyprus. Olymp. cxviii. 2. B. C. 307.

To promote the political views of his father, and to avenge atrocious cruelties, Demetrius was ordered to Cyprus with the greater part of his fleet. He quitted Greece with reluctance, after a fruitless attempt to gain Corinth and Sicyon, by tempting with high bribes Cleonidas, who commanded for Ptolemy in these cities ; and after he had confirmed his unalterable friendship with the Athenians, by marrying Euridicé, lineal descendant from Miltiades, the renowned hero of Marathon. In his way to Cyprus, he landed and refreshed in the maritime province of Cilicia. When he quitted that coast his fleet consisted of an hundred and eighty

[23] Polyænus, l. viii. c. 48.

[24] The names are mangled in Athenæus, l. i. c. 3. & l. viii. c. 9.

[25] Diodor. l. xx. s. 21.

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ships of war, far exceeding the ordinary rate of ancient galleys, since they had most of them five, six, or seven banks of oars. His transports conveyed fifteen thousand foot, three hundred horse, together with the implements and engines most useful in encampments and sieges. On the northern coast of Cyprus, the feeble communities of Urania and Carpasia yielded to the mere terror of his arms. As he advanced southward to Salamis, he was opposed by Menelaus, with an army inferior to his own in foot, but far superior in cavalry. A battle ensued, in which the unequal brother of Ptolemy was defeated with the loss of a thousand slain, and three thousand made prisoners; and being thus driven from the open country, was obliged to seek protection within his walls.[26] Demetrius speedily formed the siege of Salamis; and first employed on this occasion the most famous of all those machines, that did honour to his invention, and which, till the discovery of gunpowder, continued the most formidable offensive weapon against well-fortified cities. From its use, it was called the Helepolis. According to the original structure of this engine, it consisted of nine stories, gradually diminishing as they rose in altitude. Each side of this moveable pyramid was ninety cubits high: its base measured an hundred and eighty cubits in circuit; its different compartments were filled with armed men, and provided with various

Siege of Salamis — the Helepolis.

[26] Diodor. l. xx. s. 47. and Plutarch in Demet.

contrivances for darting missiles, those of greatest weight from the stories near the base.[27] The base itself, a huge quadrangle supported on massy wheels, was composed of solid beams strongly compacted with iron, and sufficiently remote from each other to allow room for the strenuous labourers within, who propelled and directed this enormous colossus; whose form in process of time received many alterations and improvements. Combined with the battering-ram, it assailed fortresses[28] not merely by repeated missiles, but with its continuous and entire force. Demetrius indeed employed it chiefly in the former way; but with such extraordinary effect that while the darts and javelins, thrown from the upper embrasures, swept the defenders from their walls, its more ponderous artillery of metal, mixed with stones or rather rock, discharged from the lower compartments, is said to have been sufficient to shake the firmest bulwarks and bastions. The vastness and novelty of the Helepolis alarmed the Salaminians, but did not abash them. They exerted themselves vigorously in their own defence, opposing the contrivances of Demetrius with similar, and sometimes superior address; since by a dexterous application of ignited weapons, they almost destroyed, in a single night, the batteries that he had raised against them by the unremitting labour of many weeks.

[27] Diodor. l. xx. s. 48.

[28] Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxiii. c. 9.

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Preparations for the sea-fight between Demetrius and Ptolemy.

Before he had an opportunity of trying a new experiment with his Helepolis, and displaying in its full extent that genius for sieges, which procured for him his title of Poliorcetes[29], he was summoned to a sea-fight against Ptolemy in person. The Egyptian satrap, having been duly apprised of the operations in Cyprus, sailed from Pelusium, landed first at Paphos, and afterwards at Citium, only twenty miles distant from Salamis. His fleet amounted to an hundred and fifty ships of war, most of them exceeding the rate of trireme galleys, though much inferior in size to the ships of the enemy. His transports conveyed above twelve thousand men, and were attended with innumerable small-craft furnished by the Cyprian cities, acknowledging his dominion. In the harbour of Salamis, his brother Menelaus commanded sixty galleys, which, according to the orders that Ptolemy had found means to convey to them, were to break forth and assail the enemy in time of action; a stratagem, that when the strength of the adverse parties was nearly balanced, had often proved decisive. With this advantage on his side, Ptolemy ventured to stake his well-established reputation against the yet dawning fame of Demetrius, and before making the dispositions for battle, sent a message to his rival, exhorting him by their past friendship to be gone in time, instead of remaining to be crushed in pieces by superior

[29] Urbium expugnator, as Pliny translates it.

force. Demetrius replied in the same boastful strain, that for the present he would allow Ptolemy to make his escape, provided he ceded to him Corinth and Sicyon. These vain bravadoes were preludes to an action that was to decide the fate of Cyprus, the command of the Mediterranean sea, and the pretensions of two illustrious commanders, who respectively founded the royal houses of Egypt and Macedon.

Great victory gained by Demetrius. Olymp. cxviii. 2. B. C. 307.

In the night, Ptolemy endeavoured to open a communication with Menelaus, in the harbour of Salamis. Before this object was effected the day began to break, and the first rays of morning discovered to him Demetrius's fleet, carefully anchored at a due distance from the walls and engines of the place, and skilfully interposed between himself and the friendly shore; and as the harbour of Salamis was narrow, Demetrius, he found, had blocked it up with only ten vessels, which would intercept sixty of his own from bringing aid in the battle. These vexatious circumstances greatly mortified Ptolemy: but an action could not honourably be declined; and the experience of a long military life, had taught the brother and biographer of Alexander, that, in critical emergencies, courage is the greatest prudence. He advanced therefore boldly and ostentatiously to the attack, his armament being swelled in appearance by his transports and other vessels hastily collected from the Cyprian cities. But the alacrity of Demetrius dispelled all alarm on the score of apparent inequality. When the ad-

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verse squadrons were within half a mile of each other, he commanded to weigh anchor; raised a golden shield, the concerted signal; the trumpets summoned to combat; both parties invoked their common gods; and both resounding the same military Pæan, many hostile choirs mingled in one majestic stream of full Grecian harmony. Besides the superior size of their galleys, after the Greeks had armed themselves with the wealth and resources of Asia, great improvements had been made in the construction and application of what may be called their artillery. The missile weapons were more ingeniously formed; the engines which darted them were of greater efficacy; and the loftier platform from which they were discharged, gave to the instruments of mischief a surer aim, a wider range, and a more impetuous force. But the principal assault still depended on the nimble activity of the galleys themselves, and those decisive movements, by which, with their armed prows, they rased the adversary's sides, swept away his oars, and often by a stroke uniting good fortune with dexterity, buried his whole vessel in the deep. The utmost exertion of naval manœuvre, as practised by the ancients, was perseveringly displayed in this arduous conflict. Demetrius is celebrated for adorning the functions of a great admiral, with the hardy intrepidity of an experienced seaman; and according to the custom of Grecian commanders, with whom example was preferred to mere precept, for completing his glory, by

the destruction of many enemies with his own hand. Of his three life-guards two were grievously wounded; the third died by his side. His enterprise was rewarded with a great and decisive victory, ascribed partly to the superior size of his galleys, and partly to his seasonable obstruction of the Salaminian harbour, by which sixty of the enemy's ships were cut off from the scene of action. Ptolemy had been at first successful against the squadron which he opposed in person; but in the issue, forty of his ships were taken with their crews[30]; eighty were dashed in pieces or sunk; eight thousand men were captured aboard his transports. The harbour and city of Salamis accumulated new prizes on the victor; the former, a fleet of sixty sail; the latter, a garrison of twelve thousand foot, with twelve hundred horse: and the conquest of the Cyprian capital was followed by the speedy reduction, or voluntary surrender, of other walled cities in the island.

Amidst his arrangements for securing the valuable possession of Cyprus, Demetrius gained honour by his moderation in prosperity. The slain on both sides were lamented and interred with the accustomed ceremonies; Menelaus, his son Leontiscus, and other kinsmen or friends of Ptolemy, were restored unransomed to Egypt. The Athenians, whose fleet of thirty galleys had reinforced the conquerors, were presented

[30] There are differences in the numbers as given by Diodorus, l. xx. s. 52. Plutarch in Demet. and Justin. l. xv. c. 2.

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with twelve hundred suits of armour. In all particulars, but the choice of a messenger to announce his victory to Antigonus, Demetrius approved himself, on this occasion, worthy of the signal success with which his arms had been attended. The honour of communicating such happy tidings to his father, might with propriety have been committed to his kinsman Marsyas[31], a brave commander, and a respectable historian; but it was entrusted to the fawning buffoon Aristodemus of Miletus, who conveyed the news in a manner suitable to the vile servility of his character.[32]

The victory announced to Antigonus by the buffoon Aristodemus.

Antigonus was then in his favourite province, where he had just built a palace in the recently-founded and short-lived capital Antigonia; judiciously situate about twenty miles from the sea, near the deepest bend of the Orontes, which flows in a winding course for ten days' journey, through the finest valley of Syria. Aristodemus landed on the neighbouring coast, with orders that none of his attendants should leave the vessel. In a small boat, he proceeded to Antigonia, and thence walked slowly towards the royal palace, with a solemn countenance, and without answering a word to the crowd which began to surround him: Antigonus, apprised of his landing, had anxiously descended to the gate of the palace. Without quickening his pace, the flatterer at length approached, stretched forth his hand, and exclaimed with a

[31] Suidas in Voc.

[32] Plutarch in Demet.

loud voice, "Hail, king Antigonus." He then announced the completeness and extensive consequences of Demetrius's victory. CHAP. VII.

Opinion governs the world, and is itself governed by names. The flattery of Aristodemus was not rejected by Antigonus; and the royal appellation, so soothing to the ear of an ambitious usurper, was officiously repeated by the guards and attendants; the palace and capital resounded with joyous acclamations; and "Long live king Antigonus" re-echoed through the cities of Syria and of other countries subject to his power. In the sense of antiquity, the title of king was sometimes extended beyond the actual possession, to the expectancy of sovereign power, and the worthiness to hold it. In this manner, the honour might be communicated without losing in value. Antigonus was eager to impart it to his beloved Demetrius. After the example of these generals, Ptolemy, defeated but not dejected, assumed the ensigns and show of royalty, of which he had long enjoyed the substance. Seleucus and Lysimachus disdained to remain inferior in name, to those whom they equalled in renown. Cassander alone, respecting the ashes of the Macedonian monarchs entombed in his province, neither called himself king, nor employed the royal signet.[33] Could we believe an historian fond of popular remarks, and extremely partial to republicanism; the successors of Alexander, toge-

The title of king assumed by Alexander's successors. Olymp. cxviii. 2. B. C. 307

Effects of that title.

[33] Conf. Plut. in Demet. & Diodorus, l. xx. s. 53.

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ther with their new titles, assumed new maxims, and even new sentiments. Their personal pretensions encreased with their external pomp; the respect formerly received as an offering to merit, was now exacted as a tribute to rank; there was an end of the ancient familiarity of manners, once so interesting and so amiable; and though rewards grew less liberal, punishments became greatly more severe.[34] These evils extended with the lengthening line of their descendants. With the pride of hereditary royalty, sloth and luxury kept pace: and the followers of the most enlightened and generous prince, that adorns history, degenerated into selfish and sottish voluptuaries, adorned by eastern servility, and execrated by the liberal portion of mankind in their own and all succeeding times.

Antigonus's expedition against Egypt. Olymp. cxviii. 3. B. C. 306.

The assumption of the diadem by Alexander's immediate successors created four new kingdoms[35], all of which Antigonus who treated his equals as usurpers, hoped speedily to reunite in his own person and that of his beloved Demetrius. His recent victory over Ptolemy determined him to begin with the dominions of that prince. The naval engagement off Salamis had given him the command of the sea; his land-forces fell little short of the army of Alex-

[34] Plut. in Demet.

[35] Five kingdoms in effect, though Cassander, as we have seen, did not assume the royal title. Independently of him there were five kings, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus, Antigonus, and Demetrius: but the two last-mentioned held an united sovereignty.

ander when in its greatest force; his rival, he doubted not, must be stunned with his late dreadful defeat; he was, therefore, eager to lead an expedition against Egypt, which promised the more glorious success, the sooner it was carried into execution. Yet his arrangements on this occasion indicated a full sense of the obstacles to his undertaking; the natural strength of the country, the abilities and resources of its satrap. Egypt was to be attacked at once by sea and land. For this purpose, Demetrius sailed from Cyprus with an hundred and fifty galleys, besides a hundred vessels of burden, conveying his engines of battery and exhaustless stores of missile weapons. The land army assembled in the neighbourhood of Gaza; consisting of eighty thousand foot, and above ten thousand horse. A crowd of victuallers was destined to attend the fleet; and the camels collected from Arabia for accompanying the army, must have been numerous indeed, since, among other necessaries, they carried about an hundred thousand quarters of grain [35], or rather flour. Eighty-three elephants added terror, at least pomp, to the warfare. The whole empire was held in suspense and anxiety by this complicated armament, which, should it conquer Egypt, promised to raise its commander to universal monarchy.

His vast preparations.

Twenty-seven years before the present expe- Improved state of

[35] Diodor. l. xx. s. 73. It is allowable to suspect both the accuracy of the numbers and the certainty of the measures.

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dition, that ancient and populous kingdom, which long boasted its three thousand cities, had submitted without resistance to the invasion of Alexander. Its natural defences have been at all times the same; on the Asiatic frontier, from which only it is assailable by land, a desert, a marsh, and a great river; and along its low and inhospitable coast, either dangerous banks of concealed sand, or perpetual ledges of blind rocks. But its artificial bulwarks had undergone an important change. The loss of two hundred galleys had not ruined Ptolemy's defensive navy. The military resources of the country had wonderfully increased. Even the melancholy character of the natives had been raised and ennobled by the indulgent policy and liberal encouragement of their sovereign. While other countries oppressed in peace, after being desolated in war, had declined from the splendour of sovereign states into the obscurity of wretched provinces, Egypt alone in the space of eighteen years under Ptolemy, had risen from the dejection of a plundered satrapy into the dignity of an independent and flourishing kingdom; enriched by commerce, enlarged by conquest, and strongly defended by numerous and well-provided garrisons.

Egypt at that time.

Antigonus fatally experienced the importance of this alteration. The obstinacy of old age, for he was now in his eightieth year, heightened the calamities that awaited him. His preparations were not completed till October, about the setting of the Pleiades, when the weather is

Disasters which compelled Antigonus to retreat.

stormy, and when the Nile has not yet wholly retired within its oozy bed. At this unfavourable season, his fleet under Demetrius was ordered to sail, in opposition to the advice of experienced seamen; and about the same time he marched in person from Gaza at the head of his army. Demetrius had not been long at sea when he was assailed by a tempest from the north, which the victuallers and vessels carrying missile weapons were not able to resist. Many were dashed in pieces and sunk; others returned with much difficulty to the friendly shore of Gaza. Demetrius anchored five furlongs from the coast, and had the mortification to see his vessels foundering amidst sands or beating against rocks, without the possibility of affording to them any assistance, or of saving any part of their crews, since those who escaped from shipwreck fell into the hands of the Egyptians, pleased spectators, at land, of their enemy's disasters. Had the storm lasted a day longer, the whole fleet must have perished; and this danger still threatened, when the army of Antigonus emerged from its toilsome march through the desert. By his arrival, some weather-beaten vessels might obtain a safe landing-place; but he found it impossible to bring about any useful co-operation between his fleet and army. He stood on the eastern margin of the Delta with a resistless force, could he have transported his men across the swollen Nile. All the mouths of that river were defended by Ptolemy's garrisons and innumerable armed vessels. At Pseudas-

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tomus, Phatnicus[37], and every other inlet by which Demetrius attempted to penetrate, the resistance was ready and unsurmountable. The Pelusiac, or great eastern branch, was guarded with equal vigilance against Antigonus. In addition to these difficulties, provisions and water grew scarce; while Ptolemy's emissaries sowed sedition in the hostile camp, and, by vast promises and bribes, tempted many to desertion. The difficulties of the invaders must have been extreme, before the loftiness of the new kings, the obstinate pride of the father, and the confident ardour of the son, could condescend to the mortifying arrangements for securing their retreat. Antigonus varnished that disgraceful measure by summoning a council of his principal officers, who unanimously advised him to defer the conquest of Egypt to a more favourable season of the year. Ptolemy, with his usual prudence, would have been glad to make a bridge of gold for a retiring foe. He thanked the propitious gods with solemn games and costly sacrifices; and, in a pompous embassy, communicated the good tidings to Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, who, he hoped, would rejoice at his thus happily baffling their common enemy.[38]

Why Antigonus determines to make war on

Antigonus had failed in his undertaking against the great body of the Egyptian monarchy; but his vast preparations, he thought, might still

[37] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1153. & Ptolemy, l. iv. p. 116.

[38] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 74, 75, & 76. Plut. in Demet. and Pausanias, Attic. c. 6.

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be employed with success in reducing its most valuable appendages. One arm had been lopped off by the conquest of Cyprus; another remained, the flourishing island of Rhodes, which for seven years past had been intimately united with Egypt both by interest and affection. After the death of Alexander, the Rhodians, who had been honoured with distinguished marks of his regard, erected themselves into an independent commonwealth, in apparent friendship with all his successors, by whom, though its riches might be envied, the strength of its battlements was respected. The capital of the island, bearing the same name, had been founded only four[39] years before the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war; and the comparative novelty of this city, as well as of Byzantium, which two alone preserved the genuine fire of liberty, extinguished on all sides around them, might seem to countenance the opinion that commonwealths like individuals have their youth, maturity, old age, and decrepitude. When Athens, Sparta, and the other illustrious republics of ancient Greece, had sunk into the last stages of decay, the youthful communities of Rhodes and Byzantium were animated with the generous spirit of freedom, and ennobled by those virtues of policy and prowess by which only it can be maintained.

Rhodes. Olymp. cxviii. 4. B. C. 305.

Novelty of the city Rhodes.

Yet this plausible observation is applicable only to the *city*, not to the *island* of Rhodes,

History of the island.

[39] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 967.

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which latter vied in the antiquity of its renown with the most venerable royalties, or commonwealths, of the heroic ages. Before the dawn of recorded history, Rhodes had contended with Athens herself for the partial affection of Minerva.[40] Apollo chose the bright island, yet latent in the watery deep, for the scene of his peculiar reign[41]; and in the figurative language of Homer and Pindar, Jupiter poured down a golden shower on the industrious and skilful Rhodians. Their cities, Lindus, Ialyssus, and the shining Cameirus[42], are celebrated by Homer and Pindar; and we learn that nearly five centuries before the Christian æra, the crowded seaports of the Rhodians were decorated with magnificent edifices, and their streets adorned with breathing marbles.[43] The towering ridges of Atabyrius, which overlooked their island, were crowded with splendid monuments, particularly the temple of Jupiter, from which the father of the gods was believed to survey with complacence the unwearied labours of his peaceful and ingenious votaries.[44] In these poetical eulogies we may discern that intimate connec-

[40] Pindar, Olymp. Ode vii.

[41] Pindar also celebrates "Rhodes the daughter of Venus and bride of the sun," *ὑμνων παιδ' αφροδιτης ηελιοιο τε νυμφαν Ροδον*. The Scholiast says, that the island derived the former title from its flowers and beauty; and Solinus, c. 17., believes the latter bestowed on it, because a day never passes at Rhodes in which the sun is not at some time visible.

[42] Homer, Il. l. ii. v. 670.

[43] *Εργα δε ζωοισι εοικοντεσσι θ'ομοια κελευθοι φερον*. Pindar, ibid. Conf. Diodor. l. xix. c. 45.

[44] Pindar, ibid.

tion between commerce and superstition, which has been pointed out and illustrated in other parts of this history; and the account formerly given of the flourishing traffic of the Asiatic peninsula, receives confirmation from the industry and opulence of Rhodes, separated from it by a narrow frith of only five miles, and displaying wonderful resources within its diminutive territory of only thirty miles in length and fifteen in breadth.

Its productive and commercial industry, the genuine source of public happiness, continued through the dark ages of traditionary fame down to that celebrated war of twenty-seven years, by which Greece and most of her islands were afflicted, through the combined evils of foreign invasion and domestic sedition. During the agitations of that furious conflict, Rhodes preserved her peaceful prosperity; and towards its conclusion, beheld the foundation and completion of her splendid and permanent capital.

Its productive and commercial industry.

This capital, situate at the eastern extremity of the island, rose in the form of a theatre[45], looking directly towards the Embolus or beak[46], a name bestowed on the southern promontory of Caria. The Rhodians traded with all the countries around them; and their two harbours, nearly contiguous to each other, formed the hope of industrious merchants, and terror of pirates. They had hitherto lived on good terms with all the Macedonian generals, who com-

[45] Θεατροειδως εσης της Ροδου. Diodor. l. xix, c. 45.

[46] Schol. in Pind. Olymp. Ode vii.

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manded the adjacent coasts; and had allowed Antigonus, as we have before seen, to avail himself of their skilful artisans, and to equip fleets in their harbours. But for several years past, as the war between Antigonus and Seleucus had interrupted the traffic through Upper Asia that used to centre in the cities of Phœnicia, the Rhodians had peculiarly connected themselves with Egypt, which then wholly engrossed the highly-prized commodities of the East, whether conveyed to it by Arabs, Indians, or its own merchantmen. From Alexandria in Egypt, the Rhodians diffused the spices, perfumes, gems, and other articles indispensable in the luxury and superstition of antiquity over all the coasts of the West. This commercial intercourse, which had been warmly encouraged by the Egyptian satrap, now king Ptolemy, had produced the grateful attachment of the Rhodians to that prince; from whose dominions they derived continual supplies of grain, essential to a country, teeming with population, yet destitute of tillage: for the territory of Rhodes was entirely dedicated to gardens and vineyards. The excellence of its wines recommended them to the peculiar purpose of religious libations and festivals.[47] Its flowers and fruits enjoyed an equal pre-eminence; and those gifts of nature instead of superseding, as usually happens, had stimulated the stubborn exertions of laborious in-

Close connection with Egypt.

Flourishing state of the city and territory.

[47] Non ego te, mensis et Diis accepta secundis,
Transierim, Rhodia. — Virgil, Geor. ii. 101.

dustry. In opposition to the general custom of antiquity[48], the houses of the Rhodians, both in town and country, were solidly built of stone. Their capital was strongly fortified by sea and land[49], watered by innumerable conduits[50] from the neighbouring mountains, and provided with all conveniences and ornaments, that wealth can purchase, or ingenuity invent.

Singular wisdom of its institutions.

But the greatest ornament of Rhodes was the wisdom of its magistrates. At the same time that they bridled the multitude by every salutary restraint, they had contrived to gain its affection by humanity and bounty. Whatever regarded the marine, the sinews of their power, was a mystery to all but the magistrates. To enter the docks without permission, was a capital offence; and to pry into any secrets respecting the naval department, was prohibited under the penalties of banishment or death. To work, not to speak, to exercise their strength, not their judgment, were the duties required from the Rhodian artisans, whose labour was richly rewarded, and whose habitual diligence ensured a kindly support during sickness or old age.[51] Good policy enforced this dictate of compassion, or rather justice; and so natural is the connection between liberality and traffic, that by an immemorial law, the Rhodian people were either to be provided with employment by their supe-

[48] Diodorus intimates this by saying, ἐκ πλινθίνων ἀλλὰ λιθίνων. Diod. l. xix. s. 45.

[49] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 652.

[50] Ὀχετοί. Diodor. ibid.

[51] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 653.

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riors, or comfortably subsisted at the public expense. The burden of too numerous a progeny was alleviated at the charge of the state; and a superabundant family, which is the terror of beggarly peasants, formed the object of hope or of joy in this commercial commonwealth.

Maritime laws.

According to the experience of antiquity, the best of all governments was held to be a moderate aristocracy, in which the two great divisions of "men employed in the exercise of the head and of the hand," were connected by the reciprocal ties of respectful obedience and indulgent protection. Under such a political arrangement, the naval cities of Athens, Carthage, and Marseilles[52], as well as the military republics of Sparta and Rome, earned their fairest fame, and attained their meridian prosperity. Rhodes acquired equal and less invidious distinction, and increased it by means equally honourable to herself and useful to her neighbours. Instead of applying their marine to the purposes of depredation or ambition, the Rhodian senators directed it to the extirpation of pirates, who, issuing from the winding coasts of Asia Minor, and especially from the creeks of Cilicia, had long infested the Mediterranean.[53] In thus protecting general traffic, they merited the good-will of all civilized nations. They deserved it still farther by the wisdom and equity of their laws, which first introduced principles

[52] Cicero, Orat. pro Valer. Flac.

[53] There is not now even a fishing-boat on the whole southern coast.

of reason and utility in matters respecting the sea; an element which, except by themselves, the Lycians, and a few cities of Greece and Phœnicia, had hitherto been universally abandoned to disorder and anarchy.[54] The maritime laws of the Rhodians were adopted into the jurisprudence of Rome[55], and thence diffused through the world. If their scattered fragments still excite admiration, to what high praise must the whole have been entitled in the comparatively unenlightened age in which they were enacted!

The Rhodians chace Antigonus's squadron from their coast.

Such was the enviable condition of the Rhodians, when, eighteen years after the death of Alexander, Demetrius, by order of his father, required their assistance in his Cyprian expedition. Their connection with Ptolemy could not fail to produce a refusal; they conveyed it, however, in the least offensive terms; for their policy had hitherto engaged them to conciliate every one of Alexander's fortunate generals; to court them by embassies, to honour them with statues, to relieve occasionally the wants of all, while they carefully avoided to adopt the resentments of any, or to involve themselves in their quarrels. Intoxicated with his conquest of Cyprus, and the affected sovereignty of the seas, Antigonus determined to punish the disobedience of the Rhodians to his most unjustifiable demand. At first he sent a squadron of stout galleys to distress their trade, and particularly to

[54] Isocrat. Orat. de Pace.

[55] Pandect. l. xiv. Tit. 2. de lege Rhodea, de jactu.

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interrupt the perpetual navigation between their island and Egypt. The injured Rhodians, anxious as they were to preserve amity with so great a king, could not tamely brook the violation of their property. They armed vigorously for defence, and chased the fleet of Antigonus from their coasts.[56]

Demetrius sails to Rhodes with a great armament. Olymp. cxviii. 4. B. C. 305.

This becoming boldness was construed into an insult, deserving the severest vengeance. The cautious Rhodians, still willing to temporise, decreed new honours to Antigonus and his son, and endeavoured to soothe them by a submissive embassy. Their embassy was answered by the approach of two hundred ships of war, which, under the command of Demetrius, anchored at Lorima on the Carian coast, directly opposite to their harbours. His transports conveyed forty thousand men, with a due proportion of cavalry: engines, weapons, and military stores had been provided in the utmost profusion; and the royal fleet was accompanied by more than a thousand vessels belonging to merchants or pirates, who hoped to ravish the spoils of a wealthy and yet virgin island.[57]

Demetrius encamps on the island, which is ravaged by his partisans and the accompanying pirates.

The report of such powerful preparations might have filled the Rhodians with alarm. But the theatrical form of their city enabled them distinctly to behold the gleams of armour flashing from an armament, whose magnitude crowded their narrow seas. In approaching Rhodes, the ships of war formed a line in front: they were

[56] Diodor. l. xx. s. 82. [57] Diodor. ibid.

followed by vessels heavily laden with darts and engines, and slowly towed along by lighter galleys; the pirates came last, though their cruel service was to be first employed against a people, whose honourable opulence stimulated their own envious avidity. In modern war, much time and many precautions would be required for the safe landing of so stupendous a host: but the form of ancient vessels, which rendered them less safe on deep and open seas, exempted them however from many dangers on shoaly coasts.[58] The first care of Demetrius was to moor his ships at a due distance from the numerous engines, mounting the walls of Rhodes. Having effected this purpose, he sent forth his pirates and partisans to ravage the adjacent shores, and collect materials for inclosing a camp. In the course of this service, a hasty desolation overspread the gardens and beautiful villas, which formed the delight and the pride of those long fortunate islanders. An encampment, however, was marked out, and fortified: a new and capacious harbour was built for the invading armament; and the approaches to the capital of Rhodes were carefully smoothed, and secured on either side by entrenchments. CHAP. VII.

During these operations, repeated embassies were sent to Demetrius, by which the Rhodians offered even to relinquish their alliance with Ptolemy. But the invader, deeming this pro- Measures pursued by the Rhodians in this extremity.

[58] The water is deep at a little distance from the coast, but grows suddenly shallow near the ancient harbours and other parts of the shore.

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posal merely the effect of present terror, demanded an hundred hostages from their noblest families, and the immediate reception of his fleet into their harbours. In this extremity, the Rhodians manned their fleet, distributed their troops along the walls, repaired and multiplied their engines, and as their superiority in seamanship enabled them to command the outlets of their ports and break through the enemy's line, sent news of their situation to Seleucus, Lysimachus, Cassander, above all to Ptolemy, requiring immediate aid in a warfare in which they had involved themselves rather than depart from their friendly engagements with those princes. At the same time an unserviceable crowd of slaves and strangers was dismissed from the besieged city, and the useful portion of both was encouraged heartily to co-operate in the public defence; the former by the reward of personal freedom, the latter by a participation in future of all municipal rights. Yet in this moment of alarm, private property met with its due respect. The slaves to be enrolled as soldiers were first regularly purchased from their respective masters. Of such labouring citizens as should fall in battle, the families were to be maintained at the public expense; their daughters were to be dowered by the treasury; and their sons, on attaining the age of manhood, to be presented with a complete suit of armour in the theatre of Bacchus during the solemnity of his crowded festival.[59]

[59] Diodor. l. xx. s. 83.

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Rhodes besieged. —Extraordinary efforts on the side of both assailants and defenders.

Demetrius directed his arms against the harbours, because, after *their* surrender, the city itself would be soon driven by famine to submission. For the assault of the harbours, he provided two lofty towers, overtopping their highest defences, and floated each tower on firm and well-poised hulks. The higher compartments of these floating batteries were adapted to various forms of catapults, throwing weapons of different shapes and magnitudes; and the lower stories were provided with ballistas that discharged stones of an hundred pounds weight. The towers and hulks were encompassed on either side with huge pent-houses, and defended in front by a floating rampart: the whole accompanied with innumerable armed vessels, manned chiefly with Cretans as marines. His first attack was rendered ineffectual through a sudden storm. He renewed it next morning with music of trumpets and shouts of acclamation, but was so warmly received by the besieged that, after suffering more evil than he inflicted, he thought proper towards evening to sound a retreat. The Rhodians pursued him with fire-ships, and but for his moveable rampart, might have succeeded in burning his machines. But this ingenious edifice, while it defended his towers, enabled him to retort the ignited weapons of the enemy with such effect, that most of their vessels were consumed, and their crews were sometimes arrested by his javelins while they swam to the friendly shore. During eight successive days, the same mode of warfare was renewed, until Demetrius's

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machines were so much shattered that he was obliged to repair them in the harbour which he had fortified upon first landing in the island. When his preparations were completed, he returned to the charge, and was on the point of making a successful assault, when his operations were baffled through the singular enterprise of three Rhodian vessels, filled with chosen men, prepared to encounter certain death in the service of their country. Their impetuosity penetrated through a cloud of darts, broke asunder the floating rampart though strongly compacted and plated with iron, assaulted with their prows the hulks bearing Demetrius's machines, and filled two of them with water. Having performed this signal service, two Rhodian commanders escaped unhurt to their own shore; but Exacestus, commanding the admiral galley, ventured to assail a third hulk, which had been taken in tow by the enemy. His noble ardour cost him his ship and his life[60]; but the immortal exploit was not lost to his country, since it taught the invaders against what consummate skill and valour they would yet be obliged to contend.

Rhodes succoured by Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus.

The attention of every part of the empire was fixed on this memorable siege; and almost every city or province, beyond the immediate jurisdiction of Antigonus, testified anxious solicitude for the safety of the Rhodians. Upon the first intelligence of their danger, Cassander

[60] Diodor. l. xx. s. 85, 86, 87, & 88.

and Lysimachus had sent to them supplies of corn: Ptolemy succoured them more powerfully with men as well as with various kinds of provisions. Demetrius saw the necessity of using the utmost expedition in an undertaking universally unpopular; which at once enraged his enemies, and disgusted his allies. Hitherto the attacks on the land side had been only feints to aid the great operations at sea. But he now determined to try whether the city itself was equally capable of resistance with its unconquerable harbours. The Helepolis, employed on this occasion, resembled in form, but far exceeded in dimensions, that used in the siege of Salamis.[61] Its towers were an hundred and fifty feet high; it was supported on eight enormous wheels, and propelled by the labour of three thousand four hundred men. Its sides were plated with iron; the port-holes were defended by valves of raw hide, thickly covered with wool; and it was prepared to resist fire by the skilful distribution of water through every part of its immense bulk. Demetrius constructed also ten pent-houses, eight of which accompanied and guarded the Helepolis; and the two others carried battering rams, shaped like the beak of a galley, but each of them an hundred and eighty feet long. While these machines were preparing by the unremitted exertions of thirty thousand workmen, Deme-

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Demetrius's engines.

[61] Epimachus the Athenian had a principal share in the contrivances of this Helepolis used against Rhodes. Athenaei Liber. de Machin. Bellic. p. 7.

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trius made trial of the less operose expedients of mining and treachery. His mines, however, were successfully countermined by the enemy; and Athenagoras, the Milesian, commanding Ptolemy's reinforcement, pretended to listen to the proposal of defection, only that he might gain an opportunity of ensnaring the seducer.[62]

And operations.—Three bold attacks more boldly resisted.

Demetrius finally had recourse to his engines. With these he made three strenuous attacks, since he thrice effected a breach in the walls, but of which the bad consequences had been anticipated by a second and third line of bulwarks behind those which had fallen. After thus resisting the first assault, the Rhodians endeavoured to destroy the enemy's machines in the night; and, to the astonishment of Demetrius himself, directed against his Helepolis fifteen hundred darts and eight hundred fireballs.[63] The second attack, assisted by a feint at sea, proved fatal to many of the besiegers as well as of the besieged: among the latter, historians regret Ameinias, a noble Rhodian, illustriously distinguished in former scenes of the war, who fell after a heroic defence in the arms of victory. The third assault was of all the most complicated and the most desperate. Having effected a breach in the wall, but which was not found practicable, Demetrius selected fifteen hundred men of tried valour, and totally devoted to his service. They were ordered in the dead of night to attack the Rhodians who

[62] Diodor. l. xx. s. 93.

[63] Diodor. l. xx. s. 97.

guarded the ditches and defences behind this narrow and difficult inlet; and having thus entered the city, to take post in the market-place. It was expected that the confusion and terror occasioned by the appearance of armed men within the walls, would withdraw the Rhodians from their fortifications, and leave many parts of them unguarded in the morning, at the first dawn of which the city, on a given signal, was to be assailed on all sides by sea and land. Demetrius's *forlorn hope* succeeded in their arduous enterprise, and gained possession of the great theatre in the market-place: the lamentable wailings of women and children filled the streets of Rhodes as if the place had been already taken by storm: but when the concerted operations began at day-break, it was found that not a Rhodian soldier had quitted his post. This unaltered firmness, in despising the vain terrors of war, was inspired by the admirable presence of mind of the Rhodian senators, who gave strict orders to resist with unabating vigilance and energy the assailants from without, while a party of themselves, heading the auxiliaries recently sent by Ptolemy, undertook to deal with the enemies that had stolen within their city. Their measures concerted with wisdom, were executed with corresponding bravery. The hostile troops in the theatre and market-place were put to the sword, after a desperate resistance, in which they slew Damoteles, the president of the Rhodian senate, who disdained not, in this moment of emergency,

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the manual duties of a soldier, and thus sealed by his blood the glory which he had justly earned both as a statesman and general.[63]

Ambassadors from fifty states at once intercede for the Rhodians.

Demetrius had scarcely made his last unsuccessful attempt against Rhodes, when various causes combined to bring to a conclusion a siege, which, during a complete year, had now fruitlessly exercised the ingenuity of Greece, and exhausted the wealth of Asia. The impatient old age of Antigonus had exhorted his son, on any honourable terms, to relinquish his undertaking. Ambassadors from every Grecian community, that either in Asia or Europe affected the honour of independence, plied him with perpetual intercessions in favour of an admired commonwealth, the favourite and benefactress of the whole commercial world. On one occasion, not less than fifty ambassadors from different states crowded his camp at the same time, all heartily joining in the same earnest petition. But the circumstance which chiefly engaged him to raise the siege, was a concurrent deputation from the Athenians and Etolians[62], not only joining in the great general request, but urging Demetrius to sail to their immediate assistance, against the machinations of Cassander, who, during the occupation of their protector in a distant quarter, had encreased his partisans, and greatly enlarged his usurped possessions in both divisions of ancient

The siege raised and principal reason why. Olymp. cxix. 1. B. C. 304.

[63] Diodor. l. xx. s. 98.

[62] Conf. Diodor. l. xx. s. 99. Plutarch in Demet. p. 507. and Pausan. l. i. c. 26.

Greece. To be the deliverer of this illustrious country, was the favourite passion of Demetrius. With this glorious object, even the conquest of Rhodes could not bear any comparison; and the expected attainment of it furnished him with the honourable pretence, of which Antigonus desired him to lay hold, for terminating an unpropitious and unpopular warfare.

Incidents favourable to conciliation conspiring with this main reason.

During the siege itself, incidents also had occurred tending to revive the spirit of conciliation and amity. Amidst the fury of attack, and the obstinacy of resistance, a few individuals, exasperated at their private losses, had proposed to destroy the statues formerly erected by the Rhodians, in honour of Demetrius and his father. But the manly sense of the community rejected this contemptible revenge. Demetrius naturally respected a people, who opposed him with superior address and prowess; and whose pre-eminence was equally conspicuous in arts and arms. His susceptible and generous mind warmly embraced men cultivating pursuits congenial to his own. He admired, and probably could recite, the highly poetical strains of the Rhodian Simmias[66]; he contemplated and studied the far-famed sculpture of Chares: he affectionately embraced the contemporary merit of Protogenes, who, amidst the din of arms, remained tranquil in his suburban villa, patiently finishing those celebrated works which placed him in the

Protogenes the painter.

[66] This poet must not be confounded with the younger Simmias, (of whom hereafter,) who wrote poems in the form of eggs and hatchets.

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first rank of Grecian painters. In a visit made to him, Demetrius expressed admiration at his unaltered serenity amidst the tumult of war, Protogenes replied, "that Demetrius," he well knew, "did not wage war with the arts:" an ingenious and pleasing answer, which was rewarded by the young prince with the immediate appointment of a trusty guard to protect the house of Protogenes.[67]

Conditions of peace granted to the Rhodians. Olymp. cxix. 1. B. C. 304.

These reciprocal civilities conspired with the weightier reasons above mentioned, in disposing both parties to an accommodation. The conditions of the treaty were, that the Rhodians should enjoy their well-defended liberties, but become allies to Antigonus, without, however, being bound to take part with him in the war against Ptolemy. As the pledge of their sincerity, they granted a hundred hostages, to be chosen from the whole body of the citizens, except only the members of the government. Upon these terms Demetrius withdrew his armament, leaving the island unransomed, ungarrisoned, and independent.[68]

Honours decreed by the Rhodians to the kings, their allies.

For this unexpected deliverance, the Rhodians thanked their gods by a solemn festival, combining elegant pleasures with many gross superstitions. They, whose cautious policy had rejected the proposal of demolishing the statues of their enemies Antigonus and Demetrius, were forward in honouring with new statues their benefactors, Cassander and Lysimachus.

[67] Plutarch in Demet. [68] Diodor. l. xx. s. 99.

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On Ptolemy, their great ally, they conferred the title of Soter, the saviour, which thenceforward distinguished that prince; and sent a deputation to Hammon in Libya, in order to obtain the Oracle's consent for worshipping him as a god. The holy shrine approved the deification of a prince whose caravans supplied numerous retainers to the grove and temple of Hammon. Furnished with this authority, the Rhodians consecrated a quadrangular space, extending six hundred and twenty-five feet in front. It was called the Ptolemeion, adorned with a grove and altar, and distinguished by the regular return of games and sacrifices. At the same time that they performed this signal act of gratitude, the Rhodians were diligent in repairing their city, and in rebuilding those temples and theatres which had been reluctantly demolished, to supply materials for walls and battlements.[69]

Hopes and projects of Antigonus.

Demetrius, meanwhile, proceeded to Greece with his whole armament, consisting of three hundred and fifty sail. In his way thither, he deposited the Rhodian hostages in the strong castle of Ephesus. Antigonus, who was at this time preparing to amuse his old age, by celebrating pompous solemnities in his capital of Antigonia, expected that his son, after again rescuing Greece from the hands of Cassander, would, by means of reinforcements from that country, extend his arms over Macedon and

[69] Diodor. l. xx. s. 100.

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Thrace. He would then join forces with his father, who being thus master of the valour and discipline of Europe, might easily overwhelm his rivals in Egypt and the East.

Demetrius's successful expedition into Greece. Olymp. cxix. 2. B. C. 303.

In conformity with these lofty projects, Demetrius sailed through the Ægæan isles, landed successively at Chalcis in Eubæa, and Aulis in Bœotia, entered Attica, and compelled the Macedonians who had taken possession of all these countries, and were preparing to besiege Athens, to retreat with precipitation and much loss towards the straits of Thermopylæ, not less than six thousand of them, in their flight, deserting to the pursuer. In the space of a few months he thus recovered his ascendency over all the nine states, save Thessaly, beyond the Corinthian Isthmus.[70] He then visited Athens as a deliverer, and celebrated a long triumph during winter, in that beloved city, amidst the sweet soothings of flattery, and the unbridled licence of pleasure. The new Bacchus, who knew both to conquer and how to enjoy victory, was, by a decree of the republic which he had saved, lodged in the temple of his elder sister; in plainer language, Demetrius was honoured with a palace, or rather haram, in the edifice containing the Athenian treasury, immediately adjoining the Parthenon, or temple of Minerva. Thither he was accompanied by Lamia, a Cyprian courtezan, who compensated for the want of youth, by the witcheries of her profession. Chrysis, Demo,

Extraordinary proceedings in Athens.

[70] Diodor. l. xx. s. 100—102.

Anticyra, and many other blooming beauties, were the handmaids and substitutes of this aged sorceress, whom none of them ever rivalled in the affection of Demetrius: and the purlieus of the chaste Minerva, were besides polluted by such unnatural abominations, that, in the language of Plutarch, they seemed to regain purity and holiness by comparatively innocent revels, with the frail votaries of the Paphian divinity. Yet all was lawful to him, whom the servility of the Athenians set above all law, declaring by a second decree, that every one of his words and actions was essentially adorned with justice and piety.[71]

His success in Peloponnesus.

Early in the spring, Demetrius invaded the Peloponnesus, of which, two principal strong holds, Corinth and Sicyon, were respectively garrisoned by the troops of Cassander and Ptolemy. Ægium, the best fortified among the twelve cities of Achaia, was still held by Stronbichus, who is called the lieutenant of Polysperchon, although that general, worn down by old age, and the weight of his crimes, should seem to have remained careless of the affairs of Greece in the sullen gloom of his Etolian fortress. Corinth and Sicyon surrendered at the first summons; but Stronbichus defended Ægium to the last extremity, and repeatedly defied Demetrius from its walls with just, and therefore the more painful insults. The strong-hold of Achaia being at length taken by assault, the

[71] Plut. in Demet.

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audacious governor with eighty of his friends were tried, condemned, and crucified[72]; a tremendous spectacle in a country, where, notwithstanding perpetual and bloody enormities, public executions were rare, and crucifixion abominated. Bura, Patra, and the inferior cities of Achaia, opened their gates to Demetrius. In the capital of Argolis, he presided at the festival of Argive Juno; and enlivened that solemnity by celebrating his nuptials with Deidamia, the sister of a prince destined to great renown, then tutoring in early youth in the school of adversity, the illustrious Pyrrhus of Epirus, who was successively to become Demetrius's partner in arms, his hostage with king Ptolemy, and lastly his rival for the vacant throne of Macedon.[73]

Declared general of the Greeks. Olymp. cxix. 3. B. C. 302.

After terminating the war as successfully in Peloponnesus, as he had formerly done in the country beyond the Isthmus, Demetrius summoned the states of both divisions of Greece to Corinth, that they might still exercise the forms of that liberty, of which they had long lost the substance. The complaisant deputies from sixteen once independent republics, appointed him their general, with the same authority and honours formerly conferred by them on Philip and his immortal son. The contingents of troops by which they respectively increased his army, made his land-forces amount to sixty-five thousand men. At the head of such a mighty host, he made no secret of his design of conquering

[72] Diodor. l. xx. s. 103. [73] Plutarch in Pyrrho.

Macedon and Thrace, in his way to join his father; and, after reinforcing Antigonus with the strength of Europe, of raising that prince and himself to universal empire. His lofty purposes, which good policy would have taught him to conceal, were betrayed even on the most trivial occasions. While he assumed the appellation of king, he proudly refused that title to any of his rivals; and in the hours of convivial merriment was flattered on this score by his low parasites, who would frequently drink a health to "admiral Ptolemy," "to treasurer Lysimachus[74]", "to Seleucus master of the elephants." The wildest extravagancies of Demetrius were approved, cherished, and fomented by the degenerate Greeks; above all the Athenians, destined in their varying character to exhibit the utmost extremes of manhood and of meanness. On his way to Thessaly, the only district of Greece, which still acknowledged the authority of Cassander, Demetrius purposed to revisit Athens, and there to enjoy a second triumph. Together with this intention, he intimated to the Athenians his desire of being initiated into the mysteries of Ceres, provided they could conduct him through the whole detail of this ceremony, in the course of a single day. By an ancient and sacred law, the lesser mysteries were never to be celebrated in the same

Servility of the Athenians.

[74] Lysimachus was exceedingly provoked at this appellation, treasurers being commonly eunuchs, of whose fidelity the Greeks had learned in the East to entertain a high opinion. Conf. Plut. in Demet. and Xenophon de Inst. Cyr. l. vii. p. 196.

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month, or the same year with the greater. But this obstacle was removed by the expedient of altering the course of time by a decree; and, after the convenience of Demetrius had been thus consulted, of restoring the months and years to their accustomed order.[75]

Cassander, peace being refused to him, applies to Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy.

Cassander, meanwhile, justly alarmed not only for Thessaly but for Macedon itself, sent ambassadors to crave peace from Antigonus. But the latter prince, not more guarded than his son in concealing the loftiness of his ambition, would hear of no terms short of unconditional submission. This proud answer could not fail to enforce Cassander's negotiations with his neighbour Lysimachus, and with his more distant friends Seleucus and Ptolemy.

State of Lysimachus's affairs at this crisis.

The circumstances, indeed, of all these princes, were at this time highly favourable to a firm and effectual alliance against their common enemies. Lysimachus, by great though obscure exertions, had extended his power over the warlike mountaineers of Hæmus and Rhodopé. He had crossed the former of these barriers, and subdued the Triballi, between Mount Hæmus and the Danube. The Getae, who, on the eastern frontier of the Triballi, inhabited both banks of that river, acknowledged the superiority of his arms. The Autariadæ and other Illyrian tribes, living between the Triballi, and the shores of the Hadriatic, had experienced the valour of Lysimachus, and were ready to

[75] Plutarch in Demet.

accompany his standard. In a word, he commanded the resources, highly important in a military point of view, of those central provinces[76] between the Euxine and Hadriatic, which have long formed the iron frontier of Turkish power, and which have in all ages produced men of slow minds but vigorous bodies, prodigal of life, and rapacious of plunder. The Greek city Calatis, confident in the strength of its walls, still maintained independence. But notwithstanding the precarious freedom of this and other seaports, Lysimachus had built up and consolidated a great military monarchy. To commemorate the success of his reign, and to procure heroic worship for his shade, he had completed his capital Lysimachia, on the neck of the Thracian Chersonesus; a valuable slip of land compressed between the Hellespont and Propontis on one side, and an arm of the Ægean on the other. Near the place where Lysimachia was built, the Isthmus is only thirty-seven furlongs broad, and had been inclosed a century before this period, with a strong wall by Dercyllidas[77], the Lacedæmonian general. Thus defended on the north, the new capital of Thrace, was guarded and adorned by fortified harbours on two seas. It commanded a beautiful peninsula fifty miles long, and fifteen broad; abounding in rich corn-fields, interspersed with lawns and orchards. In magnifi-

Lysimachia.

[76] Diodor. l. xix. s. 73. & Memnon apud Phot.

[77] History of Ancient Greece, v. iii. c. 27.

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cence of prospect and conveniency of situation[78], Lysimachia was indeed inferior to Byzantium at the opposite extremity of the Propontis. But in these particulars, Byzantium surpassed all cities in the world; and its natural advantages enabled it, after the death of Alexander, to re-assert, in arms as well as arts, the genuine dignity of a Greek colony, and to elude the grasping usurpation of the Macedonian captains.

State of Seleucus's affairs.

The circumstances of Seleucus were still more prosperous than those of the Thracian king. From the time that he had recovered Babylonia, he had employed nearly ten years in confirming his dominion over the eastern conquests of Alexander. His will had the force of law over the vast regions between the Euphrates and Indus. Seleucus spurned the latter boundary, and claimed for his own the valuable territory between the Indus and Ganges; then wealthier and more commercial than at the present day. But a great revolution in that country defeated his purpose. Sandracottus, an Indian by birth, had learned the art of war in the camp of Alexander. Being endowed with abilities equal to his ambition, he deceived and deserted his instructors, and gradually placed himself at the head of a great army in a country, where it should seem that military adventurers have in all ages been easily attracted to warlike

[78] T. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 38.

and liberal standards. Sandracottus reduced the feeble Macedonian garrisons in Lahore, received the submission of their reluctant tributaries, and extended his dominion to Palibothra, now Patna, on the Ganges, which he rendered the capital of his empire. Instead of persevering in an unprofitable war with this illustrious usurper, Seleucus gained his friendship, accepted his daughter in marriage, and, amidst other nuptial gifts, was strengthened for his western warfare, by a present of five hundred elephants.[79] The treaty was maintained with great fidelity between Seleucus and his Indian father-in-law. By means of their steady friendship, the rich staples on the Ganges, particularly Callinypaxa, the modern Canoge, were opened to the commercial enterprise of the Greeks. In this place, the natives of Taprobana, or Ceylon, might be seen trading with the European subjects of Seleucus.[80] For the convenience of caravans, a secure and spacious route, called the Royal road, was traced between the Indus and the Ganges.[81] Megasthenes and Daimachus successively resided at Palibothra, as ambassadors from Seleucus[82]; and, through the wise policy of Alexander's immediate successor in the East, a part of his great plan was carried into execution, and Assyria again enriched through the commerce of India.

His alliance and intercourse with the Indian Sandracottus.

[79] Strabo, l. xv. p. 724. Conf. Justin. l. xv. c. 4. & Plut. in Alexand.

[80] Plin. l. vi. c. 22.

[81] Strabo, l. xv. p. 689. Conf. p. 708

[82] Strabo, l. ii. p. 70.

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Seleucia on the Tigris.

Seleucus, as well as Lysimachus, had gratified his vanity and superstition, by founding a new capital distinguished by his name. The numerous inhabitants of Babylon gradually transported themselves about forty-five miles northward to Seleucia on the Tigris. The situation was judiciously chosen in the valuable district of Nineveh or Bagdad, particularly described in a former part of this work; and which, from the local circumstances there mentioned, was peculiarly well calculated to be the seat of a great city. An inundation of the Euphrates, which demolished part of Babylon, and many distinguished privileges bestowed on Seleucia, hastened the aggrandisement of the new capital, at the expence of the old one.[83]

Of Ptolemy.

From the detached situation of Egypt, surrounded by seas or a sandy ocean, Ptolemy had not the same opportunity with his rivals of making valuable contiguous conquests. He had indeed added to his dominions the remote Greek colonies in Cyrené; but his great superiority consisted in the improvement of his domestic resources, by a policy alike active and liberal. His equal laws were faithfully and impartially administered. Industry was protected; letters protected and honoured; the commerce of the kingdom was greatly extended by sea and land; and the munificent encouragement given in Egypt to every useful pursuit, attracted thither vast accessions of peaceful and industrious sub-

[83] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 738. & Plin. l. vi. c. 26.

jects from other parts of the empire. Ptolemy affected not the honour of distinguishing a new capital by his name. He had a nobler pride in adorning Alexandria, the immortal monument of his revered brother. That city had now become the seat of arts, commerce, and letters; and had the prospect of long enjoying these advantages, since amidst the wars that desolated the great countries of Asia, Egypt, like a well-guarded island, had for twenty years repelled hostility from its coasts; and the attempts to invade it by Perdiccas and Antigonus, had redounded to the ruin of the former, and the disgrace of the latter. A kingdom that had foiled in its own defence, the two greatest armies ever collected in the empire, was likely to co-operate with decisive effect against the public enemy.

Lysimachus first takes the field against Antigonus. Olymp. cxix. 3. B. C. 302.

It seldom happens that matters can be so secretly adjusted among various and distant allies, as entirely to escape the notice of those who are the objects of their hostility. Yet this concealment was attained by princes residing in Cassandria and Lysimachia in Europe, in Alexandria near the Nile, and in Seleucia on the Tigris. The pride of Antigonus and his son lulled them into a fatal security, while their enemies concerted measures for assailing them with united strength, and for carrying with all dispatch the war into Upper Phrygia, the centre of their dominions. Lysimachus was first in the field, eager to reap the fruits of twenty years' preparation. Demetrius so little appre-

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hended any danger from the side of Thrace, that, as the straits of Thermopylæ had been occupied by Cassander, he was preparing to invade Thessaly by sea, with a great fleet, part of which might have been better employed in guarding the Hellespont and Propontis. Lysimachus thus found the passage clear into Asia. He was accompanied thither by Prepelaus, lieutenant to Cassander, commanding a considerable reinforcement. These generals speedily made themselves masters of nearly the whole western coast. Most cities made a show of resistance; several voluntarily surrendered; Abydus as well Erythræ and Clazomené, which were distinguished by a successful defence, subjected their respective territories to the ravages of the enemy. Prepelaus, who took Ephesus, delivered the Rhodian hostages in its castle, and burnt a numerous fleet lying in its harbour. He then marched eastward to the royal city of Sardes, into which he gained admission through the treachery of Phœnix, its governor. The citadel, however, was obstinately defended by the more faithful Philip. Without waiting to besiege it, Prepelaus hastened to join Lysimachus, who, victorious on all sides, had advanced into Upper Phrygia, and fixed his head-quarters at the central city of Synnada[84], which, together with

[84] Synnada is exactly in the middle between the Euxine and Mediterranean in Major Rennell's admirable maps to Xenophon's Retreat. M. D'Anville had contracted Asia Minor by a whole degree of latitude: Mr. Rennell, by the aid of better materials, has restored that Peninsula to its due dimensions.

its fortress, containing a rich treasury, had been betrayed to him by Docimus, another of Antigonus's treacherous generals.[85]

Campaign in Lesser Asia. Olymp. cxix. 3. B.C. 302.

That king of Asia, as he affected to be called, still remained in his capital Antigonia, enjoying the conquests of Demetrius in Greece, and hoping speedily to hear news of equally brilliant success in his projected warfare against Thrace and Macedon. To celebrate his future triumphs, he had assembled on the banks of the Orontes a train of musicians and machinists; priests, poets, painters, and all the showy retinue of festive superstition. When he first received intimation of the designs formed against him, he spoke of his enemies in his usual strain of contempt: as annoying vermin that would speedily be dispersed. But the surrender of his cities, and the treachery of his lieutenants, roused him from his haughty repose, and forced him hastily to dismiss his artists and assemble his army.[86] By rapid marches he hastened into Phrygia, before Lysimachus had been joined by his distant confederates. That prince, wisely determining to keep on the defensive until the arrival of Seleucus and Ptolemy, had fortified a camp at Synnada; but upon learning Antigonus's approach, and not perfectly satisfied in that neighbourhood as to the security of supplies, he secretly decamped, moved fifty miles northward to the frontier of Phrygia, and posted himself at Doryleum on the confluence of the Bathys and

[85] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 107.

[86] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 108.

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Thymbris, which flow into the Sangarius. In this fertile district, he anxiously waited his auxiliaries, after strengthening the natural defences of two rivers by a deep ditch and a triple rampart.[87]

Antigonus, who followed the enemy with all possible diligence, found, on his arrival in the vicinity of Doryleum, the works of Lysimachus completed, and his entrenchments too strong to be forced. To keep alive the alacrity of his troops, he made, however, some slight attacks. Lysimachus, from a similar motive, sent forth detachments to repress or retort them. In the skirmishes which thus happened, the king of Asia uniformly prevailed. Discouraged by this circumstance, and perceiving that his adversary by lines of circumvallation had greatly straitened his quarters, Lysimachus determined again to change his position. This measure, which the unwieldly encumbrances of modern war would have rendered impracticable in the face of a superior enemy, the lightness and agility of ancient armies enabled him happily to effect. The maritime city of Heraclæa, a colony of Megara, was distant little more than an hundred miles from Doryleum. It abounded in resources of every kind, having been wisely governed by its late master Dionysius, and still more ably by his widow, Amastris, a Persian princess of extraordinary fortune and more extraordinary endowments.[88] She was the daughter

Lysimachus's bold march to Heraclæa.

Amastris. — Her history.

[87] Diodor. l. xx. §. 108.

[88] Arrian and Memnon apud Photium, c. v. p. 709.

of Oxathres, brother to the last Darius; and at the famous nuptial solemnity of Greeks and Persians, had been given in marriage by Alexander to his beloved Craterus. But this general having been induced by motives of policy to espouse Philla, the daughter of Antipater, yielded Amastris to Dionysius, who, from the rank of a private citizen, had been invested with royal honours in Heraclæa. Upon the death of Dionysius, Amastris contracted a third marriage with Lysimachus[89], to whom she brought as her dower the useful friendship of the Heraclæans, who owed to her the greatest obligations, and who, though like other Greek colonies in their neighbourhood, they acknowledged a loose kind of dependence on Antigonus, were now ready to receive and abet his mortal enemy. For reaching in safety these valuable allies, Lysimachus decamped in a dark and stormy night, crossed at known fords the river Bathys and Sangarius, scaled a branch of Bithynian Olympus, and descended from that lofty ridge into the hospitable Salonian plain; from which, but principally from Heraclæa, he was provided with every accommodation necessary for a great army.[90]

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Antigonus, when he perceived that his enemies had escaped him, instead of pursuing them across the mountain, chose a parallel and easier line of march towards Heraclæa, along the

[89] Arrian and Memnon apud Photium, c. v. p. 709.

[90] Diodor. l. xx. s. 109.

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Phrygian frontier. But heavy rains conspired with the tenacious clay of the soil greatly to interrupt his progress. It was now winter: he had learned that both Seleucus and Ptolemy were in motion; instead of hastening to attack Lysimachus, he determined to wait the arrival of Demetrius; and yielded to the desire of his soldiers of going into quarters in Phrygia for the remainder of the season.[91]

Demetrius joins his father in Asia. Olymp. cxix. 3. B. C. 302.

Before Demetrius received his father's message to attend him, he had invaded Thessaly, the only division of Greece still bridled by Macedonian garrisons. The conquest of Phera and Larissa had given to him the command of the whole province; and he now stood on the frontier of Macedon with an army above sixty thousand strong, and nearly double in number to that with which Cassander prepared to oppose him.[92] At this great crisis of his fortune, Demetrius hesitated not a moment to obey his father's commands, how painful soever might be the duty. Merely to save appearances, he granted peace to Cassander, on condition that the Greeks should thenceforward enjoy undisturbed freedom.[93] He then sailed for Ephesus; and having sent part of his fleet to guard the narrow seas, rescued the Asiatic coasts of the Hellespont and Ægæan with more facility from the garrisons of Lysimachus than that prince had recently over-run and subdued them.

[91] Diodor. l. xx. s. 109.

[92] Plut. in Demet. and Diodor. l. xx. s. 110.

[93] Diodor. l. xx. s. 3.

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Cassander sends Pleistarchus to reinforce the confederates. — His shipwreck.

Cassander meanwhile determined to avail himself of the enemy's departure, to promote both his private interest and the general good of the confederacy. Instead of following Demetrius into Asia, he remained in Macedon with the greater part of his army, hoping thereby to recover his ascendency in Greece. But his brother Pleistarchus, with twelve thousand foot and five hundred horse, was destined to reinforce Lysimachus in the neighbourhood of Heraclæa. On proceeding to the Thracian Bosporus, Pleistarchus found that canal guarded by thirty stout galleys; and at the same time learned, that the Asiatic shore of Chalcedon was secured by strong posts powerfully defended. He resolved therefore to advance northward to Odessus, midway between the Bosporus and the mouths of the Danube, situate on a bay of the Euxine, in a direct course about three hundred miles distant from the opposite bay of Heraclæa. At Odessus a sufficient number of vessels could not be procured for conveying the whole army in one embarkation. It sailed therefore in three successive divisions, of which the first reached Heraclæa in safety; the second was taken by Demetrius's guard-ships; the third, commanded by Pleistarchus in person, was long tossed and finally overwhelmed by a tempest. Only thirty-three persons were saved in the admiral galley, a vessel of six banks of oars, with a complement of five hundred men. Pleistarchus was in that number, being carried to the shore of Heraclæa,

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while he clung to a plank of the wreck.[94] About the same time that this disaster happened, several thousands of Lysimachus's soldiers, disgusted with the parsimony or poverty of their master, deserted to the more lucrative service of Antigonus; who, after paying his army three months in advance, had recently drawn to the value of six hundred thousand pounds sterling from the Cilician fortress Kuinda.[95]

Seleucus marches to Lesser Asia to join Lysimachus.

To balance these misfortunes to the confederates, Seleucus had accomplished his long and toilsome march from Upper Asia, and encamped in Cappadocia with an army breathing valour, and bearing the well-earned trophies of the East. After the example of Assyrian and Persian kings, he might have carried with him a far more numerous host. But Seleucus disdained this empty ostentation, well knowing that the enemy with whom he had to contend, was not to be terrified by unwieldly magnitude. His force consisted of twenty thousand chosen infantry; twelve thousand horse; an hundred armed chariots, together with four hundred and eighty elephants, the magnificent present of his father-in-law Sandrocottus.[96]

Ptolemy stands aloof.—His views.

The army of Ptolemy alone was now wanting. But this cautious and crafty prince never reinforced his confederates. Upon Antigonus's departure from Syria, he had indeed invaded that province, and laboured to recover those possessions

[94] Diodor. l. xx. s. 111, 112. [95] Diodor. l. xx. s. 108.
[96] Conf. Diodor. l. xx. cap. ult. Strabo, l. xv. p. 687. Justin. l. xv. c. 4.

in Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, which he regarded as essential appendages to his Egyptian kingdom. While employed in the tedious siege of Sidon, a report reached his camp [97] that Antigonus had obtained a great and decisive victory over Lysimachus, and was marching with all haste to encounter and chastise the rash invaders of Syria, the seat of his capital, and rich kernel of his empire. In consequence of this rumour, Ptolemy raised the siege of Sidon, and precipitately abandoned his conquests in Syria, glad, perhaps, of a pretext for maintaining his own strength secure and unbroken behind the marshes of the Nile, while his rivals were about to shock in a desperate conflict, that was likely to destroy the vanquished, and deeply to wound the conqueror.

Battle of Ipsus in Phrygia. Olymp. cxix. 4. B. C. 301.

Without fruitlessly waiting the arrival of Ptolemy, Seleucus and Lysimachus, who had joined forces in Phrygia, prepared for a general engagement. Their infantry, amounting to sixty-four thousand men, fell little short of that of the enemy now assembled under Antigonus and his son in the same province. The cavalry on either side exceeded twelve thousand. Antigonus, however, had only seventy-five elephants. A delay should seem to have been occasioned by the desire in both parties to fight with their whole force, in a battle that was to prove decisive, but of which no description has come

[97] Diodor. l. xx. cap. ult.

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down to us[88], and of which even the scene is not precisely ascertained. The name of Ipsus, indeed, is familiar, but its site is unknown. It must have stood, however, in that district of Phrygia, which received the epithet of Paroreidon, from its inclosure between two parallel ridges: it is a narrow, but very long valley, well watered and fruitful. In this district, and twenty-five miles south of Synnada, there was a city, called in modern times, Seleukter, probably a corruption of Seleucia.[89] Among the many cities by which Seleucus commemorated his exploits, he would hardly fail, when master of Asia, to connect his name with the field of Ipsus, the most important of all his victories. In this manner, Ipsus would disappear from geography, though it remained in history. It was thus, as we shall see in the next chapter, that Rossus, an ancient city near the mouth of the Orontes, lost its name in Seleucia Pieria. Seleucter, more commonly called Sakli, forms the point of separation, of the great route through the Peninsula from Syria, into two roads leading, respectively, to Ephesus and to Byzantium. The post was judiciously chosen for the defence of Lesser Asia, and we shall see that Demetrius benefited by this position, in effecting his escape. Antigonus, now in his

[88] There is a blank in the text of Diodorus, who has preserved, from Jerom of Cardia, the less memorable battles of Antigonus.

[89] I owe this conjecture to my friend Major Rennell. See his Expedition of Cyrus, p. 34.

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eighty-first [100] year, had long maintained his ascendency by resolution and energy. Though a stern commander and rigid master, he was accustomed in the hottest battle to relax his austerity, to array his countenance in smiles, and to encourage his troops by lively familiar sallies, and even loud laughter. But, at the crisis of his fortune, he began to tremble on the giddy height to which his ambition had ascended. On the important day, the tall unwieldy old man unfortunately tripped as he issued from his pavilion and fell prostrate on the ground. This accident roused his latent superstition: he hesitated about his order of battle, he shewed Demetrius to the troops, and prayed for himself that he might at least fall in the arms of victory. The combat having begun with the cavalry, Demetrius bravely repelled the hostile squadrons commanded by young Antiochus, son and successor to Seleucus. But his eagerness in the pursuit carried him beyond due bounds [101], and afforded an opportunity to Seleucus, by interposing a line of elephants, to intercept his return, and thereby to prevent that co-operation between the infantry and horse, from which the specific excellence of the Macedonian tactics resulted. Antigonus's phalanx being thus left unguarded, was threatened by the attack in flank, generally decisive. The mere apprehension of this consequence, made a great part of the infantry revolt to the enemy. The

[100] Appian, Syriac. c. 55. & Lucian in Macrob.
[101] Plutarch in Demet.

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remainder being outflanked, afforded an easy victory: the nearer part of their deep line was encompassed, compressed, and cut in pieces; the more remote was disordered and put to flight.[102] When the tumult of battle approached the person of Antigonus, who still anxiously expected aid from his son, that unhappy old man was deserted by those around him, and overwhelmed by a shower of javelins. Thorax of Larissa alone remained in the field, and was found guarding the dead body of the king. Demetrius returned from his ill-judged pursuit only to learn the death of his father, and to behold the dreadful extent of their common calamity. In this deplorable state of his affairs, he hastened to join the fugitives. By a precipitate retreat of two hundred miles, he escaped to Ephesus, and there regained the protection of his fleet, with only four thousand horse and five thousand infantry.[103] Such was the decisive battle of Ipsus, which destroyed the hopes and the life of Antigonus, the second of Alexander's captains who had aspired to universal empire.

[102] Plutarch in Demet.

[103] Id. ibid. & Appian, Syriac. c. 55.

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New Partition of the Empire. — Flight of Demetrius to Greece. — His Transactions there and in Thrace. — Marries his Daughter to Seleucus. — Surprises the Strong-holds in Cilicia. — Sends Pyrrhus as Hostage into Egypt. — History of Cassander and his Sons. — Demetrius King of Macedon. — Lysimachus's War beyond the Danube. — Demetrius's second Greatness. — His City Demetrias. — His capricious Government. — Macedon wrested from him by Lysimachus. — His Expedition into Lesser Asia. — Captivity, Death, and Character. — Polygamy — its Effects on the Affairs of Alexander's Successors. — Ptolemy, his Wives and Sons. — His younger Son raised by him to the Throne. — Tragedy in the Family of Lysimachus. — Which involves him in War with Seleucus. — Motives and Views of the latter Prince. — Story of his Son Antiochus and Wife Stratonicé. — Lysimachus slain in the Battle of Corupedion. — His Character. — New Cities. — Fond Hopes of Seleucus. — Is assassinated by Ptolemy Keraunus. — Motives of the Assassin. — Seleucus's Character. — His new Cities. — Ptolemy Soter. — His wise Administration. — Prosperous State of Egypt. — Letters, Sciences, and Arts. — Coronation Festival of his Son.

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Partition of Antigonus's territories. Olymp. cxix. 4. B. C. 301.

Of the four confederates against Antigonus and his son, Seleucus only and Lysimachus fought in the decisive battle of Ipsus: Cassander, though not actually present, reinforced their arms with a considerable body of troops under his brother Pleistarchus; Ptolemy neither appeared in person, nor sent any auxiliaries. He recovered,

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however, the quiet possession of Cœle-Syria and Palæstine, appendages essential to his kingdom. Seleucus gained the rest of Syria, and was confirmed in his extensive dominion between the Euphrates and the Indus.[1] Lysimachus acquired Lesser Asia, from the Ægæan sea to those lofty highlands, which shut up the eastern frontier of Cappadocia, and, bending southward, repel the Euphrates from the Mediterranean. This mountainous tract, called afterwards Seleucian[2] Cappadocia, bounded Lysimachus's possessions eastward. His jurisdiction, therefore, comprehended the ancient kingdom of Crœsus; in other words, nearly the whole of the Asiatic peninsula. Cassander obtained nothing in Asia for himself; but his brother Pleistarchus was invested with the valuable province of Cilicia.[3]

The harbour of Athens shut against Demetrius.

While the confederates were employed in adjusting their claims, and taking possession of their conquests, Demetrius, who had hastily embarked at Ephesus, prepared to remedy, as far as possible, the sad consequences of defeat. He had reason to hope that his strong garrisons in Tyre and Sidon would still defend these cities, although Phœnicia and all Syria lay at the mercy of his enemies. He was master of the isle of Cyprus. His troops retained hold of Megara, Corinth, and Sicyon. His fleet

[1] Appian, Syriac. c. 59. Polyb. Excerp. e Legat. s. 89. and Plutarch in Demet.

[2] It was that part of Cappadocia subject to Seleucus, the greater part of the province belonging to Lysimachus.

[3] Plutarch in Demet.

was far the mightiest in the empire; and for retrieving his affairs, he relied on the cordial assistance of many Greek cities, especially of his beloved Athens, the object of his unbounded kindness, which that republic had hitherto repaid by more boundless adulation. Towards Athens, which worshipped him as her tutelary god, he immediately proceeded, and was steering his course through the Cyclades, when a vessel, conveying ambassadors from that state, met him at sea, and acquainted him, that the Athenians had just passed a decree, forbidding any of the kings to be admitted within their walls. In conformity with this resolution, they informed him that his spouse Deidamia had been escorted with all due respect from Athens to Megara.[4]

He lands at Corinth.

Demetrius received the news like a man who knew that the blackest ingratitude might naturally be expected in adversity, from a people who had been the vilest flatterers of his power. He only required them to send round to Corinth the ships belonging to him in their harbours; and, at the same time, directed his course for that city. Upon his arrival there, he found that during his unfortunate expedition into Asia, Cassander had been successfully employed in recovering his ascendency in both divisions of Greece; that Thessaly and Bœotia had again submitted to his arms; and that several strongholds of Peloponnesus were already bridled with his garrisons. As nothing of moment therefore

Makes a predatory

[4] Plutarch in Demet.

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expedition against Thrace.

could be hastily effected in this quarter, Demetrius availed himself of the superiority of his fleet, and the continuance of Lysimachus in Asia, to make extensive and ruinous depredations on the coast of Thrace. From the Hellespont to mount Hæmus, the maritime parts of that country were plundered or desolated. In this manner he at once enriched his soldiers, and retaliated the injuries of his worst enemy.[5]

Lysimachus marries Ptolemy's daughter.

Meanwhile, Seleucus and Lysimachus gradually lost that cordiality as neighbours, which they had long maintained as allies. The vast dominions of the former, in many parts very feebly guarded, might prove a dangerous temptation to the latter, who had carried with him to the East almost the whole strength of Thrace, and who, by his dominion in the Asiatic peninsula, containing such a strong mixture of European blood, might successfully invade the less warlike provinces of Upper Asia. The natural jealousy between these ambitious princes, was heightened by the complicated affinities which Lysimachus contracted with the king of Egypt. Agathocles, heir to his dominions, had married Lysandra, a daughter of Ptolemy by Euridicé; his daughter Arsinoé was betrothed to Ptolemy's son, afterwards surnamed Philadelphus; and Lysimachus himself, after separating from Amastris, the mother of Agathocles, now obtained in wedlock Arsinoé, Ptolemy's daughter

[5] Diodorus and Plutarch.

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by his second wife Berenicé a woman all-powerful with her husband. To counterbalance[6] this close connection between his rivals, Seleucus turned his eyes to Demetrius, who had recently shewn himself still qualified to become an useful auxiliary. Though himself advanced in years, and happy in the virtues of his son Antiochus[7], Seleucus desired in marriage Stratonicé, daughter to Demetrius by Philla, herself the favourite daughter of Antipater. In accomplishments Stratonicé imitated her mother, of whom we have before spoken, and still surpassed her in beauty.[8]

Which makes Seleucus seek a marriage in the family of Demetrius.

Demetrius greedily embraced an alliance, which afforded him a near prospect of repairing his fortune. His affairs in Greece were entrusted to young Pyrrhus, the expatriated king of Epirus, his companion in arms at the unfortunate battle of Ipsus. Having collected a powerful armament, he embarked with Stratonicé, and sailed for the coast of Syria, where Seleucus had already built Antioch, on the Orontes, from the ruins of demolished Antigonia. Seleucia, however, had not yet risen near the mouth of that river, so that Demetrius landed at the more ancient port of Rossus; a place thenceforward unnoticed in history, because Seleucia, the harbour, as it were, of Antioch, was destined speedily to drain Rossus

Demetrius sails with his daughter, Stratonicé to Syria. Olymp. cxx. 2. B. C. 299.

[6] Plutarch, ibid.

[7] Born to him by the Parthian Apama. Strabo, l. xii. p. 578. and Appian, Syriac.

[8] Appian and Plutarch, ibid.

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of its inhabitants, and to reduce it to obscurity. In his way to Rossus with his affianced daughter, Demetrius displayed his characteristic eccentricity. Having made a sudden descent on the coast of Cilicia, he plundered the treasury of Kuinda of twelve hundred talents. Leaving Pleistarchus to prefer unavailing complaints to his allies, he hastily embarked, reached Syria in safety, presented Stratonicé to her admirer; and having celebrated with him three days the nuptial festivity, returned unexpectedly to Cilicia, and made himself master of the whole province. Pleistarchus, believing his neighbour Seleucus to be privy to this enterprise, fled in trepidation to Cassander in Macedon.[9]

Surprises Cilicia, and wrests it from Pleistarchus.

For a short time, indeed, the appearance of confidential friendship subsisted between the king of Syria and Demetrius. Through the interference of Seleucus, Demetrius obtained a reconciliation with Ptolemy, and even betrothed the Egyptian princess Ptolemais, (Ptolemy's daughter by Euridicé,) though their marriage was not celebrated till many years afterwards. But the enterprising spirit of his young father-in-law at length awakened in Seleucus the most uneasy suspicions. The maritime province of Cilicia, with the seaports of Tyre and Sidon, were dangerous possessions in the hands of so active a prince, still master of Cyprus and many cities in Greece; commanding a considerable land-force, and the greatest fleet in

Seleucus's jealousy of Demetrius.

[9] Appian & Plutarch. ibid.

the empire. Seleucus offered to purchase from him Cilicia, at a vast price. Demetrius indignantly rejected this proposal; and not only strengthened the natural defences of Cilicia, but to defeat the grasping disposition of Seleucus, powerfully reinforced his garrisons in Tyre and Sidon. About the same time, Ptolemy, who began to feel alarm for the safety of his coasts and the security of his trade, required hostages from his new ally for the maintenance of the amity recently contracted between them, and of which Ptolemais was to be the future bond. Demetrius consented to this condition, not unusual in such engagements. Having settled his affairs in the East, he returned to his possessions in Greece; received his garrisons in good order from Pyrrhus; and sent that young prince, whom he then greatly valued, as his hostage into Egypt; an occurrence, which, by affording to the yet obscure Epirot an opportunity of recommending himself to the friendship of Ptolemy, reinstated him in his hereditary kingdom, and eventually enabled him to embark in those bold projects from which his name derives so much lustre. The pride of Demetrius concurred with his interest, in carrying him a third time towards Athens, then governed by Lachares, a creature of Cassander; and the cruel oppressor of his fellow-citizens.[10] The city made an obstinate resistance, the Athenians having passed a decree denouncing death against any who

[10] Pausanias, Attic. c. 25. et 29.

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should talk of submission to an invader, whom their former ingratitude, they believed, must have exasperated to the utmost pitch of vengeance. The great superiority of his armament enabled Demetrius to block up Athens by sea and land. But a sudden storm which shattered or sunk many of his ships, and the arrival of an hundred and fifty sail carrying supplies from Egypt, long retarded his success. At length he collected double that number of galleys from Cyprus, Cilicia, and Peloponnesus; drove the unequal fleet of Ptolemy, now his open enemy, from the Athenian coast; and intercepted so completely all kinds of supplies from the besieged city during many months, that its defenders were compelled to submission, through the combined pressure of sedition and famine. Demetrius summoned the citizens to the market-place. Lachares, his most obnoxious adversary, had escaped in disguise; but the partisans of the Macedonian interest, and the whole body of the Athenian people, had reason to apprehend that they were to pay dearly for their past offences, when they perceived that their unarmed multitude was surrounded on all sides by Demetrius's soldiers. But this terror was their only punishment. Having gently chid them for their former ingratitude, he relieved their wants by a present of an hundred thousand measures of wheat: placed all offices of magistracy in the hands of persons most acceptable to the people at large; and left the Athenians in astonishment at his lenity

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and bounty, after bridling their levity by firm garrisons. [11]

His war against Sparta.

The possession of Sparta, which for thirty years had enjoyed an inglorious peace, seemed chiefly wanting to secure Demetrius in his dominion of Peloponnesus. The war was undertaken; the Spartan king Archidamus, a hereditary name, was defeated in two engagements; and the feeble walls which Sparta, instead of continuing to trust in the spears of her citizens, had recently erected [12], could not long have resisted the arms of Poliorcetes. But news of a various and most important nature saved the degenerate Lacedæmonians from the uplifted stroke just ready to fall on them. Demetrius learned that his lieutenants in Cyprus had been defeated by Ptolemy; and that Lysimachus had attacked his garrisons in Cilicia. To compensate for the mortification of this intelligence, his presence was requested in Macedon [13], in consequence of tragical misfortunes in the family of Cassander, long his inveterate enemy.

Is withdrawn from it by tempting prospects in Macedon. Olymp. cxxi. 2. B. C. 295.

Cassander, having governed Macedon nineteen years [14], died of a dropsy [15], three years after his authority had been placed on a secure footing by the battle of Ipsus. His eldest son Philip, who succeeded him, soon followed his father to the grave. The throne was disputed between the two brothers of Philip, Antigonus and Alexander, whose common mother Thes-

[11] Plutarch in Demet.
[12] Pausanias, l. i. c. 13.
[13] Plutarch in Demet.
[14] Dexipp. in Chronic. Eusеb. p. 57.
[15] Pausanias, l. ix. c. 7.

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salonicé, espousing the weaker cause, was murdered by Antigonus with shocking circumstances of cruelty. The spectacle of a son denying life to a mother's supplications by the breast which had nourished him, melted even the obdurate hearts of the Macedonians. Abetted by the public resentment and the assistance of Pyrrhus, no longer a hostage in Egypt, but restored by the money and troops of Ptolemy to his petty kingdom of Epirus, Alexander was enabled to defeat and expel his parricidal brother, who, being son-in-law to Lysimachus, fled to that prince for protection. Dreading the vengeance of both, Alexander craved succour from Demetrius, who hastened through the whole length of Greece from Sparta to Dium; but before he reached this frontier town of Macedon, the circumstances were changed which had occasioned his invitation thither. Lysimachus, being involved in a dangerous war with the Getæ beyond the Danube, was altogether unable to give assistance to his unworthy suppliant; and Alexander had paid so dearly to Pyrrhus for his aid, especially by being obliged to cede to him the provinces of Ambracia and Acarnania, contiguous to Epirus, that he was thoroughly disgusted with all foreign auxiliaries. He therefore proceeded to meet Demetrius at Dium, with every demonstration of gratitude and affection, but at the same time acquainted him, that he was happily relieved from the necessity of having recourse to his assistance. Demetrius, who was actuated by

He catches the king of Macedon in his own snare.

very unwarrantable motives in his expedition to Macedon, clearly perceived by this proceeding that his designs were defeated. But he had not less reason to be suspicious in his turn; since Alexander, perceiving that he delayed to take his departure, had concerted measures for assassinating him during a public entertainment, at which he had engaged him to be his guest. This plot was discovered; and its execution prevented by Demetrius's precaution in coming to his appointment so well accompanied, that the traitor found no opportunity of perpetrating his crime. Demetrius disguised his resentment; and to catch the adversary in his own snare, finally took his leave with many professions of friendship. Alexander, through pretended respect, escorted him with an army to Larissa in Thessaly: to conceal his own designs, he betrayed no distrust of Demetrius, but accepted with a slight attendance the hospitality of that prince. In the midst of the entertainment, Demetrius rose from table, and being followed by Alexander, whispered the sentinel placed at his door, "kill him who follows me." Alexander was instantly dispatched, together with those of his attendants who interposed in his defence. One of them regretted with his last words, that Demetrius had anticipated similar treachery on their part by a single day. [16]

Circumstances favourable

The descendants of Alexander, son of Philip, had perished; and Thessalonicé, recently mur-

[16] Conf. Plutarch in Demet. and in Pyrrho.

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to Demetrius in Macedon.

dered, had been the last survivor among the children of Philip himself. The destruction of the sons of Thessalonicé removed all the male heirs, save the abominable Antigonus [17], of the virtuous and able Antipater, himself a faithful minister, but whose family basely supplanted that of his master. Demetrius, who had completed this catastrophe, was himself a *Temenide*, deducing his descent from the revered founder of the Macedonian monarchy. His wife was Philla, the accomplished daughter of Antipater, whose premature judgment that sagacious statesman disdained not to consult on the weightiest affairs; whose condescending popularity rendered her the idol of the Macedonians; and who had given to Demetrius a son named Antigonus of the most promising hopes, uniting his mother's discretion with his father's enterprise. To these recommendations, Demetrius added the command of an army ready to support by force his claims of right. Accordingly he hastened to address the assembled Macedonians, to justify his act of vengeance by evidence as well as arguments, and to offer himself for their king and general. No competitor remained to dispute with him that rank, except the abhorred Antigonus [18]; now a fugitive in Thrace, where,

[17] This is the name given to the parricide by Dexippus and Eusebius. Pausanias and others call him Antipater. I prefer the name of Antigonus, because it serves to explain a difficulty in Laertius's life of Demetrius Phalereus; namely, that "he fled to Egypt after the death of Cassander, for fear of Antigonus." The Antigonus here meant is plainly the blood-thirsty son of Cassander.

[18] Pausanias, l. ix. c. 7.

being disappointed of the assistance which he solicited from Lysimachus, he speedily formed the resolution of assassinating that prince: but his conspiracy was brought to light, and he was consigned to just punishment.

Acknowledged king, and joined at Pella by his wife Philla. Olymp. cxxi. 3. B. C. 294.

The speech of Demetrius was received with acclamations by the Macedonians at Larissa; who, instead of an invader justly formidable, gladly accepted a master whom they had many reasons to approve. He was conducted to Pella in triumph, and acknowledged by the great body of a nation, who had long known no other will than that of the soldiery. A circumstance which greatly added to the satisfaction of all orders of men, was the arrival of Philla from Greece. She had been made captive by Ptolemy in his conquest of Cyprus; and, with the generosity which, amidst their mutual warfare, this prince and Demetrius always shewed towards each other, had been treated with the utmost respect, and sent with many presents and an honourable escort to Corinth, from whence she now proceeded to her husband. [18]

He enslaves Thebes, and prepares to invade Thrace.

The assumption of the crown by Demetrius was announced by the expulsion of Pyrrhus from his usurpations in the Macedonian territory: and an expedition was undertaken against Thebes; a city which, owing the greatest obligations to Cassander, its restorer from ruin or obscurity, too boldly opposed the scourge of his family. Thebes, as well as the smaller cities in

[18] Plutarch in Demet.

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Bœotia, which had adopted her resentment, were reduced to unconditional submission; and the historian Jerom of Cardia, who, since the death of his friend Eumenes, had followed the fortunes of his conqueror, was set over them as governor. This expedition was scarcely terminated, when news reached Demetrius, that Lysimachus, the neighbour whom he most dreaded, had been made captive in his war with the Getæ beyond the Danube. Such an opportunity of taking vengeance on his most inveterate foe, could not be neglected. The king of Macedon hastened homeward, that he might conduct his army into Thrace. But before he entered the latter country, his progress was arrested by new and very extraordinary intelligence.

Lysimachus made prisoner, but generously released by Dromichætes king of the Getæ or Goths.

Lysimachus, indeed, as well as his brave son Agathocles, had been made prisoners by the Getæ, but both of them had been released by those Barbarians, now become their allies. The following circumstances of this transaction have been deemed worthy of record. Lysimachus had crossed the Danube, defeated the Getæ, or Goths[20], and stripped them of a large tract of territory. But his insatiable rapacity had been caught in a snare, laid for him by the crafty Nomades. One of their chiefs, pretending to be a deserter, had taken refuge in his camp; and, under colour of conducting him to more important conquests, had decoyed a numerous

[20] Procop. de Bell, Goth. l. iv. passim. and Plin. l. vi. c. 12.

army into those frightful deserts of western Scythia, where Darius Hystaspis narrowly escaped death through fatigue and hunger.[21] Under these unhappy circumstances, and nearly destitute of water, Lysimachus was compelled to surrender to Dromichætes king of the Getæ.[22] The Barbarians, with dreadful yells, demanded the blood of their prisoners; but their more prudent sovereign, with the moderation worthy of Krim Gueray[23], who, in our own times, reigned mildly over part of the same country, restrained their brutal fury. Thrace, he told them, would devolve to another king, who could not fail to revenge the death of Lysimachus. But this prince, by generous treatment, might be converted into a peaceful neighbour and a grateful ally. He therefore released his captives and invited them to a banquet, in which they were entertained after the Macedonian fashion with well-prepared viands served on plates of silver[24], while the wine went round in golden goblets. He then conducted them to the tents of the Getæ, who were feeding on the coarsest fare from wooden trenchers, and drinking their vile beverage from horns. In shewing this contrast, Dromichætes insinuated the wisdom of keeping peace with a people, whose mode of life presented so many dissuasives from war. Having

Lysimachus entertained by the Goths, with whom he makes an alliance

[21] Herodot. l. iv. c. 85. et seq.

[22] Conf. Diodor. Excerpt. p. 560. and Strabo, l. vii. p. 463.

[23] Baron Tott's Travels.

[24] Diodorus says, a table of silver. Diodor. Excerpt. de Virtut. et Vit. ex Lib. xxi. p. 560.

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filled a large horn with pure wine, he addressed Lysimachus with the honoured name of father, and drank to their eternal amity.[25] Their friendship was afterwards cemented by the marriage of Lysimachus's daughter with the king of the Getæ.

Demetrius's second greatness. Olymp. cxxii. 1. B. C. 292. Olymp. cxxiii. 1. B. C. 288.

The sudden return of the royal captives to Thrace, frustrated Demetrius's purpose of invading that country. But his absence in the north, which was expected to have been of much longer continuance, afforded the opportunity to his warlike neighbour, Pyrrhus, for making an inroad into Thessaly; and encouraged the Bœotians to rebel against their governor Jerom. Both these enemies were discomfited with little difficulty; the former by Demetrius in person; the latter, by his son Antigonus. As Thebes still remained hostile, Demetrius, after driving Pyrrhus from Thessaly, returned to besiege that city, took it by assault, and bridled it with a strong garrison. The king of Macedon was now attaining to a second greatness; a sort of after-spring to his former towering and splendid prosperity. About this time, to immortalize his name, he built Demetrias in Thessaly, on the inmost recess of the Pelasgic gulph: he also betrothed the daughter of Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse; whose transactions, the connecting bond between the history of the East and West, will be related in

[25] Diodor. Excerpt. de Virtut. et Vit. ex Lib. xvi. p. 560.

a subsequent part of this work. Throughout his whole reign, the great object of Demetrius was to augment his fleets and armies, purposing to apply them efficaciously towards recovering in its full extent the dominion held by his father. As the Ætolians and Pyrrhus were likely to create him much disturbance at home during his distant expedition, he greatly reduced those dangerous neighbours, ravaging Ætolia, which had so often poured forth ravagers on the provinces around it, and inflicting on Epirus those evils which Pyrrhus was destined signally to avenge.

His fleets and armies.

Demetrius's genius for ship-building was exercised with unremttting diligence in the harbours of Pella, Athens, Corinth, Eubœa, and Corcyra, which island he received as the dower of Agathocles's daughter. Towards the end of his seven years' reign in Macedon, his ships of war amounted to five hundred, among which were many galleys of fifteen and sixteen banks of oars, which, notwithstanding their bulkiness, were as manageable and nimble as those of an ordinary rate.[26] His land-forces amounted to an hundred and ten thousand, of which twelve thousand were cavalry. With such an army, and the greatest fleet in the world, it is not wonderful that this restless child of ambition should entertain the loftiest designs; but he unfortunately revealed them, before his ships were perfectly equipped, or his soldiers ready to march.

[26] Plutarch in Demet.

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His vanity and tyranny.

In an age of the world when it was still customary to represent, by external emblems, the hopes and fears of the mind and each variation of fortune, his robe of royalty was embroidered with the kingdoms of the earth and the stars of heaven. His head was encompassed with the novelty of a double diadem, surpassing in magnificence that formerly worn by the paramount kings of the East[27]; and while the arrogance of his pretensions and measures excited against him a confederacy of foreign enemies, the madness of his domestic government enraged his subjects both in Greece and Macedon, yet unfashioned to oriental despotism. On one occasion, the ambassadors of Athens, for that state still preserved the semblance of liberty, were allowed to wait two years without an audience. On another, while Demetrius made a progress through the streets of Pella, he received more graciously than usual the numerous petitions that were presented to him. But he had no sooner reached the bridge over the Axius, than unfolding his purple mantle, he consigned the papers to the wind.[28] In addition to such frantic insults, it is unnecessary to mention lesser causes of offence, among which may be reckoned his numerous marriages[29], in contempt

[27] Entitled the *Great King*, and king of kings; appellations, as will appear hereafter, preposterously assumed by many degenerate princes of the Greek dynasty.

[28] Plutarch in Demet.

[29] Plutarch in Demet. & in Pyrrho; they will be enumerated hereafter.

of the institutions of Greece and of his affectionate Philla, whose virtues were adored by the Macedonians.

Macedon conquered by Pyrrhus and Lysimachus. Olymp. cxxiii. 2. B. C. 288.

The overweaning confidence of Demetrius, which openly exhibited its extravagance in all the wildest freaks of tyranny, was equalled only by the secrecy and celerity of his antagonists. The kings of Thrace and Egypt prepared to overthrow an insolent and dangerous domination, which alarmed the independence of neighbours, and trampled on the feelings of subjects. Ptolemy, who was all-powerful with Pyrrhus, engaged that prince in a zealous co-operation with their views. While Demetrius was yet preparing his galleys, and anticipating the scenes of his future glory, Ptolemy approached Greece with his fleet. Lysimachus entered Macedon on the side of Thrace; Pyrrhus, on that of Epirus. The king of Macedon flew to the defence of his northern frontier against Lysimachus. But learning that Pyrrhus had advanced to Beræa, within twenty miles of Pella, he hastily changed his direction to repel that invader. The Macedonians, whom he suspected of unwillingness to follow him, would be less liable, he thought, to disaffection and desertion in acting against Pyrrhus, a foreigner whom they had often defeated, than against their own countryman Lysimachus, who had often led them to victory. But their disgust at capricious tyranny made them eager to change Demetrius for any master; and Pyrrhus, besides that he was cousin-german to the great Alexander, had

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even, amidst his defeats, displayed much military skill and romantic heroism. Though hitherto unsuccessful against Demetrius in person, he had on one great occasion vanquished his general in Thessaly, and made five thousand prisoners; whom, by his generous treatment of them, he had converted into devoted partisans. Demetrius's army no sooner approached the enemy, than it broke out into open mutiny; while the greatness of the desertion announced a total and immediate revolt. The unworthy king, who now reaped the bitter fruits of his past folly, narrowly escaped public vengeance, by flying in disguise to Cassandria, from which Macedonian city he travelled under a new disguise into Greece. His wife Philla, weary of longer participating in his inconstancy of fortune, drank poison. Lysimachus and Pyrrhus divided Macedon between them.

Flight of Demetrius and death of Philla.

Leaving his son Antigonus to defend Greece, and not waiting to chastise the new ingratitude of Athens, Demetrius, whose innate activity never allowed him under the worst circumstances to despair, put himself at the head of twelve thousand chosen infantry and a considerable body of horse. With these troops he hastily embarked for the coast of Lesser Asia, hoping, while Lysimachus was busy with his new arrangements in Macedon, to surprise his more valuable possessions in that peninsula. In that age, wars were not carried on with punctilious caution. Those who cannot move, without carriages and magazines, will commonly be defeated by gene-

Demetrius conducts an army of Greeks into Lesser Asia. Olymp. cxxiii. 2. B.C. 287.

rals of a more active school. The enterprise of Demetrius was eminently successful. Caria, Ionia, all Lydia, with its capital Sardes, readily submitted to his arms. He was carried forward on the flattering tide of fortune, and on the point of compensating in the East for his losses in the West, when Agathocles, the accomplished son of Lysimachus, crossed over into Asia and clouded his prosperity. By movements equally rapid with those of his adversary, the Thracian prince cut off Demetrius from his resources, and drove him into the irretrievable error of quitting the communication with his fleet. Demetrius led his reluctant army through the windings of Taurus, while the Greeks remonstrated against the severe sufferings to which they were daily exposed; yet failed not amidst their repinings, gaily to apostrophise their general in the parodied lines of Sophocles, "Son of blind Antigonus [30], into what frightful regions hast thou brought us?" Their complaints became so outrageous, that Demetrius would have been compelled, however unwillingly, to return towards the coast. But Agathocles had occupied the passes in those mountains formerly mentioned, which overhang Cappadocia, and which separated the dominions of Seleucus and Lysimachus. The former of these princes thought it necessary to guard in person the frontier of Syria. Under such circumstances, Demetrius wrote a letter of supplication to his son-in-law, who, at

Reduced to difficulties by Agathocles, has recourse to Seleucus.

[30] Antigonus was nick-named Cyclops, as we have seen above.

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the instance, it is said, of his courtiers, refused him all farther indulgence than that of passing two winter months in Seleucian Cappadocia.[31]

Seleucus compels him to surrender.

Enraged at this treatment, Demetrius attacked several of the advanced posts of Seleucus, and was on the point of surprising the royal encampment in the night, when a mercenary deserter betrayed his design. Seleucus, now in his seventy-fifth year, determined to rid himself of this dangerous visitant in a manner characteristic of Alexander's generals. The next day he hastened with few attendants to Demetrius's tents; and when he came in sight of the soldiers, taking the helmet from his head[32] that he might be clearly recognised by them, remonstrated against their folly in adhering to a rash adventurer in opposition to their old and affectionate friend, who for their sakes only had delayed to employ against them his resistless arms. Demetrius, forsaken by most of his troops, wandered several days weakly attended in the woods of Cilicia, hoping to force his way to the Grecian sea. But as he found the neighbouring passes of Taurus well guarded by the enemy, he came to the resolution of delivering himself to his son-in-law, notwithstanding the audacity with which he had so recently provoked him.

Captivity of Demetrius. Olymp. cxxiii. 2. B.C. 287.

Seleucus sent him to the Syrian Chersonesus, a jutting headland sixty miles south of Antioch, having directly in sight the isle of Cyprus;

[31] See the beginning of this chapter.

[32] Polyænus, l. iv. c. 9. and Plutarch in Demet.

once the pride of Demetrius, being the prize of his great naval victory. Antigonus, when he learned his captivity, with the filial affection that characterised many successive princes of their family, offered himself and all his possessions to recover his father's freedom. Seleucus denied his request, but also rejected with scorn the bribe of two thousand talents from Lysimachus to purchase his prisoner's death.[33] Demetrius was kept in easy confinement, being allowed the exercise of hunting, and all other amusements, within the precincts of his well-guarded peninsula, which, from the geography of its mountains, bays, and rivers, was distinguished by names derived from the Macedonian district of Pella.[34] But the want of liberty, and perhaps the sight of Cyprus so agonizing to his ambition, gradually blunted the relish for manly pleasures. He gave himself up to intemperance and sloth, writing to his son Antigonus to make no more intercessions in his favour, to consider him thenceforward as dead, to refuse credit to any letters which his enemies might forge in his name, and to defend with vigilance and spirit the Greek cities yet acknowledging his authority. Antigonus, by complying with this advice, was enabled, nine years after his father's death, to recover his abdicated kingdom of Macedon. Demetrius died in the third year of his captivity, and fifty-fourth of his age. The above-mentioned letter to Antigonus is the last-recorded

Death three years afterwards, and character.

[33] Diodor. Excerp. l. xxi. p. 561. [34] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 752.

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transaction of a man, who was once at the head of the greatest force ever commanded by any of Alexander's successors, and whose variety of fortune is only surpassed by the inconstancy of his conduct; his prosperity being never more lofty than his acts of virtue were splendid, nor his adversity ever more cloudy than his vices were execrable and his follies contemptible. His parallel with Mark Antony holds in many, but those the worst parts of his character; though his ill-balanced frame of mind deformed the august model of Alexander, with whom he has also been compared, and with whom he might with more propriety be contrasted. In ambition and abilities and the rapid alternations of his glory and disgrace, he strikingly resembled the irregular greatness of Alcibiades: both of them alike eccentric in their excellences and demerits; characters detested or pitied by the good and wise, and even with the vulgar, names of ambiguous renown. Seleucus, as if he had repented of the harsh treatment of his father-in-law, sent his ashes in a golden urn, encircled with a diadem, to his son Antigonus. This dutiful prince sailed from Corinth, the principal seat of his power, and met the funeral escort in the midst of the Ægæan sea.[35] The remains of Demetrius were then conveyed to Thessaly, and solemnly interred in the city bearing his name near the mouth of the river Naurus[36] on the Pelasgic gulph; a city faithful to the son of its founder,

His interment in Demetrius.

[35] Plutarch in Demet.

[36] Strabo, l. ix. p. 436.

and which became, under the Macedonian kings of his family, one of the strongest fetters of Greece. CHAP. VIII.

Demetrius was allied by marriage with all his royal contemporaries, except Lysimachus only. Philla, the sister of Cassander, bore to him his successor Antigonus surnamed Gonatas, from Gonnos in Thessaly the place of his birth; and the admired Stratonicé, married successively to Seleucus, and to Antiochus, the son of that prince. History is silent as to the fruit of Demetrius's marriages with Lanassa, daughter to Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, and with Deidamia, sister to Pyrrhus king of Epirus, and with Euridicé the descendant of Miltiades the Athenian. By Ptolemais, the daughter of Ptolemy Soter, he had a son called after himself, who obtained a transient royalty in Cyrené: and who inherited, together with the name of Demetrius, his elegance of person, his profligacy, and his bad fortune. Allied by marriage with all the kings his contemporaries, except Lysimachus.

This privilege of polygamy, though used more sparingly by the other Greek kings of the East, was asserted however by all of them, and proved to most a fertile source of misery. Through their intermarriages, also, with each other, national hostility was embittered, and often excited, by domestic broils. To causes of this sort we may refer the future destinies of the three remaining successors of Alexander; Ptolemy, Lysimachus, Seleucus; all of them quitted life in the same Olympiad; Ptolemy a year after Demetrius; Lysimachus at the same interval Unhappy effects of polygamy.

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from the death of Ptolemy; and Seleucus within seven months after he had defeated and slain Lysimachus.

Euridicé and Berenicé, wives of Ptolemy Soter.

The first Ptolemy had now governed Egypt thirty-six years with equal felicity and glory. In the dawn of his fortune he had married Euridicé daughter to Antipater, who for several years was acknowledged for his only lawful wife: but at length he also espoused her kinswoman Berenicé, a Macedonian widow of great beauty and accomplishments[37], who had accompanied[38] Euridicé to Egypt, and by whom Ptolemy already had children. The fruits of his first marriage were a prince named Ptolemy *Keraunus*, and a daughter Lysandra, who had been early married to Agathocles the son of Lysimachus. His second wife Berenicé had borne Ptolemy *Philadelphus*, (I anticipate these epithets of distinction,) and Arsinoé, whom, as before mentioned, Lysimachus had espoused in his old age, after ungratefully repudiating the virtuous and accomplished Amastris.[39] Having attained his eightieth year, the King of Egypt, with that prudent foresight which marked all the important transactions of his reign, determined not only to appoint a successor, but to associate him in his own life-time to the government, and thereby securely to establish his authority. The bold sanguinary character of

The son of Berenicé raised to the throne in his father's lifetime.

[37] Theocrit. Idyll. xvii.

[38] Diogen. Laert. in Demet. Phaler. Pausanias, Attic. c. 7.

[39] Memnon apud Phot. p. 716.

Keraunus rendered him an unfit partner in power; but the milder[40] virtues of Philadelphus were heightened in Ptolemy's esteem by the winning blandishments of his mother Berenicé.[41] The prudence also and capacity of Philadelphus promised an administration at once equitable and vigorous, and a successor likely to complete those extensive yet solid plans which his father had so steadily pursued for the improvement of his kingdom. Moved by such considerations, Ptolemy adorned Philadelphus with the robe of royalty and diadem: shewed him as their sovereign to the people and army; and to confirm their allegiance by example as well as precept, is said to have officiated next day as one of his son's attendants, observing that it was less glorious to reign than to be father to a king.[42] The ceremony of enthroning Philadelphus was celebrated with all convenient speed, by a festival uniting the elegance of Grecian games, with the magnificence of Roman triumphs[43]; and which, as it surpassed both those splendid exhibitions in their respective excellences, will hereafter be examined among other monuments of the arts, commerce, and prosperity of Egypt under its Grecian masters. The old king lived two years after the coronation of his son; and it is pleasing to remark that the dutiful behaviour of Philadelphus afforded him daily reason for approving that generous measure.

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[40] Pausanias, l. i. c. 6.
[41] Id. ibid.
[42] Justin, l. xvi. c. 2.
[43] Athenæus, l. v. p. 196. et seq.

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His brother Keraunus leaves the kingdom in disgust.

The discerning preference, shewn to a younger brother, drove the haughty Keraunus from a country where every object wounded his pride and envenomed his envy. His sister Lysandra, being the wife of Agathocles son to Lysimachus, the court of this prince was chosen for his angry retreat. Lysimachus had already quarrelled with Pyrrhus, his coadjutor in the conquest of Macedon, and having easily divested him of his share in their common spoil, had added that entire kingdom to his own dominions in Thrace and the Lesser Asia. Through the whole of those extensive countries, the fame of the brave, yet mild Agathocles, illustrated and upheld the stern government of his father. But Arsinoé, the Egyptian wife of Lysimachus, inherited only the personal charms of her mother Berenicé, while her mind was deformed by the blackest passions. She had given children to Lysimachus, but her heart consumed in a forbidden flame for his son Agathocles. Her incestuous advances were rejected by the young prince; and this insult to despised beauty, was exasperated by the consideration that her contemner and his offspring intercepted her own children from the throne. Through the cruel artifices of his stepmother, Agathocles was brought into unjust suspicion with his father; imprisoned, and murdered.[44] The public astonishment at this atrocious deed, was surpassed only by the indignation or terror which it universally excited.

Tragedy in the family of Lysimachus occasioned by his marriage with Arsinoé.

Murder of his son Agathocles —

[44] Conf. Pausan. l. i. c. 10. & Justin, l. xvii. c. 1.

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Keraunus, with his sister Lysandra and her children, fled to Seleucus, then in his Assyrian capital. They were accompanied or followed by many illustrious Macedonians, who joined with them in soliciting the protection of that great prince, against a relentless tyrant exasperated by a female fury. [45]

whose friends fly to Seleucus. Olymp. cxxiv. 2. B. C. 283.

Three reasons concurred in persuading Seleucus to make the cause of the suppliants his own. The jealousy of power and neighbourhood rendered Lysimachus his most formidable enemy. Besides the Asiatic peninsula, enlivened and invigorated by such a large admixture of Grecian colonization, that prince commanded the countries in Europe long pre-eminent in policy or in prowess. Seleucus considered him as the great western power; he compared the Thracians, the Macedonians, and the Greeks who had long followed the standard of Macedon, with the Egyptians governed by Ptolemy, and the Assyrians or Syrians governed by himself; nations once great, but which, through the long domination of barbarous masters, had lost their ancient energies. He knew the subjects of Lysimachus; he knew his own; and determined to avail himself of the discontents among the former, and to prevent them, ere it was too late, from invading and conquering the latter.

Reasons which determined Seleucus to espouse their cause.

In this resolution he was confirmed by applications from many governors in Lesser Asia, who having themselves witnessed the gallantry

Applications to him from governors in Lesser Asia.

[45] Conf. Pausan. l. i. c. 10. & Justin. l. xvii. c. 1.

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and generosity of Agathocles, were, from concern for the loss of that prince, desirous to shake off their allegiance to his inhuman murderer. In the number of these governors, the most conspicuous was Philetærus, a native of Tyana in Cappadocia, who, through the friendship of Agathocles, had been appointed keeper in the castle of Pergamus. This fortress stood at the back of the Æolian coast in the inland district of Mysia, rising on an abrupt mountain of a conical form, surrounded by strong walls, and commanding the adjacent territory. It had been chosen as a proper place by Lysimachus for depositing his superfluous treasures, accumulated by rapacity, preserved with anxious parsimony, and which were committed to the severe custody, as it seemed, of Philetærus an eunuch[46], such persons being usually employed as treasurers, from the opinion that anciently prevailed of their vigilance and fidelity.[47] Philetærus however was an eunuch, whose mind it had been impossible to emasculate. On the news of Agathocles's murder he was filled with resentment; and to accelerate its gratification wrote immediately to Seleucus, that should he march towards Lower Asia, he would find the castle of Pergamus at his disposal. He was

Philetærus of Pergamus.

[46] Strabo, l. viii. p. 623. et seq. Pausan. l. i. c. 10.

[47] Xenoph. de Cyri Instit. l. vii. p. 196. & Plutarch in Demet. Philetærus's medals, distinguished by a serpent on the reverse, have been supposed symbolical of vigilance; but those who honoured him with medals would not allude to his humble condition of treasurer under Lysimachus: the serpent is borrowed from the legend concerning the colonization of Pergamus, by Æsculapius.

faithful to his promise; though the tragical events that followed, and that will be related presently, enabled Philetærus to retain the fortress in his own hands, and by means of its impregnable strength and the vast treasures contained in it, to lay the foundation of the Pergamenian kingdom.[48] CHAP. VIII.

Seleucus's predilection for Macedon and the West.

The third cause that urged Seleucus to march towards the Grecian sea, originated in a far more amiable source than the jealousy of power, or the desire of vengeance. He had now passed his seventy-seventh year; and since the time that in early youth he crossed the Hellespont with Alexander, had spent fifty-three years in Asia, without once revisiting his native land. In the zenith of his greatness, the breast of this prosperous prince swelled at the thoughts of again surveying the innocent and humble scenes of his youth; of recognizing the happy familiarity of his cherished national manners; and of sharing his boundless fortunes with his dear hereditary friends. With the patriotism of a Greek, or the warlike pride of a Macedonian, he turned with a sort of virtuous disdain from the wealth and pomp of the East, and looked wishfully towards the coast of Asia Minor, and the countries beyond the Ægean sea.

Story of his son Antiochus and wife Stratonicé.

This strong predilection in favour of the West, had been already marked and attested by a very singular transaction. Shortly after his great victory at Ipsus, he married, as we have

[48] Strabo, l. viii. p. 623. et seq. Pausan. l. i. c. 10.

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seen, the young and beautiful Stratonicé, whose grandfather, Antigonus, had been his contemporary, his friend, his rival, and finally his victim. This second marriage, which gave to Seleucus a son, whose name has escaped notice in history, threatened to prove fatal, but in a very unusual manner, to his blooming heir Antiochus, whose virtues had long been the fondest delight of his father. Amidst all their crimes and cruelties, the Macedonian kings of the East were unusually happy in the interchange of parental affection and filial duty. These sentiments were conspicuous in Antigonus and Demetrius; in the two Ptolemies; above all, in Seleucus and his son Antiochus[49]; and, on the part of the elder princes, the instinct of nature appears to have acquired the strength and steadiness of a ruling passion, through the fond prospect of transmitting to a distant posterity their new and powerful monarchies. A year had scarcely elapsed from the marriage of Seleucus and Stratonicé, when his son Antiochus was seized with a pining malady, so various in its symptoms, that it baffled description. Under this singular disorder, he was attended by Erasistratus of Alexandria, of whose labours in science we shall afterwards have occasion to speak. This physician, remarking that the prince's condition was not altered on the approach of other visitants of either sex, but that when his step-mother Stratonicé entered his

[49] Plutarch in Demet.

apartment, the vital motions, which seemed ready to cease, began immediately to resume fresh vigour, concluded that his disease was seated in the mind, that love was its cause; and that Stratonicé, his mother-in-law, was the concealed object of his passion. Satisfied with this indication, Erasistratus communicated his discovery to Seleucus with that characteristic freedom, which Greek citizens maintained in their intercourse with the greatest potentates. He told the Syrian king, that his son's case was indeed deplorable; "He pines with incurable love for a woman belonging to another, and whom no consideration whatever can induce her husband to resign; I speak with certainty, for she is my own wife."[50]

Stratonicé married to Antiochus, who is sent to govern the East. Olymp. cxxi. 4. B. C. 293.

An eastern despot would have taken off the head of Erasistratus: an European monarch would blush to desire the most humble of his subjects to cede to an amorous youth the chosen partner of his life. But among the immediate successors of Alexander, though a few bold intriguing females obtained extraordinary influence in public affairs, yet the natural equality of the sexes was very imperfectly upheld, polygamy and the freedom of divorce having destroyed the whole sanctity of marriage, from which alone women derive their real dignity. Seleucus, therefore, while he feared to command, was not ashamed to entreat Erasistratus to

[50] Conf. Appian, Syriac. c. 59. et seq. Plutarch in Demet. Valer. Maxim. l. v. c. 7. & Galen, Prognost.

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transfer his wife to Antiochus, whose vehemence of passion merited commiseration through the virtuous efforts which he made to suppress or conceal it. The physician desired the king to make the case his own, and seriously to reflect, whether to save the life of his son, he would be willing to resign to him his stepmother Stratonicé. "Would to heaven," Seleucus answered, "my compliance in this particular could avail." "Then you are yourself," said Erasistratus, "the physician that must cure him." This triumph over love, though he was then in his sixty-eighth year, was celebrated by Greek writers as the most glorious of Seleucus's victories. Having assembled the Macedonians in Antioch and its neighbourhood, he announced to them the important change in the state of his family, and the powerful motives which had produced it. After expatiating on those exploits of his life, in which he had endeavoured to imitate his immortal master, he concluded by telling them, that being now advanced in life, he wished to alleviate the burthen of too extensive a monarchy. "With whom, then, can I so properly divide its glory and its cares, as with persons the most dear to me and yourselves, Antiochus and Stratonicé; whose virtues you well know, and whose mutual affection and befitting years promise to add many new props to the empire. With a part of you, I purpose to send this son of experienced worth to govern the East, recommending to your observance not the barbarous institutions of van-

quished Asia, yet this general rule, that you revere the commands of your sovereign as the dictates of wisdom and justice." The army listened with respect, and answered with acclamation: hailing Seleucus as the greatest of kings, next to Alexander, and the best of fathers.[51]

Seleucus's political views in this measure.

Such is the general account of this transaction, delivered down from antiquity; yet, in the mutilated and meagre narrative, a hint[52] is dropped indicating that Seleucus, in sending his son to the banks of the Tigris, had a more important object in view than that hitherto ascribed to him. A prince whose loftiness of mind was equalled by his sagacity, had discerned those local causes above-described[53], which opposed the consolidation of Syria and Assyria into one great monarchy. He saw, on the other hand, as will evidently appear from his conduct, that his favourite province of Syria was well calculated for being joined with the peninsula of Asia, because it might easily be preserved by the same controlling army. While Antiochus and his descendants reigned over the East, it was the purpose of Seleucus to form the countries west of the Euphrates into an establishment for the younger branch of his family. His design was indeed frustrated by the suddenness of his death, when there was little reason to apprehend such an event: but the wisdom of his

[51] Conf. Appian, Syriac. c. 59. et seq. Plutarch in Demet. Valer. Maxim. l. v. c. 7. & Galen. Prognost.

[52] Εθελω δειξειν το μεγεθος εις την υμετεραν αμεριμνιαν. Appian, ubi supra.

[53] See above, sect. ii.

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plan is justified by the experience of all ages. Of the innumerable dynasties bearing sway in Asia, before and after the house of Seleucus, none will be found durable that united the dominions on both sides the Euphrates. It should seem, therefore, that sound policy concurred with the other motives above-mentioned, in turning his arms westward, and directing them against the odious Lysimachus.

Seleucus invades Lesser Asia, defeats and slays Lysimachus in the battle of Corupedion. Olymp. cxxiv. 4. B. C. 281.

Through the arrangements previously made with his partisans in Lesser Asia, Seleucus had little difficulty in overrunning the whole of that peninsula. Most of the fortified cities surrendered at the first summons. Sardes, the capital of Lydia, and a few other places, made a feeble and short resistance.[54] The conquest was so rapid, that Lysimachus, who, upon the first news of hostilities, hastened to repel them, found the enemy already advanced into Hellespontian Phrygia. In that province, an obscure place called Corupedion[55], was the memorable scene of the last combat among Alexander's companions. Having performed the duty of able generals, the kings of Thrace and Syria, both on the verge of the grave, but both measuring life only by extent of empire, had recourse to their swords and lances, fighting as if the success of the day had depended on the exertions of their respective prowess.[56] Fortune favoured

[54] Polyænus, l. iv. c. 9.

[55] Κυρσεδιον, altogether different from the κυρσοτροποδον of Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. ii. c. 4.

[56] Conf. Appian, Syriac. c. 62. Memnon apud Phot. c. ix. p. 714. Pausanias, l. i. c. 10. Justin, l. vii. c. 1.

the worthier champion: Lysimachus fell; his troops were totally destroyed, dispersed, or captured; and their disasters so dreadful that no request was made for leave to bury their slain. Alexander, son to Lysimachus, by a barbarous Odrysian, at length applied to Lysandra, widow of his brother Agathocles, to intercede with Seleucus for permission to inter the body of his vanquished rival. It had been preserved, and was now discovered through the fidelity of a favourite dog, which had continued many days watching the remains of his master, and fiercely defending them, it is said, against vultures and wild beasts.[57] They were conveyed by the dutiful Alexander to Lysimachia; whose citizens erected, in honour of their king and patron, a pompous mausoleum visited and described by Pausanias in the second century.[58]

Lysimachus's body, how preserved and recognized.

Thus perished Lysimachus; a severe master, an unfeeling husband, a cruel father, a fierce and relentless enemy; and who, to obtain his ends, could stoop from stern haughtiness to the meanest baseness.[59] In abilities for war he was inferior to none of his contemporaries, as appeared most conspicuously in his celebrated campaign in Lesser Asia, where with inferior force he long opposed Antigonus. His admiration for Alexander was common to him with all those capable of appreciating military merit. Of this, an ex-

His character.

[57] Appian, Syriac. c. 64. [58] Pausanias, l. i. c. 10.

[59] Witness his forged letters to Pyrrhus, and the bribe offered to Seleucus to tempt him to the murder of Demetrius. Plutarch in Pyrrho, et Demet.

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ample remained in the town built by Antigonus in the neighbourhood of ancient Troy, of which Lysimachus, after defeating that prince, changed the name from Antigonia to Alexandria.[60] This Alexandria Troas soon became a city of note; and continued such in the time of Strabo the geographer, under the form of a Roman colony. Lysimachus had perpetuated the honours, or rather worship of his own name, by a seaport judiciously situate at the neck of the Thracian Chersonesus. He was less fortunate in his attempt to immortalize the profligate Arsinoé, whose artifices, working on his own furious passions, had occasioned his ruin. The Ephesians were commanded to leave the revered precincts of their temple, and to occupy a new city under the sacred patronage of Arsinoé. They remonstrated against this absurd proposal, and delayed to comply with it, until Lysimachus choaked up the canals or rather sewers perforating their streets, and laid their houses under water.[61] Thus, cruelly driven from their homes, they occupied the new mansions prepared for them; but the illustrious name of Ephesus revived, and finally prevailed.

His new cities.

Ptolemy Soter having died in the year before the battle of Corupedion, fatal to Lysimachus, Seleucus now remained alone of all the Macedonian captains, fellow-soldiers, and friends of Alexander. The proud title of Nicator, which he had assumed on the first dawn of his great-

Seleucus's fond hopes.

[60] Strabo, l. xiii. p. 593.

[61] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 640.

ness, appeared to be fully justified by the event. He superstitiously regarded himself as the peculiar favourite of heaven, which, his flatterers encouraged him to believe, still kept in reserve for him some more extraordinary prosperity.[82] But how blind are the hopes of man! Seleucus was doomed speedily to fall by treason as sudden as its author was unsuspected.

His desire of revisiting Macedon, and reigning in a country where he had first drawn breath, and spent the innocent years of his humble youth, made him in haste to dispatch his affairs in Lesser Asia and cross the Hellespont. Among other generals and friends he was accompanied[83] by Ptolemy Keraunus, the expatriated prince of Egypt, bound to him by the strongest ties, and who, through Seleucus alone, now victorious in every part of the empire, might expect to be reinstated in his birth-right. But Keraunus by his mother Euridicé was the grandson of Antipater, successively minister, viceroy, and protector in Macedon; and whose memory was still revered in that country. Ptolemy Soter, though reputed to be the son of Lagus, was well known to spring from king Philip; and of this Ptolemy Soter, Keraunus was the eldest

He is murdered by Ptolemy Keraunus Olymp. cxxvi. B. C. 280.

The assassin's motives.

[82] This was confirmed by a romantic story told of his mother Laodicé, wife to one of Philip's generals named Antiochus. She dreamt that she had an amour with Apollo, who presented her with a ring, the gem of which was impressed with an anchor. The ring was found in her bed; and to commemorate her son's divine origin, the anchor is impressed on his medals. Conf. Appian, Justin, Autonius, and Spanheim de Usu et Præstan. Numism. p. 406.

[83] Pausanias, l. i. c. 16.

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son. The near chance of obtaining the kingdom of Macedon by the murder of his benefactor, appeared to this traitor preferable to the distant hope of making good his claim to Egypt. As Seleucus proceeded to Lysimachia, the capital of his late rival, he was struck with the appearance of an altar of uncommon magnitude, erected in a place called Argos, and said to be the work of the Argonauts. While he curiously examined this remain of antiquity, and was the more inquisitive, it is said, about its name and origin, because an oracle had warned him to beware of Argos[64], Keraunus stepped behind his back, and stabbed him to the heart. The murderer hastened to Lysimachia, announcing himself to its inhabitants and garrison as the avenger of Lysimachus the founder and patron of their city. Through the assistance of some Lysimachians, privy to his design, he easily gained a place of all others the most hostile to Seleucus. Under an escort of its citizens, he ventured to appear before the Asiatic army, now in much doubt and disorder, and reconciled himself with this mercenary body of men by dividing with it the treasures of its late general.[65] By such acts of successful villany, Keraunus acquired the kingdom of Macedon; and cruelly deformed it, for the space of three years, till the more desolating invasion of the

[64] Appian, Syriac. c. 63.

[65] Conf. Appian, Syriac. c. 63. Memnon apud Phot. p. 714. Pausanias, l. i. c. 16. and Justin, l. xvii. c. 2.

Gauls, of whom this murderous usurper was the first victim. CHAR. VIII.

Character of Seleucus.

Thus perished by treason Seleucus, who, from the condition of a private Macedonian, had risen through a long course of strenuous exertion, to the sovereignty of a mighty empire. Had he lived a few years longer, his conquests would have devolved to his posterity in two great divisions; the countries between the Euphrates and Indus, over which he had already established the government of Antiochus and Stratonicê; and the less extensive, indeed, but equally valuable possessions between the Euphrates and Danube, which he purposed to retain in his own hands, until he could transfer them with safety to the younger branch of his family. The first division coincides with what is called the Persian empire in modern times; the second embraces, if we except Egypt, nearly the whole extent of the Turkish dominion. Seleucus aspired not, like his master, to unite and harmonize the intire commercial world: he relinquished the maritime establishments in the central province of Babylonia, so essential to that great purpose. Yet he prosecuted the design transmitted to him of exploring the Caspian: before his demise, he is said to have made preparations for joining this sea with the Euxine: he encouraged the Indian commerce by this northern route; which will appear to have continued an object of attention with several of his successors.[66] The general strain

[66] Plin. N. H. ii. 24. vi. 2.

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of his actions confirms his character in history, as an indefatigable[67] and just prince, a firm friend, an affectionate father, an indulgent master; who gained the love of his eastern subjects by governing them according to their established principles and habits; and who, among all contemporary sovereigns, was pre-eminent in consistent greatness of conduct, flowing from true royalty of soul.[68] His remains being purchased by his friend Philetærus, governor of Pergamus, from the avarice of his execrable assassin, were transmitted to his son Antiochus; and by him interred in Seleucia on the Orontes; in which city a magnificent temple, called the Nicatorion, was dedicated to his name and worship. Seleucus built many new cities, of which, however, far the greater part was raised through the superstitious[69] motive of procuring heroic honours for his shade; many were peopled through the ruin of places in their neighbourhood, whose sites were equally convenient; and only a very few were erected in conformity with those great military and commercial views, by which, in this particular, his master had uniformly been guided. After recovering Babylonia, and several years before the battle of Ipsus, Seleucus built his new

His new cities.

[67] He used to say, that did men consider the toils and anxieties of government, nay, merely the perpetual fatigue of reading and writing letters, they would cease to envy the condition of kings. Plutarch, An Seni sit gerend. Resp. p. 790.

[68] Την γνωμην βασιλικωτατον. Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. vii. c. 22

[69] Diodor. l. xx. s. 102.

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capital on the western bank of the Tigris, forty miles north of Babylon. In a country destitute of wood and stone, whose edifices were hastily erected with bricks baked in the sun, and cemented with the native bitumen, Seleucia-Babylonia speedily eclipsed the ancient capital of the East.[70] In consequence of inundations of the Euphrates, and neglect, old Babylon gradually sunk into meanness and obscurity, whereas Seleucia soon boasted great populousness and splendour; advantages which it permanently held as the seat of Syrian, Parthian, and Persian kings, till sacked by the Saracens six hundred and thirty-seven years after Christ; and in little more than a century afterwards finally supplanted by Bagdad under the Caliph Almanzor.

Seleucia-Babylonia.

As Seleucus had commemorated his conquests in Assyria by the new Babylon called after himself, so his acquisitions in Lower Asia gained by the battle of Ipsus, were immortalized by the foundation of Antiochia, Antiochus being the name both of his revered father, and of his beloved son. This royal seat must have been in part finished shortly after that decisive victory, since Seleucus already resided in it when he espoused Stratonicé. It rose on the banks of the Orontes so near to Antigonia, that the ruins of the one served for materials of the other. The appellation of Antioch was given

New cities in Syria.

[70] Conf. Polyb. l. v. c. 48. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 511. Plin. l. vi. c. 26 and Plutarch in Lucull.

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by Seleucus to sixteen other cities scattered over his vast dominions; his own name was illustrated by nine Seleucias; that of his mother by five Laodiceas; and the names of his two wives were honoured by three Apameas and one Stratonicea[71]; forming in all thirty-five cities of note, named after himself or his dearest relatives. Many foundations of less account realized favourite scenes in Greece or Macedon; others revived the memory of some illustrious exploit; and not a few bore the glorious name of Alexander, whose image was seldom absent from the minds of his followers. Of all these new cities, next to Seleucia on the Tigris,

Antioch.

Antioch on the Orontes continued to be the most considerable both in rank and populousness, being successively the seat of Syrian kings, of Roman governors, and of Christian bishops. It was distant about twelve miles from the sea, and in the midst of a rich plain fourteen miles long and six broad. The warmth of the climate was refreshed by the vicinity of mountains, abounding in vines. Seleucia, at the mouth of the Orontes, a convenient haven with deep water, was its harbour; the irriguous vale of Daphné, consecrated to the divine children of Latona, formed its delightful umbrageous

[71] Seleucus's new cities are enumerated by Appian, de Reb. Syr. c. 57. They have been erroneously augmented from thirty-five to thirty-nine by mistaking the sentence τεσσαρας επι ταις γυναιξι· τρεις Απαμειας και Στρατονικειαν μιαν. "He named four cities in honour of his wives; three Apameas, and one Stratonicea." The latter clause is only explanatory of the former.

suburb.[72] This capital of Syria has been supplanted in modern times by Aleppo, about sixty miles from the sea, and nearly an equal distance in a south-eastern direction from Antioch. Whoever examines the two situations, in point of fertility of soil, salubrity of air, and facility of communications by sea and land; whoever compares the diminutive Chalus, or Kou, scantily refreshing Aleppo, with the noble windings of the Orontes[73], will perceive the immense difference between the Greeks and Saracens, as in all other respects, so in the choice of happy sites for their cities.

Next to Seleucus, the first Ptolemy of Egypt, who died nearly two years before him, was the most successful and most potent of the Macedonian captains. Ptolemy's kingdom was less extensive, and his renown, in the eastern world, less illustrious; but his fame with posterity gathered new strength through the more permanent effects of his reign, and the nearer neighbourhood of his dominions, to those warlike nations of the west, which were to become the appreciators of merit, and the dispensers of glory. Like Augustus, the founder of the imperial system at Rome, Ptolemy, the founder of the Greek dynasty, in Egypt, exhibited, in different periods of his life, a wide diversity of

Policy of Ptolemy Soter from the battle of Ipsus to his death.

[72] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 750. and the orator of Antioch quoted in the note, agreeing with the modern descriptions in Maundrel and Pocock.

[73] See Mr. Brown's Travels, and particularly his account of Antakie, Antioch: and Swadea, Seleucia.

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Olymp. cxix. 4.—cxxiv. 2. B. C. 301—283.

character. While his fortune was yet insecure, he was little scrupulous about the means of establishing it; but, when the event of the battle of Ipsus had confirmed him in the sovereignty of Egypt, Cyrené, and Cœle-Syria, the happiness of his subjects seemed to be the main object of his pursuit; and this generous end he attained by the mildness yet vigilance of his government, by his zealous encouragement of domestic industry and foreign intercourse, and by his wise policy in securing for Egypt those appendages, and those only, which were essential to her best interests. Towards procuring instruments the fittest to second his purposes, the perturbed state of neighbouring countries eminently contributed. The unceasing wars in Lesser Asia, the bloody revolutions in Macedon, and the miserable disorders which infested both the continent and the islands of Greece, suspended, in some measure, the coarse and necessary labours of man, and threatened totally to ruin all taste and refinement. To fugitives of every description, but especially to the learned, Egypt offered a secure asylum; and thus, by a signal felicity, did that kingdom, which was famed as the mother of arts and sciences, receive back into her hospitable bosom her full grown, highly improved, but now persecuted children. With regard to this interesting subject, which forms the characteristic glory of Ptolemy's reign, it is yet possible to enter into a pretty satisfactory detail; and to explain by what means Alexandria first acquired

that pre-eminent station in the world, which it maintained, in matters of science, for eight, and in matters of commerce, for eighteen centuries.

Establishment of the Alexandrian library at the suggestion of Demetrius Phalereus.

At the head of the men of letters, who sought the protection of Ptolemy, it is fit to place Demetrius Phalereus, because to him very peculiar benefits are ascribed. Having governed Athens with singular ability for the space of ten years, this illustrious statesman had been obliged to retire first to Bœotian Thebes, (from whence he was soon driven by the increasing troubles of Greece), and afterwards to Alexandria in Egypt.[74] Ptolemy received him with his usual courtesy; and speedily discerning his merit, associated him to his council of legislation; some historians say, even placed him at its head.[75] Demetrius had been the scholar of Theophrastus; and Theophrastus, the scholar of Aristotle; both which philosophers had formed great libraries. At the suggestion of Demetrius, Ptolemy[76] determined to execute the same design on a far larger scale. The books which an extensive intercourse with foreign nations brought into his country, were either purchased or transcribed[77]: his emissaries were busy in the temples, the fairs, and markets of Greece and Lesser Asia; and though we know not the accumulation of learning made by him-

[74] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 45. [75] Ælian, Var. Hist. l. iii. c. 17.
[76] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xii. c. 2. et cont. Apion, l. ii.
[77] Galen, Commentar. in Hippocrat. de Morb. Vulgar.

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self personally, he founded a library, which, under his last Greek successors, amounted to 700,000 volumes[78], deposited in two different temples, in different quarters of the city.[79] The word volume, however, conveys on this occasion, too magnificent an idea; for, in writings of any considerable extent among the ancients, each book, and sometimes each chapter or section, was rolled into a separate volume.[80]

Museum.—Peculiar nature of that institution.

The establishment of the Alexandrian library was accompanied by an institution still more memorable, because then single in its kind. In various cities of Greece, there were temples in honour of the Muses, thence called *Museia*, where these beneficent daughters of Memory, were worshipped by hymns and sacrifices.[81] But the museum raised by Ptolemy, bore a peculiar reference to the intellectual character of those goddesses; and was dedicated chiefly to the advancement of science, to the culture of taste, and to improvement in all those liberal studies, from which the civilised portion of mankind derive their best helps in business, and more than half their enjoyments in leisure. Not priests, but scholars of various denominations were its inhabitants, who, being admitted into it through

[78] Epiphan. de Ponder. et Mensur. Tertullian, Apologet. c. 18. Agellius, and Ammianus Marcellinus.

[79] Conf. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 794. & Epiphan. ubi supra.

[80] Ovid's Metamorphoses consisted of fifteen volumes; meaning thereby fifteen books. Athenæus says, that the grammarian Didymus, who lived at Alexandria in the time of Julius Cæsar, composed 3500 volumes; Seneca says, 4000 volumes; and Origen, 6000.

[81] Strabo, l. ix. p. 410. Conf. Aristot. Rhetoric. l. iii. c. 3.

the approved merit of their labours, subsisted by the king's bounty at common tables, where men of different pursuits, but congenial minds, enjoyed mutual opportunities for enlarging their information, or sharpening their faculties.[82] Under the latter Ptolemies, the museum, indeed, had a priest for its president[83], in compliance with the customs of the Egyptians, among whom all offices of dignity were confined, as we have seen, to the sacerdotal cast. But it appears not that either the founder of the institution, or his immediate successors, respected in this particular the usages of their subjects: and it should seem that the museum is the first establishment in history destined to the promotion of learning and science, independently of state policy and the popular superstition which upheld it. CHAP. VIII.

Accordingly, whoever enjoyed the office of president, that of librarian was certainly considered as the more important, and probably also as the more honourable. By a numerous list of authorities[84], the care of the library is said to have been first committed to Demetrius Phalereus, at whose suggestion it was collected. But the silence of other authors[85] on this subject has left room for the objection, that such an em- Demetrius Phalereus its first librarian.

[82] Conf. Plut. advers. Colott. p. 1095. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 794. Μουσειον την τραπεζαν Αιγυπτια συνκαλεσα τους απ' την γην ελλογιμους. "The museum was a common table in Egypt, to which the learned luminaries of the whole world were invited." Philostratus.

[83] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 794.

[84] Josephus, Tertullian, Clemens of Alexandria, &c.

[85] Strabo, Diodorus, Plutarch, &c.

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ployment was inconsistent with Demetrius's more important political functions in Egypt, and unsuitable to the high office which he had long borne in Athens. But the comparative honour of offices is, in different ages, very differently appreciated. Rarity is often a source of dignity. Few great libraries had yet been formed. The museum of Alexandria stood single in the world. Demetrius prized his fame as a scholar far above his transient power as a statesman; and the political functions which he exercised in Egypt did not hinder him from composing in that country many treatises, not merely characterised by flowing elegance and Attic sweetness of style[86], but by the weight and value of their matter; by acuteness in research, solidity of sense, and variety of learning.

Succeeded by Zenodotus of Ephesus.

The superintendence of the library could not however have been held long by this illustrious Athenian; since Zenodotus of Ephesus is noticed as librarian under Ptolemy Soter[87], and continued in that situation during the whole of the long reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Zenodotus had succeeded the elegiac poet Philetas as preceptor to the latter of these princes. He was celebrated as a poet, and still more as a critic.[88] By some authors he is said ignorantly, to have been the first emendator of Homer. His edition of the venerable bard was indeed in high estimation in his own times, and is often quoted by Eustathius at the distance of fifteen centuries.

[86] Cicero de Fin. l. v. et passim.
[87] Suidas ad Zenodot.
[88] Ælian, V. H. Athenæus and Stobæus.

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His contemporary poets.

Besides Philetas and Zenodotus the poets just mentioned, court favour was extended to Simmias of Rhodes, and Phinton of Tarentum. The prizes of comedy were won by Philemon, Diphilus, and Posidippus.[89] These poets were conspicuous for the luxuriancy, yet elegance, of their fancy. Philemon has been called a Syracusan, but was really a native of Soli[90] in Cilicia. He lived an hundred and one years, and produced ninety comedies. Though unfairly preferred, in his own time, to Menander, yet, in the judgment of posterity, he was really entitled to the second place.[91] Diphilus was a citizen of Sinopé in Paphlagonia. He wrote an hundred comedies, of which several fragments remain[92], and he is named by Plautus, in the prologue to his Casina, as the original author of that drama. Posidippus was born in Cassandria in Macedon. He began to write for the stage about the time of Menander's death, and may be regarded as closing the series of comic poets, since he is the last whose name is transmitted with praise to posterity. The reigns of the first Ptolemies saw indeed the growth and decay of the middle, or rather the new comedy, in which the pleasantry of general satire was substituted for the acrimony of personal invective. Grammarians, it is true, speak of the old comedy, in which the actors represented individuals with their real names; of the middle, in which the names only

[89] Diphilus Comicus insignis et sententiis affluens. Euseb. Pamphil.
[90] Strabo. [91] Quintilian, l. x.
[92] Hartelius, Veterum Comicorum Græcorum Fragment.

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were fictitious, but the characters real; and of the new, in which both personages and names were the work of fancy. The two first kinds, however, are essentially the same: the third was that cultivated in the time of the Ptolemies. In judging from the fragments that have come down to us[98], the writers of the new comedy abounded in knowledge of life, and in maxims of prudence: they were sometimes moral and pathetic; they lashed vice boldly, and did not even spare superstition. In a fragment quoted by Clemens and by Eusebius, an interlocutor thus addresses Pamphilos, his companion in the scene: "Think not that the gods are pleased with multitudes of victims, with images robed in gold and purple, and ivory bespangled with emeralds. Conciliate their favour by doing all that is good, and by abstaining from all that is evil. Covet not so much as the thread of another's needle; for God is ever present, and his eye is upon thee." In a fragment of Menander's Charioteer, a person addressed for charity, by one carrying a painted figure of the mother of the gods, exclaims, "Away with such mummery! I have no relish for gods that stroll from door to door. Were your goddess good for any thing, she would keep at home, and afford her protection to those only who deserve it by their piety." The general strain of this kind of comedy, however, must be inferred from the translations, or imitations in Plautus and

[98] See the Collections of Hartelius, Grotius, and Le Clerc.

Terence, and is indicated in a story told of Antiphanes, the most fertile poet in the time of Alexander, since he wrote three hundred and sixty-five comedies; a fecundity rivalled only by Calderon or Lopez de Vega. Antiphanes, who should seem to have had an unhappy facility of composition, read one of his pieces to the king, who did not at all relish it. Not greatly disconcerted, the poet observed ingeniously, "I wonder not, O king! at your dislike of the play. You are unacquainted with the scenes which it exhibits: you know nothing of the vulgar humours of our places of entertainment; of the shameless artifices of our courtezans. You have never been a party in beating up a brothel; an actor or a sufferer in disgraceful frays." This low comedy was perpetuated through the military turbulence that followed the death of Alexander. The *miles gloriosus* appeared in every piece; and, as it has been said of the comedies of Plautus, which were wholly Grecian, the parasite, the lady of pleasure, and the braggadocio captain, were standing stage-characters, from which it is easy to conjecture the design and drift of his[94] plays. Of a more various and far superior cast, were the comedies of Menander, if appreciated by the universal *testimony* of his contemporaries and posterity: for his fragments, among verses of a high moral tendency, contain others that are morose, gloomy, selfish, and acrimonious. He began to write at the age of twenty; and in the

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[94] Dryden.

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course of thirty years, produced above an hundred comedies. Of these, not less than eighty were translated by Terence: the Latin poet, indeed, copied all his plays from Menander, except Phormio and Hecyra, which were translated from the Greek of Apollodorus Gelöus, one of about thirty writers for the stage, in the time of Philip and Alexander, of whom short specimens remain. Menander was drowned[94] accidentally in the Piræus, in the fiftieth year of his age, and towards the close of Ptolemy's reign. That great prince bewailed his loss, having often invited him into Egypt, and never relinquished the hope of attracting him to his great capital. Demetrius Phalereus, his companion in the school of Theophrastus, lived there in splendour, and is said to have shared with the poet the emoluments of his high offices under Ptolemy.[95] It appears not, however, that, allured by such munificence, Menander was ever tempted to prefer the court of Alexandria to his unobstructed independence of life and study in Athens.

Impartiality in Ptolemy's Protection.

The Phalerean, whom Ptolemy so highly and so justly prised, was a votary to genuine Aristotelism, as taught by its great author; a philosophy not less solid than lofty, adapted to courts and camps, and all the business of active life. Yet the visionaries, Diodorus of Aspendus and other Pythagoreans or Platonicians, as they

[94] To this Ovid alludes in his Ibis:

Comicus ut liquidis periit dum nabat in undis.—

[95] Diogen. Laert. in Demet. Phaler.

came afterwards to be called, were hospitably received, and impartially protected.[96] How fanciful soever might be their tenets, from whatever quarter they came, and whatever causes had driven them from their respective countries, all literary strangers were ever welcome to Ptolemy. Many years before the foundation of his museum, Theodorus of Cyrené fled to him from the priests of that dependency, whom this Epicurean had offended by speaking too lightly of the popular superstition. He found a safe asylum in Alexandria, and shared the king's bounty.[97] Hegesias, another Epicurean of Cyrené, was silenced however by the king's orders; his opinions were not only extravagant in theory, but highly pernicious in practice.[98]

Ptolemy catches amusement from their learned folly.

Ptolemy, like his great brother, delighted to relax in literary conversation, and to vary the dull pomp of war and government. From the wisdom of the learned, he doubtless hoped to derive instruction; but was not less eager to catch amusement from their folly. While he listened to the contentious disputants, Diodorus of Iassus, and Stilpo of Megara, the former was so much puzzled by some captious sophisms of the latter, that he requested to have time to answer him. The king facetiously gave him, by a pun, the name of Kronus, (the old deposed

[96] Id. in Pythagor. Conf. Athenæus, l. iv. p. 165. and Jamblich, de Vit. Pythagor. c. ult.

[97] According to Diogenes Laertius in Aristippo, Ptolemy employed him as an ambassador.

[98] Conf. Cicero, Tusc. quæst. l. i. c. 34. and Valerius Maximus, l. viii. c. 9.

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deity), which afterwards adhered to him.[99] A better witticism, because intelligible in all languages, he directed against Sosibius. This critic indulged in the boldest conjectures; and particularly in the utmost licence of transposition. To punish his temerity, the king desired his stipend to be withheld. The critic complained: Ptolemy affected to disbelieve him: the critic averred his statement to be correct: the king carried him to the treasury; and desiring to see the list of literary pensioners who had received payment, cut off from the first names where they occurred, the syllable So Si Bi Us; which syllables, joined in one word, he handed to *Sosibius*, and by thus paying him in his own coin, reproved his unwarrantable freedom with ancient and venerated texts.[100]

Four new schools established by him. — I. That of critics and commentators.

In the reign of this universal patron, the foundation was laid at Alexandria of four schools altogether distinct from those of the four sects of ancient philosophers. The first was the school of critics and commentators, which begun with Zenodotus above-mentioned, and flourished through Eratosthenes, Aristophanes, Aristarchus, Apollodorus, and Aristodemus, down to the indefatigable Didymus in the Augustan age.

II. That of geometry.

The second school established by Ptolemy Soter was that of mathematicks; a name recently and fitly assigned to those sciences which treat of number or magnitude. Many other

[99] Laertius in Diodor.

[100] Athenæus, l. xi. p. 498.

branches of knowledge are acquired insensibly, and seem to flow, as it were spontaneously, into the mind: but the sciences respecting quantity, can be derived only from careful instruction or close study. We perceive every step of our progress; and few important steps are made without eager application and contentious effort. In many men, poetry and eloquence appear like gifts of nature; and all men are in some degree qualified to feel their effects, and to appreciate their merit. But of the labours of mathematicians, themselves only are the judges; and he sees nothing in a theorem, who does not perceive distinctly the whole truth that it contains. This firm and elevated science had made great progress in the Platonic academy at Athens. Plato himself was a proficient in it: if he did not invent, he was the great cultivator of geometrical analysis; which, by taking for granted the proposition to be examined, resolves it into its parts, and pursues them through their consequences, until arriving at something manifestly true, or manifestly false, the enquirer is enabled on sure grounds to determine whether the proposed theorem be true, or the proposed problem be practicable. In this manner Plato reasons through many of his dialogues. Persons ignorant of geometry, were debarred from his school; this accurate and pure science being deemed an essential preparation for attainments still more lofty; for mounting into the region of ideas, and expatiating there, in the bright and bound-

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less fields of universal truth.[101] Innumerable were his disciples who thus united geometry with a very fanciful philosophy; and many also were those who dedicated themselves chiefly or solely to the former science. Among the latter, the most celebrated were Neocles, author of several geometric theorems; Leon, who wrote an approved treatise of Elements; the brothers Menechmus and Dinostratus; and, last of all, the well known Euclid, who may be regarded perhaps without impropriety, as founder of the geometrical school of Alexandria.[102] Though he had extended the science by many great discoveries[103], Euclid disdained not to write a new book of Elements: so close, yet clear in its texture, that every attempt to supersede it, has only served to evince its incomparable superiority. Euclid was fully sensible of its excellence: when asked by Ptolemy for a less operose and shorter treatise, he replied dryly, "there is not any royal road[104] to geometry." The famous demand of the Delian oracle, to double his cubical altar[105], gave occasion to a long series of

[101] Proclus in Euclid, passim.

[102] Pappus, Collect. Math. l. vii. in Procem. Theophrastus and Eudemus, both of them scholars of Aristotle, wrote the History of Mathematics; from which lost works, Diogenes Laertius, Proclus, Pappus, and Theo, all three Alexandrians, collected the few particulars handed down to us.

[103] Pappus gives an account of Euclid's three books of Porisms; the highest branch of the ancient geometrical analysis.

[104] Βασιλικον στρατον. Proclus, Euclid, l. ii. c. 4. The στρατος was a road for Eastern kings, near their capitals, unembarrassed by the vehicles of ordinary passengers.

[105] Philopon. Commentar. in Analyt. Posterior. Conf. Valerius Maximus, l. viii. c. 12.

geometrical inventions. To solve this problem exactly, two mean proportionals must be found between the magnitudes employed to express the two cubes.[106] This cannot be done by means of any figures drawn by the rule and compass; that is, by the help of plain geometry. The problem therefore produced a fuller examination of the curves already known, and gave birth to many new ones. Menechmus, above-mentioned, made use of the parabola and hyperbola conjunctly: but Apollonius, who holds the middle rank in the Alexandrian school, between Euclid and Archimedes, contented himself with the hyperbola only and the circle. Nicomedes shortly afterwards invented the conchoid, and applied to the solution of the same question, this before unknown curve, which our great Newton found of excellent use in constructing his equations of the 3d and 4th degrees[107]: so admirable is the chain of science, connecting the labours of men the most distant in time and place!

III. That of practical astronomy.

The third school established under this reign at Alexandria, was that of practical astronomy. By the doctrine of concentric spheres, Eudoxus of Cnidus had undertaken to explain the stationary and retrograde motions of the planets.

[106] Nothing is easier than the duplication of the cube to a modern mathematician. He expresses, by number, the cube to be doubled; he doubles that number; and then extracts its cube root, as nearly as he thinks fit. This approximation will answer every practical end. But Delian Apollo was not to be thus easily satisfied. The precise solution, without an "almost or a nearly," was required.

[107] Vid. Arithmetic. Universal.

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He was the author of a work entitled the Mirror of the Heavens [108], and of another containing an Ephemeris or Journal of the rising and setting of the Stars. [109] Autolicus, who succeeded to him, has left treatises on nearly the same subjects, in one of which he establishes the roundness of the earth, the positions of the circles of the sphere, and the phænomena or effects necessarily resulting from these causes. [110] It remained, however, to estimate the distances and magnitudes of the planets; to measure their movements, particularly those of the sun and moon; and to discover rules, according to which the irregularities in these movements might be ascertained and represented with some tolerable degree of precision: all this was accomplished by the astronomical school of Alexandria. Twelve years before the death of Ptolemy Soter, Timocharis and Aristillus began their observations in that capital. [111] They continued them for the space of twenty-six years, and were succeeded in their labours, by Aristarchus of Samos; by the great Hipparchus of Nicæa; and by other astronomers to be noticed in due time, down to Sosigenes of Alexandria, who enabled Julius Cæsar to reform the Roman Kalendar.

IV. That of anatomy and medicine.

The fourth and last school erected at Alexandria, by Ptolemy Soter, was that of medicine. [112]

[108] Ενοπτρον. [109] Τα φαινομενα.

[110] Lib. Περι κινουμενης σφαιρας. Argentorat. an. 1572.

[111] Ptolemy, Syntax. Magn. l. vi. c. 3.

[112] Cels. in Præfat. Fulgent. Mytholog. l. i. p. 16. Galen, tom. iv. p. 372. Isagog.

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Its first teachers were Erasistratus, before-mentioned, and Herophilus, who cultivated, in particular, the anatomy of man and other animals with unwearied assiduity; and whose researches in this line are said to have been promoted by such indulgences from the king, as displayed his love of science, at the expense of his humanity.[113] These distinguished anatomists should seem to have been the first who were allowed to dissect human bodies by public authority. All their writings are lost; but they are continually cited by Galen.

Historians and philosophers in those times.

Of Alexander's immediate successors, many through love for glory performed great actions, and several prosecuted also letters with ardour, because by letters only the memory of great actions can be preserved. Antipater, Eumenes, Marsyas brother to Antigonus; above all, Ptolemy, acquired just praise as historians. Their contemporary, Jerom of Cardia, wrote with much impartiality of the affairs of his own times, comprehending both the first and second generation after the Macedonian hero; for Jerom lived an hundred and four years.[114] Aristobulus, who had accompanied Alexander into Upper Asia, finished at the age of eighty-four his narrative of that expedition; and Timæus, whose general history embraced Italy and Sicily as well as Greece and Syria, died at the court of

[113] Herophilus ille Medicus, aut Lanius, qui sexcentos exsecuit, ut naturam scrutaretur; qui hominem odiit, ut nosset. Tertul. de Anim. c. 10. Conf. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxvi. c. 3.

[114] Lucian in Macrob.

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the second Ptolemy, in his ninety-sixth year.[115] When we consider, indeed, the remarkable longevity of Alexander's captains, and other eminent persons their contemporaries, it should seem as if the period distinguished by peculiar energy, both in action and speculation, had been singularly favoured by the benefits of health and strength; and that the physical powers of men had in some measure kept pace with their strenuous exertions in arts and arms. At this memorable æra, a scene altogether new, opened in those parts of the world, which fall within the sphere of authentic history. About twenty generals disciplined in the school as well as in the camp, usurped their master's conquests, and transmitted the most considerable of them to their descendants under the name of kingdoms. Through respect for attainments, in which many of themselves were eminent, they sought out and promoted the learned of their times to the most important functions of domestic and foreign policy.[116] Demetrius Phalereus was thus employed, first by Cassander in Athens, and then by Ptolemy Soter in Alexandria. The same Cassander sent Evhemerus, of whom we shall speak hereafter, on many important embassies. Xenocrates, who succeeded Plato in the academy, was famed for his strict integrity in public employments[117]; and Theophrastus, the scholar of Aristotle, was

[115] Lucian in Macrob.
[116] Diogen. Laert. passim.
[117] Id. in Xenocrat.

courted by many of the kings of his times, but preferred to all the advantages with which they tempted him, his school at Athens, of sometimes two thousand pupils, which he continued to superintend to his death, at the age of one hundred and seven years.[118] From this time forward, we shall find in the history of the Greek kings of the East, philosophers of the Epicurean sect, as well as celebrated adherents to the Academy, the Lyceum, and the Portico, adorning the walks of public life, and entrusted with delegated authority under princes, who valued their talents, though they sometimes dreaded their virtues. But neither in a scientific nor literary point of view will such philosophers deserve particular commemoration. None of them are distinguished as the founders of new systems, or the improvers of old ones. Their highest aim was to follow correctly their respective masters, whose works were perpetually in their hands; their study by day, their meditation by night; consulted as the oracles of wisdom, and revered as the standards of excellence.

Improvements of Alexandria as an emporium. Description of that city.

Egypt attained, as we shall see, its meridian of power and glory under Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, but there is abundant proof, that in the reign of his father, the best foundations of public prosperity had been laid; that domestic industry and ingenuity flourished, and that the most profitable foreign markets were

[118] St. Hieronym. in Epistol. ad Nepotian.

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frequented. In examining this subject, I shall begin with the great emporium Alexandria, which owed to Ptolemy Soter, the completion of those noble works which long served to support, to defend, and to adorn it. The plan of the whole had been traced by the architect Deinocrates, under the eye, indeed, of Alexander himself; and it redounds to the honour of Ptolemy, that he finished with punctilious accuracy a plan than which none better could have possibly been devised.[119]

The city stood on a low and level coast, beyond the boundaries of the Delta, since nearly ten miles west of the Canopic branch of the Nile. Confined by the sea, and the lake Mareotis, to little than a mile in its dimensions from north to south, it extended above two miles on either hand along the Isthmus; and was therefore compared in form to a Macedonian cassock, short in the body, with long outspreading arms. In opposition to common opinion, Alexander has been shown to have conformed to his preceptor's maxims in the government of kingdoms: he should seem to have paid equal attention to his rules with regard to the building of cities.[120] For the sake of ventilation by the Etesian winds, the streets of Alexandria were straight, spacious, and drawn at right angles to each other.[121] In the middle

[119] Conf. Arrian, l. iii. c. 1. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 10. & Strabo, l. xvii. p. 799. et seq.

[120] Aristot. Politic. l. vii. c. 11. et seq.

[121] The description in Strabo, above cited, applies in part to the

it was perforated by two streets, each above a hundred feet wide, and the longer extending above four miles between the western gate of the city, looking towards the Necropolis, or burying-ground, and the opposite gate on the East, pointing to the ancient Canopus. Both these central streets were adorned with pillars or porticoes: their houses were solid and lofty: at their meeting they formed an open square convenient for the easy intercourse among distant quarters of a capital [122], which soon contained three hundred thousand persons of free condition, and probably a far greater number of industrious slaves. To supply this vast multitude with fresh water, the houses were provided with subterranean cisterns, into which the Nile regularly flowed at the period of annual inundation; and in which the slimy fluid gradually depositing its impurities, converted itself into a clear and wholesome beverage. [123]

The Pharos and Heptastadium.

Directly opposite to the middle of the city, the little island Pharos rose, at less than a mile's distance in the sea; a spot ennobled by the verses of Homer [124], and on which Alexander had planned a light-house, the first work of its kind, and peculiarly useful on this coast, infested by

reign of Ptolemy Soter: for Ammianus Marcellinus, l. ii. says, Alexandria non sensim ut aliæ urbes, sed inter initia prima aucta per spatiosos ambitus. Conf. Diodorus, l. i. s. 50.

[122] Strabo observes, that all the streets of Alexandria admitted loaded carriages to pass each other easily; an advantage to be found in few eastern cities in modern times.

[123] Hirtius de Bell. Civil. l. iii. [124] Odyss. l. iv. v. 355.

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rocks and sand-banks. Ptolemy completed the design in all its parts. He joined the island of Pharos to Alexandria, by a mole seven furlongs in length. The tower[125] destined to show mariners their way, stood at the extremity of the island: its materials consisted of white marble: its height was four hundred and fifty feet; each side of its square base, six hundred feet; and its beaming summit is said to have been seen at the distance of one hundred miles. Of this monument, ennobled by its use still more than its magnificence, and which cost Ptolemy in rearing it eight hundred talents, the architect Sostratus of Cnidus endeavoured fraudulently to usurp the whole glory with posterity. By the disloyal vanity of Sostratus, the king's name in the dedication was sculptured on a perishable paste, while his own was deeply engraven below, on the solid stone[126]: base and bootless artifice! the Pharos was not to be left, like the pyramids, to tell its own story; Ptolemy having secured the honour due to his name, by monuments more lasting than brass or marble. The mole joining the city and island, and called from its length the Heptastadium[127], separated the harbours of Alexandria; that towards the east called the

[125] Conf. Strabo, Josephus, Clemens, Alexand. Geograph. Nubiens. & Suidas ad voc. *Φαρος*.

[126] Lucian de Scribend. Histor. Yet Pliny, l. xxii. c. 12. ascribes to Ptolemy's greatness of mind, the insertion of Sostratus's name instead of his own.

[127] The Heptastadium was sometimes called the Bridge, because it contained spacious arches or openings, by means of which, vessels passed from one harbour into the other. Hirtius de Bell. Alexand.

great harbour, and the other westward called Eunostus, that is, the harbour of *safe return*. These two harbours were respectively contiguous to the two principal quarters of the city; the quarter opposite to the great harbour was called Bruchion [128], an abbreviation of the Greek word, denoting "a granary," such magazines being always among the first buildings in places destined to be the seats of kings and garrisons. The western division opposite to the harbour Eunostus, retained its old Egyptian name Rhacotis, the appellation of a warlike tribe of shepherds, anciently posted there against strangers who might venture to land on this long inhospitable shore, but which, by a happy change of manners, was adorned under the Ptolemies, by a monument indicating great commercial prosperity.

Temple of Serapis.

This was the temple of the god Serapis, a divinity whose migration from Sinopé to Alexandria, is among the last recorded events in the reign of Ptolemy Soter. The protection of Serapis was acknowledged by sailors on the Thracian coast of the Propontis: as the patron of maritime traffic, his image was characterised by emblems of plenty and naval trophies; and so ancient was his worship, that Jason is said to have sacrificed on his altar, when he returned from his Colchian expedition. [129] In consequence of the exploits of the Argonauts, and succeeding

[128] Βρουχεων, a corruption from πυρουχεων.

[129] Conf. Polyb. l. iv. c. 39. and Golzii Numm. Antiq. Artic. Ægialia and Sinopé.

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Greeks who pursued the same paths to renown, the rites of Serapis grew into great celebrity, particularly at Sinopé, the mother and queen of all the Greek colonies on the Euxine.[130] The fame of the god travelled eastward; and we have seen that a temple anciently raised to him in Babylon, was repaired and adorned by Alexander, among other expedients of that politic conqueror for reviving the long-lost navigation of his projected capital. After the enlightened example of a brother, on whom Ptolemy ever cast an eye of reverence, Serapis was conducted with awful solemnity into Egypt, that the blind superstitions directed in that country against a seafaring life might be counteracted by other superstitions of a more useful tendency. The Serapeum, raised to him in Rhacotis, came in process of time to surpass all other temples in magnificence[131]: and that its dedication was attended with events most extraordinary, the historian Tacitus is ready to attest; whose pen has condescended on this occasion, to varnish fictions, exceeding, if possible, in absurdity, the vilest of monkish legends.[132] In that author, so sceptical, and so much idolized by sceptics, we may read the divine mandate for the transportation of Serapis; we may tremble with the relater, at the threatening phantom of the god, first upbraiding Ptolemy for neglect, and after-

[130] History of Ancient Greece, vol. iii. c. 26.

[131] Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xxii. c. 16. He ranks it, however, after the Roman capitol.

[132] Tacitus, Hist. l. iv. c. 84.

wards Scydrothemis, king of Sinopé, for obstinacy; we may lament, with the philosophic mourner, the calamities inflicted on the Sinopians for reluctance in parting with their long venerated guardian: in fine, we may behold the wooden or marble idol, inspired with a living soul, spontaneously embarking in an Egyptian vessel, and sailing with miraculous celerity, in three days, from the harbour of Sinopé into that of Alexandria.

Flourishing state of the fine arts.

For works of architecture and other arts of design, Ptolemy enjoyed singular advantages in point both of materials and of instruments. His kingdom abounded beyond all other countries, in porphyry, basalts, and the finest marbles. Many of the best artists of Greece preferred Alexandria for their residence [133]; and their unceasing competitions with each other, as well as their great number, gave an activity and amplitude to their labours, which will excite more incredulity than wonder, among those who make the examples before their eyes the sole standards of their opinions. The age of Alexander, indeed, created such multitudes of artists, as never appeared in any other. To instance in a single art and in a single city: scarcely ten years after the premature death of that conqueror, the Athenians erected in one year to Demetrius Phalereus, three hundred and sixty statues, of which one hundred and sixty were of bronze,

[133] If we believe the story in Pliny, l. xxxv. c. 101. Apelles came there against his will: Ptolemy and this great painter, it seems, had been on bad terms in Alexander's lifetime.

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and of these many in chariots or on horseback! [134]

Illustrated in the coronation festival of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

But of the flourishing state of Egypt, with regard to the fine arts, and every kind of productive and commercial industry, a signal illustration appeared in the coronation festival of Ptolemy Philadelphus, celebrated by Ptolemy Soter two years before his death, when he associated that favourite son to his sovereignty. This solemnity, in which some particulars should seem not to have been hitherto viewed in their proper light, is said to have attracted to Alexandria crowds of strangers from India to Greece; from Colchis and the mountains of Caucasus, to the southern extremity of Ethiopia. The spacious streets of Alexandria were ready to receive them; and to leave room for the processions that constituted the principal part in the exhibition. [135] Innumerable tents and many ornamental edifices were raised for the occasion, among which the pavilion, where the Ptolemies entertained the more illustrious portion of the strangers, has been particularly commemorated. Its pillars were seventy-five feet high, imitating alternately the palm-tree, and the Thyrsus of Bacchus. It was surrounded by a sunk gallery for attendants; and communi-

[134] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxxiv. Conf. Plut. Rei Gerend. Præcept. p. 820. The richest people on earth could not now make such a present to their sovereign. Alexander, it must be remembered, had shortly before his death sent ten thousand talents into Greece, to be expended in works of art.

[135] What follows is extracted wholly from Callixenus of Rhodes, preserved in Athenæus, l. v. p. 196—203.

cated with many grottoes or rooms for entertainment. Its middle was overshadowed by a beautiful scarlet canopy; the ground-floor was covered with Babylonian or Persian carpets, exquisitely painted with natural objects, and strewed dispersedly with a rich variety of real flowers, astonishing, in a winter festival, to northern strangers. The vestibule displayed a hundred marble figures of animals, works of great masters, and the most admired paintings of the Sicyonian school. Two eagles of gold crowned the summit of the edifice, each above twenty feet high. The burnished tripods and sculptured vases, the gemmed caskets breathing perfumes, the couches and golden tables for the guests, it would be tedious to describe. The value of the gold only, exceeded two millions sterling.

The procession.

In the procession which ensued, and which lasted from morning till sun-set, the superstition of Greece was recommended to the Egyptians and Asiatics, by whatever can please the fancy or sooth the senses. The image of each divinity, always of a colossal magnitude, was accompanied by his emblems, his altar, and his car of triumph, while the dramatic representation of his attendants, or paintings nearly as impressive, exhibited the labours which he had encountered, and the benefits which he had conferred. The pomp of Bacchus is described circumstantially, and this part may help the imagination to grasp the magnificence of the whole. His car, crowned with vines and ivy,

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was preceded and followed by troops of Sileni and Satyrs, of Boys and Bacchanals. Golden censors diffused precious perfumes. After the image of the god followed that of his nurse Nysa; at first reclined in her chariot, but then rising spontaneously and pouring forth libations of milk. Wine distilled from innumerable sources, particularly two huge vessels, one of silver, the other of panthers' skin, and from the capacious receiver of a moveable wine press drawn by three hundred men, and trodden by sixty satyrs, enlivening their work by the vintage hymn.

This procession was only a prelude to one more extraordinary, in which Bacchus appeared in his character of an eastern conqueror; an idol eighteen feet high, mounted on an elephant, attended by five hundred nymphs in purple tissues, and a proportional number of satyrs completely armed. Twenty elephants [136] adorned the most splendid of Roman triumphs, that of the emperor Aurelian; but twenty-four chariots, each drawn by four of these huge animals, appeared in one scene of this gorgeous procession; in which the Ptolemies had united the rarest objects in nature with the most exquisite productions of art. It is sufficient to mention eight hundred waggons loaded with spices and perfumes; negroes bearing ebony, ivory, and gold; the natives of Hindostan displaying in captivity the elegant clothes and rich jewels of

[136] Vopiscus, Hist. August. p. 220.

their country; birds of various plumage hovering round artificial grottoes; innumerable yokes of fierce panthers and beautiful zebras; white oxen from India, the camelopard and rhinoceros from Ethiopia; glaring lions and savage tigers, with Hyrcanian and Molossian dogs, rivalling in ferocity and strength those tenants of the desert. This variegated spectacle, disposed with regular symmetry or more artful disorder, was occasionally animated by a chorus of six hundred musicians; and what is worthy of remark, the honours of Bacchus terminated with a procession of two thousand Egyptian bulls, representing the god Apis; a circumstance which indicates Ptolemy's tolerant purpose of establishing a sort of community of worship, between his Egyptian and Grecian subjects. The pageant of Bacchus was followed by that of the other divinities. Alexander, alone more godlike than the whole hierarchy, came the last of all. His statue was of pure gold, and his car drawn by elephants of unrivalled magnitude. Pallas and Victory attended their favourite hero.

The sacred games—the presents given and received by the Ptolemies.

The processions were succeeded by the sacred games, which, like the games of Olympia, lasted five days. Vases, talents, and tripods, were distributed by the Ptolemies to the conquerors. But these princes were rewarded in their turn by offerings from their wealthy subjects or strangers; and, by the Grecian deputies, the elder Ptolemy and his queen Berenicé were honoured with presents inestimable to superstí-

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tion or vanity, the assignment of groves and altars within the precincts of the temple of Dodona. The offerings made to the Ptolemies, consisted as usual in crowns of gold, which the eagerness of the donors had announced to the royal treasurers before the commencement of the games.[137] From the account taken of them by these officers, their value appears to have amounted to nearly six hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.[138]

Inferences to be drawn from this festival, with regard to the industry and wealth of Egypt.

At the revival of letters in the fifteenth century, which was not immediately followed by the revival of good taste in literary composition, the historians of modern Europe delighted in pompous descriptions of religious and military processions, whose prolixity is justly condemned by the criticism of the present age. I might fear to incur a similar censure, if, in the history of the Ptolemies, this showy pageant had been introduced by way of ornament. But in appreciating the condition of ancient nations, it often becomes necessary, from the want of more direct evidence, to turn to account every important monument that time has preserved. The paintings and sculptures crowding, as it were, this gorgeous solemnity, warrant the in-

[137] Προθυμιαν των στεφανιτων, p. 203. and again, εστεφανωθησαν Πτολεμαιοι χρυσοις στεφανοις και τεμενεσι εν Δωδωνη. Athenæus, ibid. Casaubon in his Latin translation has mistaken these words; if the victors in the games, and not the Ptolemies, were honoured with crowns, the former must, according to the text, have had groves also assigned to them at Dodona.

[138] Talents 2239, Minas 50. The Egyptian talent contained 80 Minas; the Attic, only 60.

ference that coarser and more useful productions of art greatly abounded in Egypt: the high improvements in the trades of the gardener and florist, indicate a proportional proficiency in agriculture; the profusion of precious commodities enriching the procession, attests the commercial intercourse of Egypt, with neighbouring and remote countries; and the extraordinary advancements in national prosperity, made in the course of one reign, afford a striking illustration of the happy change that might yet be effected in any considerable province of the East, under mild and equitable laws, which would necessarily draw to it in a short time, great accessions of wealth and populousness from all the disorderly governments in its neighbourhood.

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Western Greeks. — Their Misfortunes through the Dissolution of the Pythagorean Band. — They are defended by Alexander of Epirus. — Their Revolutions to the Reign of Agathocles. — His Enormities. — Description of Carthage and its possessions. — Siege of Syracuse. — Agathocles invades Africa. — His Conquests there. — League in Sicily, resembling that of the Achæans. — Agathocles's Proceedings with Ophellas, the Usurper of Cyrené. — Bomilcar's Conspiracy. — Agathocles, King of Africa. — Greeks detached into the Inland Country. — Disasters and Defections. — Agathocles's final Return to Sicily. — His subsequent Proceedings and tragic Death. — His Mercenaries called Mamertines. — They usurp Messené. — State of Sicily.

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Connection of this history.

THE immediate successors of Alexander were distinguished in point of spirit and activity from the generation that came after them.[1] Trained in the school of that conqueror, their unceasing enterprise left scarcely any interval of repose, during which our attention might be directed to the western Greeks, and the nations intimately connected with them; a subordinate, indeed, but very important subject, which to excite interest, and afford instruction, will require more elaborate research than has hitherto been bestowed on it.

[1] Dionys. Halicarn. Hist. Roman. in Proœm.

CHAP. Geography and history of Epirus. B. C. 1200. —316.

The glory of the kings of Macedon excited the kindred emulation of the royal house of Epirus; a line of princes, who, deducing their origin and establishment from Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, had maintained, amidst all the convulsions of the commonwealths of Greece, an undisturbed hereditary sovereignty over the north-western division of that country.[2] This mountainous and woody district, extending in breadth fifty miles, in length fifty leagues, early received the name of Epirus, the main-land or continent; an appellation naturally enough bestowed on it in contradistinction to the neighbouring islands in the Hadriatic gulph.[3] It was originally inhabited from north to south by the Chaonians, Thesprotians, and Molossians; and was famous in mythology for the oracle of Dodona, the river Achæron, the Achærusian lake, and the city of Pandosia.[4] The impervious ridges of mount Pindus, whose declivities were guarded by the fierce independence of the Æthices and Athamanes, formed its eastern or Thessalian frontier. On the south it touched the Ambracian gulph; and it terminated northward in the Acroceraunian mountains, towering directly opposite to the heel of Italy.[5]

[2] The sceptre passed quietly from father to son for nine centuries, from the foundation of the kingdom by Neoptolemus to Olymp. cxvi. 1. B.C. 316. Diodorus Siculus, l. xix. s. 36. This stability is ascribed to the equitable moderation of the government. Aristot. Politic. l. v. c. 11.

[3] Παντα προς τι. The central and largest of the Orcades, (the Orkney islands), bears the same appellation.

[4] Strabo, l. vi. p. 256. Thucydid. l. i. Plin. l. iv.

[5] Id. ibid.

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Its connection with the Greeks of Italy. B. C. 700—400.

The geographical situation of the two countries, naturally produced a commercial connection between Epirus and the Greek colonies scattered along the Italian coast, from Brundusium, at the entrance of the Hadriatic gulph, to Cumæ the mother of Naples on the Tuscan sea. But the moral and political condition of the Epirots and of the Italian Greeks tended powerfully to strengthen this connection, and to recommend the Pyrrhidæ (for so the royal lineage of Achilles was named,) as the natural defenders of their Italian brethren. The Italian Greeks had risen to distinguished splendour under the institutions of Pythagoras and his followers. Their country, together with the confederate isle of Sicily, received and once honourably upheld the name of Magna Græcia.[6] But in consequence of the persecution and total destruction of the Pythagorean band, both countries, included under that name, experienced a dreadful reverse of fortune; being precipitated from unrivalled prosperity into a series of calamities equally unexampled.[7]

Condition of those Greeks after the destruction of the Pythagorean band. Olymp. lx. 2. B. C. 589.

It is just matter of regret, that history should laboriously record the tiresome or disgusting incidents of sieges and massacres, and leave us to collect from a few obscure hints, the time and circumstances of a revolution perpetually inter-

[6] Επι τοσουτον ηυξηντο ὡστε την μεγαλην Ελλαδα ταυτην ελεγον και την Σικελιαν. Strabo, l. vi. sub init., and History of Ancient Greece, C. XI. throughout.

[7] Polybius, l. ii. c. 39. Conf. Strabo, l. vi. p. 252. 263. & 280 & l. viii. p. 384. et seq.

esting to mankind. The ruin of the Pythagoreans was sudden, unexpected, and universal; and the cities of Magna Græcia deprived by one blow, of men qualified to conduct their affairs honourably, became a prey to such disorders as are always to be apprehended when, in the struggle of parties, power falls into the hands of the worst and basest portion of the community. Banishment and confiscation seemed but moderate evils; the whole country was deformed by sedition and murder. The states of ancient Greece learned with amazement the calamitous and afflicted condition of their once flourishing colonies, and deeply compassionating their sufferings, sent embassies into Magna Græcia, with a view to extinguish the animosities by which it was consumed. When the violence of the fermentation abated, the cities of Italy committed their concerns to the good faith and wisdom of the Achæans, whose government had, from an early age, afforded the best model of a well-balanced and virtuous confederacy. In process of time, they endeavoured to conform to the Achæan institutions, both sacred and civil. The deliberations of Crotona, Sybaris, and Caulonia, were held in a common temple, consecrated to Jupiter the lover of concord and patron of confederacies.[8] We know not how far the neighbouring states concurred in this salutary plan; which was finally defeated by the arms and in-

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[8] Polybius, l. ii. c. 39. & Strabo, l. viii. p. 385. & 387. In these passages I read δμαριω, instead of δμοριω. Vid. Not. Schwiegh. ad Polyb. vol. v. p. 435. et. seq.

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trigues of the elder Dionysius[9], tyrant of Sicily, and by the perpetual incursions and unceasing opposition of the native Italians, who, while the Greek colonies occupied the coast, still retained possession of the inland country.

Threatened with destruction by the natives of Italy.

These natives, whose language was preserved[10] by the Romans after the people themselves had perished and were forgotten, appear to have greatly multiplied in the southern part of the peninsula, while invasions of the Gauls desolated and deformed the north, and colonizations of the Tuscans and Latins improved and embellished its centre. Though divided into different tribes, and distinguished by different names, they appear to have been most of them branches from the same ancient stock, called Opici by the Greeks[11], and Osci by the Romans. That the Sabines were Osci, was proved by the sameness of language[12]; and the evidence of history concurs with this identity of dialect in proving that Samnium was colonized by the Sabines[13]; Campania and Lucania, by the Samnites; and that the Brutii were revolted slaves of the Lucanians.[14] Such is the filiation of the

[9] See History of Ancient Greece, vol. iii. c. xxiv.

[10] Conf. Strabo, l. v. p. 233. & Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 2. They speak particularly of the Oscan tongue.

[11] Thucydides, Dionysius Halicarnass. &c.

[12] Mars — a Sabinis acceptus, ubi Mamers. Varro de Ling. Latin. Mamercus Prænomen Oscum est. Festus.

[13] Tit. Liv. l. x. c. 20. & Virgil —

Hæc, genus acre virum Marsos, pubemque Sabellam.
Georg. l. ii. v. 167.

The Samnites, descendants of the Sabines, were those with whom the Romans waged the bloodiest and most obstinate wars.

[14] Strabo, l. v. p. 228.

fierce Barbarians, who, together with the unknown tribe of the Calabri or Messapians, bordered on the territories of the Greek seaports in Italy.

The Italian Greeks assisted by the Epirots. Olymp. cx. 4. — cxiv. 1. B.C. 337 — 324.

The commercial cities of Crotona and Tarentum, which united the turbulence of democracy with the vices of luxury, compared their own licentious effeminacy with the hardy valour of the Epirots, whose martial spirit was as proverbial as that of their bulls[15], horses[16], and mastiffs[17], and whose loyal obedience had been confirmed into habit, under a race of kings, who appear never to have violated their coronation oath of governing according to law.[18] The reigning king of Epirus was Alexander, brother of the too-celebrated Olympias, a princess whose crimes are emblazoned by the inimitable glory of her son. He was the chosen friend of Philip of Macedon, who, not contented with marrying Alexander's sister, gave him in marriage his own daughter Cleopatra. This prince, whose character was worthy of his illustrious connections, in the course of fourteen years thrice came to the assistance of the Greek colonies in Italy, against the neighbouring Barbarians. His first expedition was undertaken the year immediately following that in

[15] Majores herbida tauros non habet Epirus.
Ovid. Metam. viii. 282.

[16] Eliadum palmas Epirus equorum. Virg. Georg.

[17] Veloces Spartæ catulos, acremque Molossum.
Virgil, Georg. l. iii. v. 405.

[18] Plutarch in Pyrrho.

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which Philip defeated the confederate Greeks in the field of Chæronea. The second happened seven years afterwards. The third and last, which ended in the perfidious murder of Alexander of Epirus, was contemporary with the death of his nephew and brother-in-law at Babylon [19], a death totally the reverse of his own, since the great Macedonian died in the midst of his friends and in the arms of victory.

Transition to the History of Sicily.

Alexander's expeditions into Italy, though they terminated unhappily for himself, yet retarded the subjugation of Magna Græcia, which was destined to fall by the Romans, a nobler enemy, after it had been defended in a war of six years by Pyrrhus, a more illustrious champion. The first invasion of Pyrrhus is separated by an interval of forty-three years from the death of Alexander of Epirus. During this important period, while the Epirots were too deeply concerned in the affairs of their Macedonian neighbours, to pay much attention to distant transactions in Magna Græcia, the beautiful island comprehended under that general name produced events as important as they are extraordinary, and calculated to excite interest in every age of the world. The destruction of the Pythagoreans in Sicily, appears to have been followed by similar disorders to those which accompanied the ruin of

Its revolutions from the downfal of the Pythagore-

[19] Livy, l. viii. c. 24, says, Eodem anno Alexandriam in Egypto proditum conditum, Alexandrumque Epiri ab exsule Lucano interfectum. The æra of Alexandria, however, reaches seven years higher. See Pighius's Annals and an. U. C. 420. Livy is always unhappy in speaking of Alexander the Great, and of every thing that bears a reference to that conqueror.

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their brethren in Italy. Democracies every where sprang up, which universally ended in tyrannies. The work of expelling the tyrants was begun by the patriotism of Dion, and completed by the magnanimity of Timoleon.[23] The latter delivered Syracuse, which then held an ascendency among all the Greek colonies in Sicily, a little more than a year before Philip of Macedon subdued the Athenians and their allies in the battle of Chæronea. During the few years that Timoleon lived after that memorable event, his virtues and his renown overawed the tumultuary passions of the Sicilians, and gradually recalled their attention to those arts and pursuits from which their ancestors had derived a measure of wealth and strength that rendered their comparatively petty island, a fit counterpoise to the mightiest kingdoms.[24] Timoleon's authority continued to his death, when the turbulent Sicilians again became a prey to their ancient disorders; which, in less than twenty years, paved the way for the usurpation and long reign of Agathocles[25]; one of the most memorable in history for craft and courage; for audacious enterprises coolly executed, and indefatigable exertions always most wickedly directed.

ans to the reign of Agathocles. Olymp. cxv. 4. B. C. 317.

The early adventures of Agathocles well qualified him for the singular character which he was to exhibit on a throne. He was the son of

His early adventures.

[23] Plutarch in Dion, et in Timoleon.

[24] History of Ancient Greece, vol. iii. c. xxiv.

[25] Diodor. l. xix. s. 1. et seq.

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an Italian potter, who, having been banished from Rhegium, fixed his abode at Thermæ in Sicily, and afterwards at Syracuse. Agathocles learned to exercise his father's trade; but his beauty soon recommended him to Damas, a wealthy voluptuary of Syracuse, who, being appointed general against Agrigentum, entrusted his minion with the office of Chiliarch, commander of a thousand men. Upon the death of Damas, Agathocles married his widow, and thereby became possessed of great opulence. The enjoyments, however, of domestic life were ill adapted to his temper. Soon after his marriage we find him as Chiliarch in an army which Syracuse had sent to defend Crotona against the assaults of the Brutii, fierce mountaineers, neighbours to that still flourishing colony, and its implacable enemies. In this warfare, Agathocles distinguished himself by the weight of his armour, which none but himself could wield; by the impetuosity of his courage, the readiness and rashness of his hand, and the audacious vehemence of his tongue. His exploits entitled him to the first prize of valour, but he was deprived of this expected reward by the generals Heraclides and Sosistratus, men envious, unjust, and profligate; who had obtained power in the state and the command of its armies, amidst dark intrigues and daring murders.[26] Agathocles, to whom a privation of honour seemed positive disgrace, loudly ar-

Distinguishes himself in the defence of Crotona. Olymp. cxv. 3. B. C. 318.

[26] Diodor. l. xix. s. 3.

raigned his commanders; part of the army embraced his cause; complaints were sent to Syracuse; but the influence of fear or faction prevailed over justice in the assembly: and the generals being acquitted of the malversation with which they were charged, returned to Syracuse at the end of the expedition, to resume the chief offices of government, while Agathocles remained in Italy, with the malecontents attached to his interests. At the head of this band of voluntary exiles, the restless activity of the Chiliarch, began by an enterprise as bold as it was unexpected. This was nothing less than to surprise Crotona, the place which he had been sent to succour, and in the defence of which he had recently signalized his prowess. Having failed in this flagitious undertaking he escaped to Tarentum with his adherents much diminished in number, and was taken into the pay[27] of that wealthy community, which had gradually gained an ascendency over its ancient rival Crotona, chiefly through the exclusive advantages of its harbour, affording safe anchorage in all seasons, and commanding the commerce of Italy from Sipontum in Apulia to the promontory of Japygium.[28] The bold intriguing spirit of Agathocles soon rendered him obnoxious to the Tarentines, and occasioned his dismission from their service. His former associates still followed his fortunes, much reinforced in numbers by fugitives and banditti from the

His transactions at Crotona, Tarentum, and Rhegium.

[27] Diodor. l. xix. s. 4. [28] Polybius, l. x. c. 1.

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neighbouring parts of Italy. With this motley army, prepared for every service by which it might procure pay and plunder, he readily undertook the defence of Rhegium, a city nearly opposite to Messené in Sicily, and which is said to derive its name from a convulsion of the elements by which that island was broken off and for ever separated from the neighbouring continent.[29] Rhegium was then besieged by an army of Syracusans, under the command of Heraclides and Sosistratus, Agathocles's personal as well as political foes. They were compelled to raise the siege; and at their return to Syracuse fell into such disgrace, and were exposed to such danger, that they thought it prudent to quit the city, accompanied by numerous partisans. *Their* departure was the signal for Agathocles's return. A civil war ensued; several battles were fought, and on every occasion, and almost in every station, the son of the potter approved himself alike fertile in resources and intrepid in danger, with a presence of mind that no perversity of fortune could disconcert, and a perseverance of resolution that no severity of hardship could subdue. At length his name grew so famous amongst the troops, that when the leaders of the different factions, desirous of finally terminating their differences, and of settling quietly in their common country, entered with these views into treaty with each other, Agathocles, by general consent, was appointed

His return to Syracuse.

[29] Pomponius Mela, l. ii. c. 7. Conf. Virgil, Æneid, l. iii. v. 414.

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General of that republic.

guardian of the peace, and provisional head of the republic. For the exercise of this important employment, after taking an oath to preserve the democracy, he was entrusted with a considerable body of troops, which he speedily augmented, under pretence of reducing a party of malecontents assembled at Erbita. This was an inland town, twenty miles north of the ancient and central city of Enna, a place whose local circumstances made it a fit scene for some of the most romantic fictions of mythology: the virgin beauty of Proserpine, as she gathered flowers in its odoriferous[30] vale carried off in the car of Pluto issuing from a profound chasm amidst its fantastic precipices; and Ceres, (herself a native of Enna and its bountiful[31] patroness,) seeking her fair daughter through the world, with lights borrowed from the neighbouring furnaces of Ætna.[32]

In making his new levies, Agathocles purposely passed over the numerous inhabitants who crowded the streets of Syracuse, but was careful to enlist the towsmen of Morgantium, and other subordinate inland districts which had long experienced the vexatious tyranny of the Sicilian capital. Having thus provided himself with fit instruments of sedition, he delayed not to employ

[30] The strength of its odours overpowered the scent of dogs, and made them lose the tract of their game. Aristot. de Mirabil.

[31] She gave to it a species of wheat superior to that cultivated in other parts of the island or in any other country in the world. Aristot. ibid.

[32] Diodor. l. xix. s. 5.

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them. Tisarchus and Diocles[33] who were now regarded as the leaders of the aristocratic party, were summoned to meet him at the gymnasium or school of exercise, which derived its name from the tomb of Timoleon[34], the illustrious deliverer of Sicily from the dominion of tyrants. They repaired to the appointed place, accompanied by forty of their friends. Of this number, which he affected to think formidable, Agathocles availed himself as an excuse for putting them under arrest, and for accusing them before the army, as having come with an intention to seize his person; lamenting his own hard fate in provoking by his love for the soldiers and the democracy, the machinations of powerful and relentless enemies. The soldiers cried out "put them all to death." The trumpets sounded a charge; and the troops hastened to take vengeance on the council of six hundred, which had composed the late oligarchy, and all their adherents belonging to every family of distinction in Syracuse. The streets of that capital were deformed by the fury of ruffians acting with the regularity of soldiers; the gates of its proud palaces were demolished; their walls were scaled; the sanctity of temples was profaned; and what appeared an abomination not less execrable, the retired privacy of female apartments was rudely invaded. The number of slain exceeded four

Murders all the principal citizens.

[33] Polyæn. l. v. c. 3.

[34] Timoleonteum. Corn. Nepos in Timoleon, sub. fin. Wesselingius refers to Sylburgius's notes on Pausanias, l. ii. p. 171. On turning to that work, I do not verify his reference.

thousand; and upwards of six thousand fled into banishment, chiefly to Agrigentum. The historian, himself a Sicilian, testifies his own unfitness[35] to paint the sad domestic calamity; a calamity, he says, sufficient to melt into compassion the most obdurate enemy of the Sicilian name.

Usurps the whole authority of the republic. Olymp. cxv. 4. B. C. 317.

On the third day, (for the massacre lasted two days and two nights,) Agathocles summoned the citizens of Syracuse to the market-place. He arraigned the acts of the late oligarchy, whose members had met with condign punishment. "The republic being now purged from the corruption which had so long infected it, nothing more," he said, "remained for him to perform. He wished, therefore, to abdicate his office, and to mix as a private man with the crowd." So saying, he began to divest himself of his military garment. But his particular adherents, abetted by all those who felt themselves gorged with blood and plunder, entreated that he would not forsake his friends and the commonwealth. Affecting to yield reluctantly to their solicitations, he required however one condition, that his administration should not be clogged with the weight of colleagues. The condition was accepted. He was voted sole general by acclamation and holding up of hands. From this time forward, though he neither assumed the diadem,

[35] Diodorus, l. xix. c. 7.

What mourner ever felt poetic fires!
Slow comes the verse that real woe inspires.
Tickel.

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nor was attended by guards, nor affected the external show of royalty, he exercised with vigour the sovereign power; appointed and disciplined the army; increased and equipped the fleet; raised, directed, and improved the revenues.

He aspires to the dominion of Sicily.—Different powers in the island.

The capacious ambition of Agathocles was not to be satisfied with the possession of Syracuse and its diminutive territory. He aspired to dominion over the whole island, which, even then, in its comparatively degraded and disunited state, still continued the richest and best cultivated portion of the western world. But the occasion requires that we should here describe its condition more particularly, as well as the circumstances of the nations among whom it was divided. From the admirable digression of Thucydides, concerning the antiquities of Sicily, each sentence of which contains matter of important information, we learn that, three hundred years before the establishment and diffusion of Greek colonies over its southern and eastern coasts, its ancient inhabitants the Sicani, a people from Spain, were conquered by the Siculi, an obscure Italian tribe, from which the name of Sicania was changed into that of Sicily.[36] The Siculi appear to have been contented with the more valuable parts of the island, without totally extirpating the Sicani, who, flying before their arms, sought refuge in the western corner adjacent to the promontory

[36] Thucydid. l. vi. p. 411. et seq. Edit. H. Steph.

of Lilybæum, where, being reinforced by some fugitive Greeks and Phrygians after the taking of Troy, they founded Eryx and Egesta, under the common name of Elymi, a name which they assumed from Trojan Elymus.[37] The Phœnicians, also, had early established themselves for the sake of commerce near different promontories of Sicily, as well as on the various small islands in its neighbourhood. But after the aggrandizement of the Greek colonies, whose origin and progress we endeavoured formerly to describe[38], the Phœnicians, or rather the Carthaginians, who now eclipsed in power and fame their Tyrian ancestors, thought fit to contract their numerous settlements within the strong-holds of Motya, Panormus, and Solois, preferring this situation on account of their friendship with the Elymi who inhabited those western districts, and because the navigation from thence to Carthage, was both the safest and most expeditious. In the flourishing times of Magna Græcia, the Carthaginians were thus confined to a corner of Sicily, while the Siculi were driven from the coast to the inland mountains. But in the interval of near two centuries, which elapsed from the memorable trophies of Syracuse and Agrigentum to the usurpation of Agathocles, the Siculi had almost disappeared;

[37] Miscuerant Phrygiam prolem Trojanus Acestes,
Trojanusque Elymus; structis qui, pube sequuta,
In longum ex sese donarunt nomina muris.
Silius Ital. l. xiv.

[38] History of Ancient Greece, vol. ii. c. xi.

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whereas, the Carthaginians on the contrary, under the wise and steady guidance of their senate, had slowly but surely extended their possessions from Motya to Heraclæa on one side, and from Solois to Himera on the other; so that nearly a fourth-part of the island now acknowledged their dominion.

State of Carthage at that time. Olymp. cxvi. 2. B. C. 315.

In his lofty project of aggrandizement, Agathocles might disdain the barbarous and obscure Siculi: he was already master of Syracuse, and might hope to divide and conquer the subordinate Greek colonies; but the power of Carthage seemed to form an unsurmountable barrier to his plan of undivided empire. About half a century before the commencement of her wars with Rome, from which æra she began uniformly to decline, Carthage was in the zenith of her greatness, possessing, besides innumerable colonies in all the western isles of the Mediterranean, and on several of its coasts, an undisturbed dominion over fifteen hundred miles of the African shore, from the confines of Cyrené to the pillars of Hercules; and even beyond these ideal boundaries, her commercial settlements stretched five degrees to Cerné on the ocean nearly opposite to the Canaries, then dignified by the name of the Fortunate Isles. But the nature, rather than the extent of this territory, rendered it important in four essential articles of national prosperity; agriculture, commerce, arts, and arms.

Zeugitana and Byzatium.

The Carthaginians settled on a coast, which, in remote antiquity as well as at the present time, justly deserved the name of Barbary.

This savage country they gained, not as conquerors, but purchased lands from the natives, on the condition of yearly rents, which seem to have been faithfully paid to the time of Darius Hystaspis.[39] When they felt their own strength, they withheld these contributions, but compensated for this irregularity by exerting themselves in the civilization of their wild and wandering neighbours; by teaching them to live in houses, to exercise agriculture, and to relish the security and the sweets of a settled and peaceful life. The country stretching directly southward from the bay of Carthage to Lake Triton and the desert, opened a wide and alluring field to the labour of the husbandman. It exceeded two hundred miles in length, from north to south, and for the most part extended one hundred and fifty miles in breadth. Its northern division was called Zeugitana; its southern, comprehended within the circumference of two hundred and forty miles, first received the name of Byzatium[40], and afterwards that of *Emporia*, because the towns in that district became the principal staples for the interior trade of Africa. To this favoured tract the Carthaginians, as their maritime capital grew inconveniently populous, or their citizens restless and turbulent, were continually sending new colonies[41]; which, mixing

[39] Justin, xix. 2.

[40] Byzatium is derived by Bochart, Canaan, l. i. c. 1. from Biza, Mamma, the emblem of fertility. The same word, expressing Homer's σῆμ' ἀρόρας, is applied to it by Procopius de Bell. Vandalic.

[41] Aristot. Politic. l. vi. c. 5.

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Libyphœnices.

with the rude natives under the common name of Libyphœnices, skilfully cultivated the ground, and gradually reduced the whole region under a willing obedience to Carthage. The territories of Zeugitana and Byzatium soon began, and long continued, to afford a copious source of public abundance as well as private opulence.[42] In those provinces chiefly, the Hannos, the Barcas, and the Magos, possessed such extensive and valuable estates as seemed to raise them above the condition of subjects or citizens[43]: the commonwealth of Carthage supplied its public granaries from the same territories; and, by imposing on them an annual tribute in grain, was enabled to provide large magazines, and to maintain great armies. To the eastward of the Libyphœnicians, the Syrtic region, now composing the barbarous and piratical kingdom of Tripoli, extended above five hundred miles along a sandy plain scantily watered by small rivulets, near to some of which the Carthaginians had erected a few feeble and scattered colonies. The western

Syrtic region.

[42] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 62. The single city of Leptis paid a talent daily to Carthage; that is, the amount of 70,000l. annually. Pliny, l. xvii. c. 7. calls Byzatium "illum centena et quinquagena fruge fertilem campum," adding, that after rain he had seen the soil ploughed by a weakly little ass and a poor old woman shamefully joined to the same yoke.

[43] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 5. The great families in Carthage should seem to have addicted themselves to agriculture not less than to commerce. After the third Punic war, Mago's 128 books of husbandry were translated by order of the Roman senate; but it does not appear that the lands of Africa, like those of Italy, ever waxed "luxuriant under the real manual labour of laurelled ploughmen." Plin. l. xviii. c. 3.

division of this large tract of country, generally unfit for agriculture[44], was inhabited by the obscure tribes of the Ausenses and Machlyes, and the more famous Lotophagi, so named from the Lotus, (the Rhamnus Lotus of Linnæus,) the fruit of which served the double purpose of corn and of wine.[45] The Lotophagi were masters of the island Meninx, and held possession of the adjacent coast as far eastward as Leptis Magna, the modern Tripoli. The rest of the Syrtic region to the confines of Cyrené, and the immortal monuments of the Philænian brothers[46], was divided among the wandering tribes of the Macæ, Psylli, Nasamones, and Garamantes[47], shepherds and merchants, who, besides paying, many of them at least, a tribute to Carthage, put that republic in exclusive possession of a commerce which now enriches many states of Barbary. This trade was carried on anciently, as it is at present, by caravans; and by the exchange of salt for slaves, of dates for cattle, above all, of trinkets for gold[48]; which appears to have been the magnet that attracted the northern Africans through the desert to the

[44] Herodotus, l. iv. c. 177. et seq.

[45] Id. ibid. Conf. Polybius, l. xii. c. 2.

[46] See above, vol. i. p. 387. et seq.

[47] Conf. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 835. and Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 616. et seq. The Garamantes lived the most inland of all, inhabiting the country now called Fezzan, the greatest oasis in the world.

[48] Conf. Herodot. l. iv. c. 180., with Professor Heeren's Commentary in his Ideen, p. 155. Leo Africanus, p. 31. Bruce, Poiret, and Proceedings of African Association.

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countries abounding in that precious metal. But this lucrative trade, of which the cities of Byzatium were the staples, formed only the eastern and least important link of the chain. The western was far more extensive, stretching along the coast of Barbary, and even that of Morocco, as far as Cerné and the Canary isles. The greater part of this vast and now dreary space was brightened by the Metagonite cities or fortresses[49], which, whatever may be the origin of their name, appear to have been founded by the Carthaginians for maintaining their communication, not only with the inland countries in that division of Africa, but with the negroes on the gold coast[50], and with the rich Phœnician colonies of Gades and Tartessus.[51]

Military force of Carthage.

Enriched with the gifts of agriculture and commerce, the Carthaginians were not destitute of arms to defend these advantages. The standing military force of their city and immediate territory exceeded forty thousand soldiers: the Libyphœnician husbandmen could raise a militia from fifty to seventy thousand strong: and in the needy Numidians, who roved between their dominions and the Sahara or desert, they found an inexhaustible supply of

[49] Conf. Polyb. l. iii. c. 33. Strabo, l. iii. p. 150. and l. xviii. p. 827. Pompon. Mela, l. i. c. 7. Plin. l. v. c. 3. and Stephanus de Urb. voc. Μεταγων.

[50] Herodot. l. iv. c. 196.

[51] Aristot. de Mirabil. Conf. Herodotus, l. i. c. 163. and Strabo, p. 216.

mercenaries; who served sometimes as light infantry, defended only by shields of elephants' skins; but generally as cavalry, guiding their docile horses with a cord of broom. The skin of a lion or tiger served them both for clothing, and for covering in the night. While they fought, they were always, prepared to fly; and after flight, which with them inferred not disgrace, were always, on the first prospect of advantage, ready to renew the charge. They formed not a firm body fit to contend in pitched battles; but they were an useful appendage to regular troops, since their warfare was distinguished by celerity of march, security from surprise, desolating inroads, and rapid retreats.[52] Such was the domestic strength of the Carthaginians, whose ships and treasures could occasionally bring into their service, the half-naked tribes of Gaul, leagued with bands of white-robed Iberians.[53] The inhabitants of the Balearic islands, whose slings had nearly the efficacy of our small arms, were numbered among the subjects of Carthage[54]; and her armies were often reinforced by a line of huge elephants[55], conducted by their Ethiopian, sometimes called Indian, guides. Yet the most natural defences of Carthage were its situation and its fleet. The white promontory looking towards Sardinia is distant about a hundred miles from the promontory Hermæum which points to Sicily.

[52] Conf. Polybius, l. i. c. 74. & Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 11.
[53] Polybius, l. i. c. 67. [54] Diodorus, l. v. s. 18.
[55] Polybius, passim.

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Situation and defences of the capital.

Near the centre of the intermediate coast, and on the east side of a spacious bay, the city of Carthage was built on a small peninsula directly opposite to Utica; which two cities had a mutual and distinct view of each other. The breadth[56] of the isthmus was about six miles, and the walls of Carthage surrounding the whole city, equalled six times that extent. The citadel Byrsa stood nearly in the middle, overlooking the harbours well secured with galleys, and the little island Cothon, surrounded with arsenals and docks, replenished with timber, and resounding with the labours of naval artisans.[57]

Agathocles's treaty with the Greek cities under the mediation of Hamilcar.

Agathocles could not be ignorant of the strength of Carthage, but he was also (as will appear hereafter) well acquainted with her weakness; and viewing both through the medium of his own ambition, he persevered in the purpose of extending his dominion over Sicily. His plan opened with operations against the Greek cities that lay between him and the Carthaginian territory. Ambassadors were sent to Carthage to make known these aggressions; and the emigrants from Syracuse filled the cities of Gela, Agrigentum, and Messené, with the same animosity against the tyrant with which their own bosoms overflowed. The Messenians also had a personal and most serious ground of resentment. Agathocles had recently withheld from them a fortress in their territory for which they had paid him a stipulated ransom;

[56] Polybius, l. i. c. 73. [57] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 833.

and not contented with this flagrant breach of faith, had made repeated attempts to get possession of Messené itself: in which design he was defeated chiefly through the desperate resistance of the Syracusan exiles. The three allies agreed to request a general from Sparta, the head of the Dorian name, and their common metropolis. Acrotatus, the son of king Cleomenes, was chosen for this command, to which he was totally unequal, and from which he soon retired with disgrace. Meanwhile, Hamilcar arrived as ambassador from Carthage, and mediated a peace on the following conditions: "that Heraclæa, Selinus, and Himera, should remain subject to the Carthaginians; that the other Greek cities should in peace enjoy their own laws, but in war should follow the standard of Syracuse, and in all public affairs acknowledge her pre-eminence."[58] Agathocles did not expect that this agreement, so favourable to himself, would be maintained or even ratified, by the Carthaginian senate. He was diligent therefore in replenishing his arsenals and magazines, and in addition to the domestic strength of Syracuse and her allies, equipped a choice body of mercenaries amounting to ten thousand foot, and three thousand and forty horse.[59] At the same time, to avail himself of the treaty just concluded with Hamilcar, he required that the states of Sicily should expel the Syracusan exiles, his active and implacable enemies. They appear

[58] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 71.

[59] Ibid. c. 72.

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all of them, except Messené, to have complied with this demand, so that the exiles were either assembled within the walls of that place, or collected in the open country, under the standard of Deinocrates; a man whose life, during the Syracusan massacre, had been saved by Agathocles, through private friendship; and who was destined, both as an enemy and as a friend, to take a distinguished part in the succeeding transactions of his reign.

Agathocles's proceedings at Messené. Olymp. cxvii. 1. B. C. 312.

The king of Syracuse lost not any time in punishing the contumacy of Messené, in a manner suitable to his own character. His general Pasiphilus having secret instructions from his master, how he should afterwards proceed, first invaded by surprise the Messenian territory, and made himself master of many prisoners, and much booty. He then required a conference with the principal magistrates; assured them that Agathocles would rather be their friend than their enemy; but that he never could become the former, while duped by lies and artifices, they harboured the persons most hostile to himself and to the public tranquillity. The Messenians, anxious for peace, too readily listened to these admonitions. Having expelled the Syracusan exiles, who hastened to join their brethren under the standard of Deinocrates, they admitted Agathocles into their city with an armed force. The king affected to treat them with kindness and condescension; his soldiers observed strict discipline. The Messenians were so grossly deluded by him, that they were pre-

vailed on to restore to the honours of citizenship many persons now accompanying his arms, who had been banished their country for flagrant violations of its laws. While this measure filled Messené with his partisans, Agathocles, by one decisive act of villany cleared it of his opponents. Under pretence of important business, he summoned to meet him above six hundred of the most obnoxious persons, not only from Messené, but from the neighbouring city of Tauromenium. They were all inhumanly butchered.[60] Three years before, he had treated with equal cruelty his enemies at Abycænum, a town in the same corner of the island; and these dreadful examples (so contemptible was then the temper of the Sicilians) served only to inspire dread of the tyrant, and to confirm his usurpation. He crossed the country from Messené to Agrigentum, from whence his emissaries had sent him notice of a brooding rebellion. The magistrates of the latter city were saved from destruction by the seasonable arrival of sixty Carthaginian ships in the mouth of their river. This opposition on the part of Carthage, was speedily and effectually punished by Agathocles, who invaded her possessions beyond Heraclæa, took some of her strong-holds by assault, and gained others by capitulation.

Agrigentum saved by the Carthaginians.

Meanwhile, Deinocrates, who of all men best knew the tyrant's formidable energy, sent messengers to Carthage to explain the momentous

Deinocrates and the Carthaginians oppose

[60] Diodorus, l. xix. c. 102.

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him unsuccessfully. Olymp. cxvii. 1. B.C. 312.

nature of the war, and the necessity of pushing it immediately with armaments alike suitable to the emergency, and becoming the dignity of so mighty a commonwealth. His own band of exiles had been lately reinforced by the fugitives from Messené. This increase of strength encouraged him to assault the inland towns of Centuripæ and Galaria, both situate among the western roots of Mount Ætna; and in both of which he had secret partisans. His attempt failed at Centuripæ; at Galaria, his troops, exceeding three thousand, entered the place, and expelled a Syracusan garrison. Agathocles flew thither; defeated the enemy, who ventured to oppose him in the field; retook Galaria; and inflicted signal vengeance on all obnoxious to him, either there or at Centuripæ. While engaged in these transactions, he heard that the Carthaginians had fortified, in the territory of Gela, a camp on Mount Ecnomos, "the lawless," or, as it was sometimes called, "the cursed mountain," because the favourite strong-hold of the tyrant Phalaris, and the scene of his abominable cruelties. Agathocles marched to examine it, and having taken measures for keeping it in awe, returned to Syracuse loaded with spoil, and suspended in the temples of his capital his two-fold trophies over Greeks and Barbarians.[61]

Preparations of the Carthaginians

His triumph however was not of long duration. The Carthaginians had hitherto been contented with sending to the coast of Syracuse an

[61] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 105. et seq.

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and loss of their sacred band. Olymp. cxvii. 2. B.C. 311.

inconsiderable squadron, which had disgraced itself by capturing an Athenian merchantman (though Athens was a neutral power) and disabling its sailors by cutting off their hands. But they had now equipped an armament of a hundred and thirty galleys, with an incomparably greater proportion of transports. The troops on board exhibited that wonderful variety, which characterized the Carthaginian armies. They were provided with ample store of weapons and of corn. The command was bestowed on Hamilcar, the son of Giscon; thus characterized to distinguish him from that Hamilcar, who had concluded the late treaty with Agathocles; and who, for his share in that transaction, had been condemned by a secret decision of the supreme court of judicature of Carthage, a most tyrannical tribunal! but, by a seasonable death, had escaped the infamy of a public execution. The son of Giscon was furnished with money for hiring new mercenaries in Sicily, and in every country where they could be found. In the voyage to Sicily, though made during summer, the armament was overtaken by a tempest, which sunk sixty galleys, and broke in pieces two hundred ships of burthen. The loss most afflicting to the Carthaginians was that of their *sacred* band: for so at least, it was named by the Greeks, probably from its reminding them of the sacred band of the Thebans. It consisted of two thousand and five hundred distinguished youths, sons of the most illustrious families of Carthage, all animated by a patriotism, lavish

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of life in defence of their hereditary wealth and conspicuous prerogatives. Of this noble band, which was often exhausted, but always instantly supplied from a vast crowd of expectants, the greater part perished in the storm; upon intelligence of which sad event, the Carthaginians proclaimed a public mourning; and according to custom, covered even the walls of their city with black hangings.[62]

Hamilcar lands in Sicily with forty thousand foot and five thousand horse.

Hamilcar appears to have landed on the southern coast, in a bay immediately under the fortress of Ecnomos. He reviewed his remaining forces, summoned his allies, and collected mercenaries; and notwithstanding his disaster at sea, soon found himself in a condition to take the field with an army of forty thousand foot and five thousand horse. His ships of war meanwhile were not idle. The soundest of them immediately put to sea, and captured near the straits of Messené twenty galleys belonging to Syracuse, with the whole of their crews. Agathocles was not insensible to this misfortune, nor unconcerned at the mighty preparations of the enemy; but the consideration which gave him most anxiety, was the suspected revolt of the Sicilian cities; and more immediately that of Gela, on account of its vicinity to the hostile camp. In Gela, his garrison was feeble, and he durst not increase it suddenly, lest he should precipitate the rebellion which he wished to prevent. Under various pretences, therefore, he

Massacre at Gela. Olymp. cxvii. 2. B. C. 311.

[62] Diodor. l. xix. s. 106.

gradually introduced small bodies of armed men into the city; at length he entered in person: accused the Geloans of treachery; butchered four thousand of the richest citizens; confiscated their effects; and commanded, under the severest penalties, all the gold and silver in the city, whether coined or uncoined, to be instantly surrendered to him. Amidst this scene of robbery and murder, the superstition of the Greeks could remark to his praise, that he ordered the bodies of the slain to be interred in a burying-ground without the city.[63]

Agathocles defeated on the banks of the Himera. Olymp. cxvii. 2. B.C. 311.

Agathocles having thus secured Gela, a place of the utmost importance in case of a defeat, advanced towards the eastern or left bank of the Himera, near to the opposite side of which river the Carthaginians were encamped. Mutual incursions of parties brought on a more general engagement, for the success of which, the Syracusan had provided by a well-contrived ambush. He was on the point of gaining a signal victory, and even of forcing the enemy's camp, when a Carthaginian fleet, containing a powerful reinforcement appeared, and soon landed near the scene of action. This unlikely and inauspicious event disconcerted and dismayed the Greeks, who had already suffered greatly in the assault of the enemy's lines, chiefly from the well-aimed discharge of the Balearian slingers placed at a convenient distance, who overwhelmed them with stones of a pound in weight, that shattered

[63] Diodor. s. 107.

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the firmest shields and corslets. Such, the historian observes, is the address acquired by the Balearides in an art to which they had been regularly trained from their youth, and in which they are continually exercised through life.[64] The Greeks soon found themselves exposed to a double attack, from the camp which they had in some parts penetrated, and from the unexpected reinforcement just sent from Carthage. They began a disorderly retreat to their own camp near four miles distant. Many of them were trampled down by the Numidian cavalry; and many perished by drinking, exhausted as they were by the canicular heat, the brackish waters of the Himera. Agathocles having assembled his discomfited army, diminished by the loss of seven thousand men, set fire to his camp, which must otherwise have fallen into the hands of the enemy, and shut himself up within the walls of Gela.[65]

Agathocles's stratagems.

Defeated, but not disconcerted, the tyrant had studiously given out in the midst of his retreat, that he intended immediately to march to Syracuse. A body of three hundred Numidian horse, deceived by this intelligence advanced to Gela as to a friendly city, but were speedily buried at the foot of its walls, by a shower of stones and javelins. Agathocles chose to halt at Gela, not because he could not have proceeded to Syracuse, but that the enemy might be retarded before the former city, till the inhabitants of the

[64] Diodor. l. xix. s. 109. [65] Ibid. s. 100.

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latter had time to reap and treasure up their luxuriant harvest. His foresight was justified by the event. Hamilcar sat down before the place; but soon discovered that it was so well provided with every thing necessary for a long and vigorous defence, that he prudently abandoned the enterprise. His decisive victory on the banks of the Himera, opened to him a series of easier and bloodless conquests. The subordinate cities of the island, which like Messené, Abacænum, and Tauromenium, had already experienced, or like Leontium, Camerina, and Catana, now dreaded the tyrant's cruelty, were ready to open their gates, and to receive Hamilcar as their deliverer. He joyfully undertook the office, and approved himself worthy of their confidence, both in the regular deportment of his troops, and in the generosity and affability of his personal behaviour.[66] Agathocles meanwhile had repaired to Syracuse, and placed that capital in a firm attitude of defence. Its extensive works were diligently examined: and, where decayed, strengthened. The supplies of the late harvest were treasured in its magazines. It was filled with skilful artisans, qualified to provide all the materials of war; it had soldiers exercised in employing those materials to the best advantage; and it was commanded by a general, whose glory, and interest, and personal safety, were concerned in defending it to the last extremity.

Hamilcar's respectable behaviour.

Agathocles puts Syracuse in a posture of defence.

But the care of this defence, Agathocles un- Motives which en-

[66] Diodor. s. 100.

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gaged Agathocles to invade the domain of Carthage. Olymp. cxvii. 3. B. C. 310.

expectedly committed to his brother Antander; while he himself embarked in an expedition at once daring and politic. His capital was soon surrounded by Hamilcar's forces greatly superior to his own, both by sea and land. The inferior cities of Sicily continued to vie with each other, in espousing and promoting the Carthaginian interest. Should Hamilcar be tired out by the obstinacy of a long defence, yet the possession of the whole island besides, would compensate his disgrace in raising the siege of a single city. But the inflexible spirit of the Carthaginian policy gave the king of Syracuse little reason to expect even this alternative. He had too just ground to apprehend that the siege would be converted into a blockade, and that the success which might be denied to the assaults of prowess, would be obtained by the surer operation of time and perseverance. On the side of Sicily, all therefore was dark to Agathocles: but there was another prospect which dispelled his gloom, and animated his alacrity. The vast domain of Carthage was a virgin territory that had never been violated by the rude hand of invasion. The safety of its capital indeed was secured by strong walls, but upwards of two hundred rich and populous towns in the Libyphœnician district were left open and defenceless[67]; agreeably to a crafty injunction of the Carthaginian senate, to the end that places, which had little to apprehend from the ignorance and weakness of neigh-

[67] Justin. l. xxii. c. 52. Conf. Diodorus, l. xx. s. 17.

bouring Barbarians, might always lie at the mercy of their own jealous capital. The blooming spoils of a country, abounding in the richest gifts of nature, and the highest embellishments of art, offered a tempting prize to a greedy tyrant and his rapacious mercenaries. By invading and plundering it, he would at once carry the war into the heart of the enemy's resources: among the reluctant subjects of Carthage, he expected to find willing auxiliaries: confident in the vigilance of her fleet, the republic had sent the flower of her troops into Sicily: along the whole extent of the African coast from Cerné to Cyrené, in which latter, Agathocles found an eager ally, there was not any military strength capable of resisting the Grecian phalanx; by his victories, therefore, in Africa, he hoped not only to recover his lost dominions in Sicily, but to open to the valour of his followers a wide and almost boundless field of conquest.

Agathocles's preceedings for securing Syracuse during his absence. Olymp. cxvii. 3. B. C. 310.

The measures which he adopted for executing this undertaking, in the planning of which he had not a single confident, shew the dreadful energies of a government by terror. The forces which he purposed to carry with him, besides his mercenaries and manumitted slaves, consisted in the choice of the Syracusan citizens, skilfully selected from each family, that the separation of kinsmen, brothers, and friends, might render those who accompanied the tyrant, hostages for the fidelity of others whom he left behind. Having thus levied about fourteen thousand

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men, whose destination was equally unknown to themselves and the public, he provided them with all necessaries, particularly an exhaustless supply of saddles and bridles; for in the battle of Himera he had saved most of his horsemen, whom, without the trouble of transporting horses to Africa, he expected easily to mount in that country. Money was next procured by borrowing from the merchants, and taking into his own hands the fortunes of orphans. The temples were despoiled of their offerings; and the women of their ornaments: and when these severities excited murmurs in the city, Agathocles summoning an assembly, expressed well-feigned sorrow for the exigencies of the moment, and the sacrifices which they required: that for himself who had been enured to hardship, he was prepared to bear the worst evils incident to a siege, but that those who wished to avoid them, might depart from Syracuse with their effects. Many availed themselves of this permission, carrying with them their long-concealed treasures. They were way-laid by the tyrant's mercenaries, plundered, and massacred.[68]

Incidents which favoured his voyage to the Liby-phœnician coast.

Meanwhile sixty stout galleys were equipped within the windings of the inmost harbour. The troops were embarked; and within a few days obtained an opportunity of sailing, by an incident, in which good fortune seconded Agathocles's dexterity. A fleet of victuallers having approached the Syracusan coast, a large Cartha-

[68] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 4.

ginian squadron quitted its station in order to intercept and take them: the blockade being thus partially removed, Agathocles put to sea: the Carthaginian admiral imagining his sudden appearance to be a manœuvre for protecting the convoy, formed the line of battle. Agathocles disregarding this challenge, rapidly pursued his destined course. The Carthaginians followed him, neglecting the victuallers, which reached Syracuse in safety. Six days and six nights the pursuit was continued. The darkness of the first night, and an eclipse of the sun, which happened on the succeeding day, delivered Agathocles from the immediate danger of a sea-fight, which he earnestly wished to avoid, that he might transport his forces fresh and entire to the Libyphœnician coast. But before he made land, the swiftest of the Carthaginian galleys had reached the slowest of his own. They were repelled chiefly by the great superiority of his marines.[69] He landed in a small bay near a place called the Quarries; drew his ships on shore; erected a slight and temporary rampart; and following the dictates of real prudence, performed a deed of apparent audacity. Alluding to the legend, of high authority among the Sicilians, of Ceres seeking her daughter with lights borrowed from Mount Ætna, he said, that amidst the dangers of his voyage, he had vowed to these protecting divinities, the conflagration of his fleet. An attendant brought

He burns his fleet.

[69] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 4—6.

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him a fire brand, which he instantly applied to the admiral galley. The example was followed by all the trierarchs or naval commanders; the flame mounted on high; and the whole fleet was consumed amidst the sound of trumpets and military acclamations.[70] Agathocles, besides thus placing his followers between victory and despair, could not otherwise have prevented his ships from falling a prey to the enemy; since soldiers could not be spared for defending his hastily erected block-house, without too much diminishing his army.

Beautiful country on his march to Megalopolis.

Careful not to allow time for the sensations of his men to vibrate from enthusiasm to despondency, he led them to *Megalopolis*, the great city, through a country smiling with the fairest gifts of long undisturbed industry. The land was on all sides intersected by canals, whose banks were adorned by flourishing plantations or flowery gardens. Amidst scenes of elegance and beauty, the vine and olive claimed admission, on account of their indispensable utility. The opulence of the inhabitants was strongly displayed in the elegant embellishment of their rural mansions, and in the well-replenished storehouses with which they were surrounded. Troops of young horses sported in irriguous meadows; while the adjoining lawns teemed with herds of sheep and oxen. Throughout the whole prospect, exuberant nature was improved by skilful art, for many of the principal families of Carthage in-

[70] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 7.

habited this district, and vied with each other in cultivating and adorning it.[71] CHAP. IX.

The soldiers of Agathocles viewed with delight a prize worthy their valour. The town of Megalopolis was taken by the first assault, and plundered. That of White Tunes, the nighest to it, and two hundred miles distant from Carthage, shared the same fate. He takes that city and White Tunes.

Meanwhile the Carthaginian fleet had observed, at a respectful distance, the proceedings of the enemy. The conflragation of the Syracusan ships, filled them at first with a pleasing astonishment; but this premature emotion was converted into terror and dismay, when they beheld the regular march of the Grecian phalanx into the heart of their country.[72] They ventured however to sail to the enemy's landing place, seized the brazen beaks of their galleys, the principal relicts of the conflagration; covered the prows of their own ships with skins died black, according to their accustomed practice in times of public mourning, and sent advice-boats bearing the same melancholy ensigns to Carthage, with intelligence of the invasion; but at the same time, with the compensating news, that all things were prosperous in Sicily. The sad part of the tidings had already flown from the country to the capital. That luxurious, and hitherto peaceful, city was thrown into the utmost trepidation. While the senators hastened to their place of meeting, the citizens crowded the Sensations occasioned at Carthage by the invasion.

[71] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 8.

[72] Ibid. s. 9.

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market-place, generally believing that their fleets and armies must have perished in Sicily, since Agathocles would never have ventured to invade Africa, unless he had vanquished the armament before Syracuse, and made himself master of the sea. The firmest and wisest counsellors exhorted them to suspend their judgment, until surer intelligence should arrive: while others advised, that ambassadors should be immediately dispatched to crave peace, adding in the true spirit of Punic policy, that the same persons would serve as spies on the proceedings and intentions of the enemy.[73]

The domestic troops of Carthage defeated.

The arrival of the advice-boats put an end to those deliberations. Hanno and Bomilcar were appointed generals; and ordered immediately to take the field with the domestic strength of the city, exceeding forty thousand foot, two thousand chariots of war, and one thousand cavalry. These troops nearly thrice as numerous as the Greeks, were, except the sacred band of two thousand five hundred men, in a very imperfect state of discipline; and the Carthaginians loudly reproached the negligence of their navy, to whose protection they had long confided the safety of their shores. Agathocles, meanwhile, advanced northward, rejoicing to hear that the enemy had quitted their walls, and were preparing to encounter him in battle. Success in a single action, he thought, would enable him to extend his ravages on all sides with security.

[73] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 9.

In order to gain this advantage, he is said to have employed very unusual stratagems. The leathern coverings of the shields belonging to his phalanx, were extended on rods, to supply a defence or rather the show of a defence even to his light-armed troops, and (what to mere modern readers will appear a ridiculous expedient), immediately before the action, the owls of Minerva being in different parts of the line released from their concealment, perched on the heads and shoulders of the soldiers, and filled them with a sure presage of victory. The battle was short but decisive, most of the Carthaginian chariots of war either passed without doing harm, through the intervals left for them between the Grecian ranks, or were forced to recoil on their own infantry. The African horse made not a more successful impression, meeting in the long Grecian spear a weapon of all others most effectual against cavalry. When the adverse bodies of infantry engaged, the sacred band, headed by Hanno, signalized its prowess, until that general himself fell; after which, the perfidious Bomilcar, for reasons that will in due time be explained, retreated, with the loss of six thousand men, towards Carthage. The Greeks, of whom two hundred had fallen in the engagement, desisted from an unprofitable pursuit, in order to plunder the Carthaginian camp; in which they found an unexpected booty, not less than twenty thousand pair of fetters for the hands, the Carthaginians having determined to take their enemies alive,

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that they might shut them up in work-houses, and thereby profit by their labour.[74]

Carthaginian superstitions.

During its long and undisturbed prosperity, the republic of Carthage had neglected to consecrate the tythe of its revenues to the gods of Tyre, its ancient but decayed metropolis; and individuals had forborne to propitiate the unrelenting idol of Saturn with burnt offerings of their children. The public disasters reminded them with terror of these omissions. Their portable golden temples enclosing the revered images of their gods, were sent on an embassy of supplication to Tyre; and Saturn, who had been long cheated with the sacrifice of mean supposititious children, was glutted with the blood of five hundred of the noblest youths of the commonwealth.[75] At the same time a vessel was sent to Sicily, requiring assistance from Hamilcar, and conveying to him the brazen beaks of Agathocles's galleys. Of this circumstance the Carthaginian general, who seems to have had all the craft without any of the cruelty of his country, immediately availed himself to dispatch a triumphant embassy to the Syracusan generals, requiring them to surrender their city, since their sixty galleys had been burnt, of which the brazen beaks were exhibited as a proof, and Agathocles with his whole army had perished in Africa. The multitude believed; their commanders hesitated; the ambassadors, however, were dismissed; and as provisions began to grow

Negociation of Hamilcar with the Syracusans.

[74] Diodor. l. xx. s. 15.

[75] Ibid. s. 14.

scarce, eight thousand persons, including women and children, were driven from Syracuse, consisting of all those who were nearly related to the exiles, or who had discovered signs of impatience under the present government. Hamilcar received kindly these miserable fugitives; and showed them that he was preparing to advance his machines, and to avenge their wrongs. But before assaulting the city, he sent a second embassy to Antander, Agathocles's brother, promising, that if he would surrender the place, himself and his friends should be safe. Antander summoned a council of war, and being of a character directly the reverse of his brother's, gave his own opinion in favour of a capitulation. But Erymnon, an Etolian, whom Agathocles had left as his joint lieutenant with Antander, did not belie that obstinacy and ferocity for which his republic was conspicuous.

Nearchus brings news of Agathocles's success.

His inflexibility in resisting any proposal for a treaty, was justified by the arrival of a light galley of thirty oars, which had been built by Agathocles after the burning of his fleet, and which, under the command of Nearchus, one of his principal confidants, reached the coast of Syracuse from Africa on the evening of the fifth day, and, on the sixth at day-break, darted into the harbour of Trogilus, and got within the batteries of the walls, when she was on the point of being taken by the enemy. The rowers, who were crowned with laurel, chanted pæans of victory; and the citizens, even many of those who guarded the walls, flocked to the harbour,

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Agathocles makes great conquests in Africa.

The affairs of Agathocles, meanwhile, proceeded with a prosperous tide of fortune. He had taken Tunes[77], only fifteen miles distant from Carthage. Having garrisoned that city, he returned eastward to reduce the numerous seaports between the promontory Hermæum, and the Lesser Syrtis. Neapolis, Adrumetum, Thapsus, in all two hundred places, boasting the name of cities, were the prizes of his valour. Elymas, a Libyan prince who had joined his arms, but afterwards discovered an inclination to rebel, was punished with death; and the Carthaginians, who had been encouraged by Agathocles's absence and the arrival of the reinforcement from Sicily, to attempt the recovery of Tunes, were surprised in the night, and compelled to retreat to their camp near that place, with the loss of two thousand slain and many made prisoners.[78]

Hamilcar defeated before Sy-

During these transactions Hamilcar had experienced the utmost severity of fortune. En-

[76] Diodor. l. xx. s. 14.

[77] A place carefully to be distinguished from White Tunes above mentioned, p. 185.

[78] Diodor. ibid. s. 17. & 18.

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couraged by flattering omens, he had renewed the siege, and ventured to assault Syracuse in the night with his whole force on the side of Olympium, a suburb so named from its temple of Olympian Jupiter, near the right bank of the Anapus, and overlooking the great harbour on the southern side of the city. The Syracusans, apprised of this design, had strengthened the neighbouring fortress of Euryelus with three thousand foot and four hundred horse. Amidst the difficulties of the narrow roads which led to the lofty walls of the capital, a quarrel arose between the long train of Carthaginian engineers and the Sicilian banditti who accompanied the ranks for the sake of plunder. The confusion became general throughout the line, and was speedily perceived by the small garrison of Euryelus, which unexpectedly rushing on the enemy, repelled forty thousand foot and five thousand horse, through the assistance of darkness, deceit, and the intricacies of the ground. Hamilcar, resisting bravely and endeavouring to rally his nearest ranks, was taken alive and brought into Syracuse; where, after enduring the most horrid indignities from those whose friends or kinsmen had suffered in the war, his head was cut off and sent in triumph to Agathocles.[79] The bloody present reached its destination; though the Carthaginians still guarded the coast, and shortly after captured ten Syracusan gallies, which had ventured forth to meet and convoy an expected fleet of victuallers.

racuse and made prisoner. Olymp. cxvii. 4. B. C. 309.

His death.

[79] Diodor. ibid. s. 80.

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A league formed in Sicily resembling the Achæan league in Greece.

The defeat and death of Hamilcar, who, whatever may have been his military talents, was certainly a Carthaginian of distinguished humanity, was followed by important but unforeseen consequences both in Sicily and Africa. The subordinate cities of the island, perceived with deep interest, how much both the Syracusans and Carthaginians exhausted themselves by their obstinate warfare, and what threatening clouds of adversity impended over both Syracuse and Carthage; the former divided, depopulated, yet almost famished; the latter often defeated, with a victorious enemy at her gates, and since her recent disaster, without any success in Sicily to compensate her misfortunes in Africa. Amidst the miseries and humiliation of the two great powers, by which they had been alternately subjugated, the cities of Sicily, fifty years before the renewal of the Achæan league in Greece, set on foot a confederacy, animated by like views and originating in similar circumstances. In this honourable design Agrigentum and its general Zenodicus taking the lead, expelled the Carthaginians from the neighbouring town of Gela: the ancient and centrical city Enna joined the army of Gela and Agrigentum: Erbessus followed the example; and, assisted by her new allies, defeated her barbarian garrison with great slaughter, and made five hundred prisoners. Some Syracusan troops, availing themselves of their recent advantage over the Carthaginians, had seized the inland town

of Echetla, a strong intermediate post between the territories of Camerina and Leontium, by ravaging which they endeavoured to remedy the scarcity of Syracuse. Zenodicus repelled their incursions, stormed their strong-holds, gave freedom to the inhabitants of Echetla, and united that city, as well as Leontium and Camerina, to the confederacy of equal laws and Sicilian independence.[80] The fame of these exploits spread rapidly over the island; the passion for liberty glowed warm in every breast; the Carthaginians were driven from their garrisons to their ships, and Syracuse had soon far more danger to apprehend from Greek rebels than from barbarous invaders.

The head of Hamilcar displayed to the Carthaginians.

The affairs of Agathocles, meanwhile, still prospered in Africa. On receiving the head of Hamilcar, he rode furiously within hearing of the Carthaginians before Tunes, and boasted the complete victory of his generals in Sicily, of which he ostentatiously displayed the horrid trophy. Agreeably to the slavish ceremony with which the Greeks were accustomed to upbraid[81] the *eastern* Barbarians, the Carthaginians, also, prostrated themselves on the ground in adoration of the sad remains of their king and general. They were utterly dismayed with the hideous spectacle; kept themselves shut up within their fortifications; and gave indubitable proof of their dismal forebodings concerning the issue of the war. *Their* dejection elevated the

[80] Diodor. l. xx. s. 31, 32. [81] Isocrat. in Panegyr.

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Sedition in Agathocles's army, how excited and how appeased.

minds of the Greeks, always ready to grasp every occasion of rejoicing and festivity. This was the character of the nation, and particularly of Agathocles, in whom the gloomy temper of the tyrant was brightened by the talents of a wit, a mimic, and a buffoon; who delighted in scenes of drunken revelry, during which he discovered the passions of other men while he concealed his own; and who was so little anxious to preserve the state of royalty, that he mixed in familiar jesting with the meanest retainers of the army; and while his friends and generals were served on plate of silver and gold, chose that the humble earthen-ware, from which he himself always preferred to eat, should continually remind him of his ancient trade and lowly origin.[82] A prince who disdains pride may procure popularity, but is not likely to inspire that habit of respect for his person which will on every occasion overawe his attendants. At an entertainment given by Agathocles, Lysiscus, one of his generals of great renown in the army, insulted his master with the most poignant satire, which might have appeared the more unpardonable, because it was well merited; but Agathocles dexterously sheltered his dignity under the shield of good humour. The reproaches, however, which *he* affected to treat only with ridicule, appeared in a more serious light to his son Archagathus; a son who was deformed by the cruelty and ferocity of his

[82] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 63.

father, without possessing any share of his pleasantry and magnanimity. The youth not only blamed but threatened Lysiscus; and, as they returned in the evening to their tents, renewed the charge with such vehemence, that Lysiscus retorted the indignity by upbraiding Archagathus as the incestuous paramour of his stepmother Alcias. On hearing this personal insult, the son of Agathocles was no longer master of himself. He seized a weapon from one of his attendants, and stabbed the reviler to the heart.[83] Next day the whole camp was in commotion; most demanded the blood of Archagathus; and if the father should refuse his son to just punishment, the speediest and most terrible vengeance was threatened on his own head: so deeply were those moved by the death of one of their own fierce companions, who had beheld with calm and cruel insensibility, the desolation of cities, and the butchering of whole communities. The news of the sedition soon reached the Carthaginians, who ventured to send emissaries to the Greeks, soliciting them to enter into their service on conditions calculated to satiate the keenest appetite for gold. Two thousand yielded immediately to the temptation; and many more promised shortly to join the Carthaginian camp: at the same time that they seized the walls of Tunes, and held Agathocles with the few officers that remained faithful to him, in a state of captivity embittered by

[83] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 33.

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agonizing suspense. In this desperate condition, which his cruelties had a thousand times merited, the tyrant was not forsaken by his presence of mind. He knew the temper of crowds, and that commonly none but cowards are their victims. Having approached the armed multitude, he divested himself of his purple robe, assumed a supplicatory garment, and loudly demanded an assembly. The troops made way, and flocked from all quarters to surround the tribunal of their general; who had come to surrender the person of his son, or to perish himself by their hands. This latter, he declared, was his purpose, reminding them how often they had beheld him brave death in the field: that he no more dreaded it in the assembly, of which they should presently be witnesses. So saying, he drew his sword, and aimed it at his own bosom. An universal shout suspended his arm; many voices were then heard, commanding him to resume the purple. "If I live," he said, "let it be for some glorious purpose. The Carthaginians have now left their camp, expecting your defection. Follow your king, to punish those who would have subjected you to the infamy of traitors." The Carthaginians, instead of an army of deserters, found a band of resistless assailants; and were driven with great slaughter to their camp.[84] Thus was the imminent danger into which the tyrant had been plunged through the

[84] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 54.

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sanguinary rashness of his son, converted through his own cool intrepidity, into a source of glorious success.

Agathocles defeats the Carthaginians in the country of their Numidian allies. Olymp. cxviii. 1. B. C. 308.

Soon after this transaction, Agathocles was called to a new scene of warfare, among the wild and unknown nations of Numidia, whose wandering independence separated the maritime empire of Carthage from the Sahara, or Sandy Desert. The Carthaginians had sent a strong army thither, to collect and confirm their Numidian allies; an army strengthened by the two thousand Greeks, who had recently deserted to them. Agathocles, desirous of anticipating the designs of the enemy, and probably not unwilling to divide his mutinous troops, and thus, according to his accustomed policy, to render one portion of them hostages for the fidelity of the other, selected from his army in Tunes and its neighbourhood, a body of near ten thousand men, of which eight hundred were cavalry, and marched into the country of a tribe of Numidians called *Zuphones*. There, the Carthaginians, on hearing of the enemy's approach, encamped on an eminence, surrounded by deep and rapid torrents. In this fortress they endeavoured to render themselves secure against the assaults of the advancing Greeks, while they recommended to their barbarous allies, to harass their rear and flank with those unexpected incursions and rapid retreats, which distinguish Numidian warfare, and render it incessantly troublesome, if not eminently dangerous. To these desultory skirmishes, Agathocles opposed

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his slingers and bowmen; and having left behind, under what he deemed a sufficient guard, his heavy baggage and prisoners, marched to assail the enemy's camp. A short conflict ensued at the passage of the intermediate stream, which the Greek deserters, under Clinon, defended with great bravery, until more than one-half of them were slain. Agathocles pressed forward, repelled and dispersed the enemy, made many prisoners, but was prevented from further urging the pursuit by information that his own baggage was in the hands of the Numidians. These faithless barbarians had stood aloof from the engagement, with the purpose of plundering the baggage of the vanquished, whether Greeks or Carthaginians. But as, by the repulse of the latter, the action was transported to the vicinity of their camp, the Numidians changed their first resolution, and made their incursion on the remote depository of the victorious Greek; hoping to escape with their booty, before any reinforcement could be sent for its recovery. The celerity of Agathocles, partially defeated their expectations; several of them were intercepted and taken; but the greater part were saved from pursuit by the approach of night. Agathocles raised a trophy on the ground where he had conquered the Carthaginians, and divided the spoils taken from them among his soldiers, that they might the less regret their lost baggage.[85] Among his

[85] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 38, 39.

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prisoners he discovered many of the Greek deserters, whom he separated from the rest, and confined under a strong guard, until he should have leisure to decide their doom. But the Greeks rose in the night, massacred their guard, and took post on a neighbouring fastness, from whence they hoped to sell their lives dearly to the tyrant. Agathocles, who perceived the advantage of their situation, and whose affairs admitted not of delay, was forward in granting them a capitulation; which he basely and wickedly violated by subjecting them to military execution. They amounted to near one thousand in number, of whom five hundred were Syracusans. [86]

His treatment of the Greek deserters.

With the perfidy and cruelty of a leader of banditti, Agathocles united the policy and foresight worthy of a great prince. In search of allies, whose resentment as well as strength might facilitate his conquest of Carthage, he had not forgot the ancient wars between that republic and the rival commonwealth of Cyrené. Thirteen years before the invasion of Africa by Agathocles, Cyrené, with its four allied cities of the Pentapolis, had submitted, as we have before seen, to the arms of the first Ptolemy, and the fleet of Egypt. Ophellas, one of Alexander's captains, who, after the death of that mighty conqueror, followed the fortunes of his Egyptian successor, had been appointed by Ptolemy to govern the country which he had helped to subdue; and

Agathocles's successful negociation with Ophellas.

[86] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 38, 39.

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appears to have faithfully exercised the authority entrusted to him until the great war against Antigonus, in which Ptolemy acted so busy a part, encouraged the Cyrenean viceroy to revolt from his master, and instead of a delegated jurisdiction, to assume independent sovereignty. The Cyreneans, worn out by endless seditions between the nobles and the populace which had long and cruelly mangled their commonwealth, appear to have patiently submitted to this usurpation; which, in giving to them a king of their own, released them from the oppression of provincial government, and placed them on a foot of equality with those great nations that had been conquered and colonized by their Grecian brethren. But Ophellas, being a man of a light and vain character, of immoderate ambition, and very inadequate abilities, was not contented with this easy acquisition; but, intoxicated with his first criminal success, grasped in his aspiring dreams as extensive an empire in Libya as Seleucus and Ptolemy, his ancient companions in arms, had respectively conquered in the East. Agathocles was apprised of his character and his views, and sent to him Orthon a crafty Syracusan. Orthon told the king of Cyrené, that he had come to invite him to a confederacy against Carthage, which, as it was the great enemy to Agathocles's security and repose, was also the principal, and, indeed, the only obstacle, to his own aggrandizement. That Agathocles had been reluctantly compelled to invade Africa, in defence of Sicily and of his capital Syracuse, actu-

ally besieged by the enemy; but that his sole views in this expedition were to cause a seasonable diversion of the Carthaginian forces; to recall them to their own country; to break, and if possible, to destroy the power of a restless commonwealth, without the humiliation of which he never could expect to see the tranquillity of his own dominions. Ophellas warmly embraced an invitation so favourable to his projects: he had married Euthydica daughter to Miltiades an Athenian, who derived his name from the illustrious commander in the battle of Marathon. The splendour of this marriage and the respectful attention with which he had been careful to cultivate the declining age of that once great and proud, but now vain and frivolous city, gave him much credit with the Athenians. On the first proposal that he sent to them of joining his standard, many Athenians not only embarked, but earnestly persuaded their friends and connections in neighbouring cities, to prefer the service of a foreign prince to that idleness, poverty, and disgrace to which they had been condemned in their native country, since the overwhelming preponderance of the Macedonian power.[87]

Ophellas's march from Cyrené to Carthage.

Encouraged by a reinforcement from the centre of Greece, Ophellas began his march with ten thousand infantry, six hundred cavalry, an hundred chariots of war, with their charioteers and combatants after the fashion of the

[87] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 40.

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heroic ages. This army, more formidable by its quality than its numbers, was accompanied by a great caravan, consisting of merchants and mechanics, many of whom, as is usual with Nomades, carried with them their wives, children, and effects; which gave to this military march the appearance of a colonial migration. The travellers proceeded at the rate of nearly fourteen miles daily, till they arrived at Automolæ, the next station beyond the altars of the Philænian brothers, the desolate and dreary limit of Cyrenian and Carthaginian power. Above twice that time was requisite to carry them to the army of their allies through the inhospitable Syrtic regions, deficient in every necessary supply, except the lotus-tree above-mentioned, on which alone the army subsisted many days[88]; and infested with venemous reptiles, often resembling in colour the soil on which they crawled, and therefore the more difficult to be avoided even by the cautious foot.[89]

His reception and treatment by Agathocles. Olymp. cxviii. 1. B. C. 308.

Agathocles, for the conveniency of foraging, had moved northwards to the immediate territory of Carthage. There, he received his new allies with the warmest cordiality: all their wants were abundantly supplied: Ophellas was often entertained at his table; and a son of the Cyrenian was adopted by the Syracusan king. These

[88] Theophrast. Hist. Plant. l. iv. c. 4.

[89] Diodor. l. xx. s. 41. Conf. Bruce's Travels, vol. i. p. 19. The cerastes, or horned viper, he says, is found at the root of almost every plant of Absinthium. His observation relates to part of the desert of Barca, anciently belonging to the territory of Cyrené.

demonstrations of kindness concealed the blackest perfidy. Yet, after the tyrant had gained the full confidence of his weak and unwary confederate, he disdained to take him off by the vulgar expedients of assassination or poison. Having easily persuaded the unsuspicious prince to send on distant foraging parties the best and most faithful portion of his troops, he immediately assembled his own soldiers; explained to them the danger to which both they and himself were exposed from those perfidious strangers; boldly arraigned Ophellas of covering under the semblance of friendship a design to destroy him, and commanded his men to follow him to the Cyrenian camp. The charge was sounded. Ophellas was sternly reproached with treason in presence of both armies. The follower of Alexander, though thus circumvented, was not confounded. He flew to arms, but speedily fell in the unequal conflict. His troops, whether they believed, or only affected to believe, the accusation against him, were easily prevailed on by the liberal promises of Agathocles to desist from unavailing hostility, and to enter into a profitable service. The parties which had been sent to a distance, finding themselves without a general or a pay-master, followed the example of their companions, preferring safety to revenge.[90]

Ophellas slain, his army joins that of Agathocles.

While this extraordinary scene was acted in the territory, another not less memorable passed

Bomilcar's conspiracy against the

[90] Diodor. l. xx. s. 42.

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Carthaginian government. Its causes and issue.

within the walls, of Carthage. That republic, which had subsisted five centuries[91] without a sedition and without a tyrant, was involved in the first of these evils, and nearly threatened with the second. Bomilcar, whose unexpected and apparently cowardly retreat in the first battle with Agathocles has been already mentioned, acted that unworthy part, not through pusillanimity but perfidy. He wished the Greeks to get a firm footing in the country, hoping, amidst the terrors of foreign invasion, to find a fit opportunity for effecting a revolution in the Carthaginian government, that might at once gratify his resentment and ambition; his resentment against the supreme court of civil and criminal jurisdiction, which had unjustly condemned his most respected kinsmen or friends; and his ambition of placing himself, by means of his army, at the head of the commonwealth. In this undertaking, equally flagitious and audacious, Bomilcar might endeavour to reconcile his conduct with his conscience, by reviewing the lamentable changes which had gradually taken place in the ancient and well-balanced aristocracy of Carthage. These changes it is here necessary to describe, that we may understand the grounds and motives of Bomilcar's conspiracy, the best key to the subsequent history of his country. The chief magistrates of Carthage, called Suffetes, are compared by Aristotle with the kings of Sparta; which indicates a longer duration of office than that of Athenian

[91] Aristot. Politic. l. ii. c. 9.

Archons, or Roman Consuls. The members of the Carthaginian senate were, as well as the Suffetes, appointed with a due regard to merit and wealth. When the Suffetes and senate were of the same mind, they exercised without controul both the legislative and executive powers of government. When they differed in opinion, an assembly of the people was summoned to decide between them. The people, in their national assembly, also named the naval and military commanders; whose functions appear to have been seldom conjoined with any of the principal branches of civil power. The Suffetes, who alternately presided in the senate or assembly, are sometimes, by the Greek writers, called kings; and the same title is not unfrequently bestowed on those Carthaginian commanders, who were entrusted with the conduct of great armies and of long or important wars. The government of Carthage, however, was very remote from royalty: it was equally remote from democracy; it was strictly aristocratical: and the vigour of the aristocracy resided in two tribunals, which bear a near analogy to the council of ten, and the court of state inquisitors in the late republic of Venice, naval and commercial like Carthage, and once not less jealous of its constitution. To the *Pentarchy*, or council of five, and the *Centumvirate*, or council of a hundred and four, the lives and fortunes, and honours, of every individual in the community were subjected without appeal. The pentarchy elected its own members, and also

CHAP. IX. filled up the vacancies that happened in the centumvirate. These two councils, thus permanent and immortal, not only formed the supreme judicature in all causes public and private, civil and criminal, but exercised a censorial and inquisitorial authority, for the purpose of watching over the safety of the government, and anticipating public delinquency. In the earlier and purer times of the commonwealth, these exorbitant powers should appear to have been seldom very shamefully abused. But the diffusion of wealth and luxury engendered turbulence in the people, and faction among the great. The principal offices, both civil and military, became scandalously venal. Rapacity is the inseparable companion of bribery; and a people that may be bought, are not far removed from a people that may be enslaved. To prevent or punish these growing evils gave new activity to the pentarchy and centumvirate; which, in their endeavours to repress the criminality of others, became themselves highly criminal; unjust judges, false accusers, and malignant inquisitors; raging with an excess of cruelty against offences merely suspected on the report of infamous spies; and punishing with equal severity the virtues which they hated, and the abilities which they feared.[92]

Bomilcar's punishment. Bomilcar, instead of falling their victim, had determined to become both their judge and executioner. One part of his army, in which

[92] Aristot. Politic. l. ii. c. 9. Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxiii. c. 46.

he had little confidence, was sent into Numidia, where it had been dispersed by Agathocles; another part of it watched the motions of that prince, who was then at no great distance from Carthage, and so wholly intent on the execution of his treacherous design against Ophellas, that he gave not any disturbance to the enemy. The remainder of his troops Bomilcar assembled in Neapolis, a place so nearly contiguous to Carthage, that it might be regarded as a suburb. They amounted to no more than five hundred citizens and four thousand mercenaries, in whom he could entirely confide. With this inconsiderable force, he ventured to enter Carthage, carrying with him such terror and havoc that the citizens never doubted that their gates had been betrayed to the Greeks. He advanced without resistance to the great market-place, with a view to destroy the tribunals with their obnoxious magistrates, and probably in the hope that the people would rise in his favour. But the people, who had beheld the butchery of unarmed citizens, mounted to the flat roofs of the lofty edifices which surrounded the market-place, and directed showers of darts on the murderers. Bomilcar led off his partisans towards Neapolis; and in retreating through narrow streets, whose inhabitants readily imitated the example of the Forum, only increased the evil which he hoped to avoid. He was obliged to shelter his men from the thickening volleys of missile weapons in a neighbouring tower. Thither the magistrates sent messengers, pro-

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mising pardon to all concerned, on condition of an immediate surrender; for, having a public enemy at the gates, nothing was so important as to quell the sedition speedily. The capitulation was ratified by oaths, which were violated only in the person of Bomilcar. He was doomed to the fatal cross; where he died inveighing, as from a lofty tribunal, against the crimes and cruelties of his judges.[92]

Agathocles takes Utica. Olymp. cxviii. 2. B. C. 307.

Had Agathocles been apprised of the treason meditated by Bomilcar, he might doubtless have turned it to his own advantage; and perhaps, through this rotten part of the state, have made himself master of Carthage. But the tyrant of Syracuse was as little informed of the conspiracy of Bomilcar against his country, as Bomilcar was acquainted with the conspiracy of Agathocles against Ophellas; and each was so wholly engrossed with his own scheme of villany, that neither had time to bestow the smallest attention on the proceedings of his antagonist. Agathocles endeavoured to compensate for the opportunity thus lost of assaulting the capital with a good prospect of success, by employing the reinforcement just acquired at the price of so much wickedness, in besieging the neighbouring towns of Utica and Hippo, the former situate fifteen miles, the latter above double that distance to the west of Carthage. He took both by storm: and his conquest was attended by the usual concomitants of pillage and slaughter. In

[92] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 44.

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the siege of Utica, the eldest Phœnician colony on that coast[94], and long considered as the ally rather than the subject of Carthage, Agathocles did not desert his inveterate habits of cruelty. He had surprised in their country-houses three hundred Uticans, belonging to the richest and noblest families. They were suspended alive to the machines, armed with catapults, which he advanced against the walls; and thus exposed in the front of the battle, as butts to the missile weapons of the besieged, who could not resist the enemy's engines without piercing the bodies of their most respected friends. The interest of the public defence was preferred to private affection: the Uticans silenced the cries of nature, but the sacrifice did not avail them.[95]

Storms Hippo.

The storm of Hippo soon followed. That place is called by different names[96], whose sameness of signification is confirmed by the circumstance of a deep and broad lake, by which the town is defended on the south. On the north it is open to a bay, opposite to that of Utica. Agathocles entered the place after defeating the enemy's galleys at sea, and their small craft on the lake.[97] He was now master of all the maritime towns in those parts, except Carthage, and of all the inland country, except some districts of the perfidious Nomades, whose alliance was nearly as dangerous as their hostility. Having been informed that the eastern successors of

Assumes the title of king of Africa.

[94] Aristot. de Mirabil.
[95] Diodor. l. xx. s. 54.
[96] Hippo-acra, Diarrhytus, Zarytus.
[97] Diodor. l. xx. s. 55.

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Alexander had recently declared themselves kings, he was unwilling to remain inferior in name, to those whom he equalled in extent of conquest. He therefore called himself king of Africa, but instead of assuming the diadem, still wore a priestly crown to conceal his baldness.[98]

Agathocles's voyage to Syracuse, and return to Africa. — Olymp. cxviii. 2. B. C. 307.

The tyrant was now at the summit of his fortune; and if his savage and sanguinary temper had admitted the co-operation of friends qualified to second his exertions, he might have been the Alexander of Africa. The dangerous state of his affairs in Sicily, of which he was at this time apprised, engaged him to sail thither in person, with some open vessels hastily constructed, and with only two thousand soldiers. His boldness was successful: he entered the harbour of Selinus, that of Syracuse being still blocked up by the Carthaginians, while the cause of public freedom and Sicilian independence made a progress most alarming to the tyrant in all parts of the island. But the presence of one man was soon marked by an important change of affairs. At the moment of his arrival, a detachment from his garrison of Syracuse defeated Zenodocus, the general of the Agrigentine confederacy. Agathocles broke that confederacy itself; made signal examples of Apollonia and other revolted cities; and by rapid marches from one side of the island to the other, again diffused through the whole of it, the terror of his arms.[99] Deinocrates, indeed,

[98] Diodor. l. xx. s. 54.

[99] Diodor. l. xx. s. 56.

still kept the field, and before Agathocles had time to reduce that leader of exiles, he was recalled to Africa by a state of affairs, not less critical than that which had brought him to Sicily; his son Archagathus having shown himself equally unqualified for supplying his place in the former, as his brother Antander had proved in the latter.

Eumachus, Agathocles's lieutenant, visits inland Africa.

Soon after the departure of Agathocles, Archagathus detached, from the forces in Tunes and its neighbourhood, eight thousand foot and eight hundred horse, into the more remote parts of Numidia. The Carthaginians, previously sent to that quarter, appear to have fled on all sides before this formidable brigade. Eumachus, its commander, penetrated unknown regions, visited and conquered unknown cities, to some of which the Greeks gave names in their own language, expressive of the local peculiarities by which they were distinguished. One they called Phelliné, from its thick groves of shadowy cork-trees. The adjoining district (whose inhabitants were black as Ethiopians) they called Asphodelus, from the exuberant and beautiful daffodils that decked its fields[100]: three neighbouring towns they called Pithecussæ, because in these places, "apes were held in the same honour with which dogs are[101] venerated in Egypt." In Pithecussæ apes lived in the same houses with men, and fed in the same apartments; children were here named after apes, as

[100] Diodor. l. xx. s. 59. [101] Id. ibid.

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in Greece after the gods: to kill an ape was a capital offence; in a word, these animals were solemnly worshipped as divinities; and "to have drank the blood of an ape," was proverbially said of those who died by violence unrevenged, intimating, that for some enormous but secret guilt, they had been punished by this most dreadful calamity.[101] In the neighbourhood of this monkey land, the soldiers of Eumachus observed a lofty mountain, twenty miles long, and so much invested with innumerable wild cats, that it was said no kind of birds ever built their nests either on its trees or in its dens.[102] Such are the unimportant circumstances preserved concerning countries most worthy of curiosity, by a few ignorant soldiers, as incapable of observation as they were rapacious of plunder.

Complicated defeats of the Greeks.

This rapacity proved the ruin of the expedition. The Carthaginians, during the absence of Agathocles, made a new and vigorous effort for retrieving their affairs. The capital though loosely besieged, had received many inhabitants from the country, who came to enjoy the protection of its walls. Thirty thousand of these

[101] Diodor. l. xx. s. 58. "The large breed of Indian apes is at this moment held in high veneration by the Hindus; and fed with devotion by the Brachmans, who seem in two or three places on the banks of the Ganges, to have a regular endowment for the support of them. They live in tribes of three or four hundred, are wonderfully gentle, and (I speak as an eye witness) appear to have some kind of order in their little sylvan policy!" Sir W. Jones, Discourse on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India.

[102] Id. ibid.

strangers, with the more idle and inactive part of the citizens, were armed in the public defence; and a considerable force under Himilco marched into Numidia. This detachment appears to have been joined by many Numidian horsemen, whose native fury was exasperated by resentment against the Greek invaders. The Numidians encountered the troops under Eumachus loaded with booty; and according to their custom engaged them in a running fight, during which, they were unexpectedly attacked by Himilco, who had lain concealed in a neighbouring village, and defeated with such slaughter, that no more than forty horsemen and thirty of the infantry escaped from the battle. Nearly about the same time, another body of Greeks was cut off by Hanno, in the inland part of the Libyphœnician territory. Archagathus was still master of the cities on the sea coast, near Tunes; but the disasters that had befallen his detachments, totally changed the disposition of his allies. The great body of Libyphœnician peasants were in arms. The Numidians were prepared to destroy the advanced parties, and to intercept the convoys of the Greeks. Their main army was pressed in flank and rear by the victorious Himilco and Hanno; who seized the usual passes leading into the country; while their colleague, Adherbal, formed a camp four miles from Tunes, and, with the assistance of the revolted sea-ports, excluded the Greeks from the coast.[103]

[103] Diodor. l. xx. c. 59, 60.

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Agathocles's stratagem, by which he defeats the Carthaginian fleet before Syracuse.

Agathocles was duly apprised of the disastrous condition of his army. Having equipped seventeen ships of war in the harbour of Syracuse, he watched the opportunity of escaping through a Carthaginian fleet of thirty sail in the road, which he effected with much brilliancy of success. The Tuscans, ancient rivals of the Carthaginians for the commerce of the western parts of the Mediterranean, were naturally the allies of Syracuse, with which they had long carried on an advantageous traffic. Eighteen of their vessels hovered at a distance on the Syracusan coast, and availed themselves of a dark night to get into the harbour unperceived by the enemy. This fortunate incident Agathocles improved with his usual dexterity. He desired the Tuscans to keep their concealed station, until his own vessels sailed forth and were pursued by the Carthaginians. The Tuscans according to this arrangement, then put to sea. Agathocles turned the beaks of his gallies on the pursuers. The Carthaginians, thus surprised between a double assault, were totally defeated with the loss of five ships of war, together with their whole crews. The Carthaginian admiral stabbed himself when his ship was taken; a premature act of despair, since a smart breeze swelling the main top-sail, enabled the vessel to make her escape.[104]

His precaution before

This unexpected victory opened the sea to Syracuse, which was thenceforth plentifully sup-

[104] Diodor. l. xx. s. 61.

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plied with provisions; and enabled Agathocles to pursue without danger his navigation to Carthage. But a precaution, usual with him on such occasions, remained to be taken before he set sail. Five hundred obnoxious Syracusans were assembled on pretence of a public entertainment, and massacred by order of the tyrant, as persons most likely to disturb the government during his absence, and to co-operate with Deinocrates.

sailing to Carthage.

Upon his arrival in Africa, Agathocles saw that the melancholy advices from that quarter were not exaggerations. The immediate safety of his army required a battle. This, however, the enemy, who had seized all the most advantageous passes communicating with the adjacent country, was studious to avoid. The strength of Agathocles was still considerable. Besides his garrisons in Tunes and several other towns, which had not yet ventured to rebel, he had six thousand Greeks in his camp; and nearly an equal number of Italians, with whose country he had carefully maintained a correspondence ever since his first campaigns in Magna Græcia. His African troops were more numerous than both collectively: ten thousand foot, six thousand chariots of war, and fifteen hundred cavalry. At the head of this army, cooped up and impatient, and the Africans strongly inclined to revolt, he employed all his usual artifices for drawing the Carthaginians from their camp; and eagerly seized the first opportunity which they afforded him, of coming to an engagement,

Defeated there.

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though the ground was highly unfavourable. The Greeks under his immediate command behaved bravely. But after his Africans and mercenaries gave way, the Greeks were borne down by the weight of numbers. In the pursuit, the Carthaginians spared the Africans, but gave no quarter to the Greeks and Italians, who were easily known by their armour and of whom, before they reached their camp, about three thousand fell.[105] A few prisoners indeed were made, but not as an exception to general orders, since they were only saved for a purpose far more horrid than all the carnage of battle.

Conflagration of the Carthaginian camp.

They consisted of the tallest and handsomest of the Greeks, who were reserved as a burnt offering for Moloch or Saturn, whose portable house, or tabernacle, diffused a thick superstitious gloom in the midst of the Carthaginian camp, nearly contiguous to the general's tent. While the flames of this abominable rite mounted on high, a brisk wind brought them in contact first with the tabernacle of the god, and next with the pavilion of the commander. As the tents of the Carthaginians were made of matts or dried reeds, the whole camp was speedily in a blaze. The Carthaginians fled on all sides with their armour and most precious effects; many perished in the flames.

Defection in the camp of the

This disaster, which befel the Barbarians in the first watch of the night, was, by an extra-

[105] Diodor. l. xx. s. 64, 65.

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Greeks — its strange consequences.

ordinary coincidence, greatly aggravated by the defection, which at the same time happened in the camp of the Greeks. Five thousand Africans had begun, with the first darkness of night, to fly from the discomfited Agathocles to their victorious countrymen. Their approach was discovered by the Carthaginian videttes or scouts, and quickly communicated to the army now irregularly collected, and pursuing its hasty march towards Carthage. The Barbarians never doubted that the Greeks, having beheld the conflagration of their tents, had hastened to avail themselves of the consequent disorder. A sudden terror seized them. Darkness encreased the confusion: and in their scattered flight over a rough and intricate country, swelled by craggy rocks, and interrupted by walls and hedges, different parties mistook each other for enemies, and forced their opposite ways by adverse arms. Many rushed headlong over precipices; not less than five thousand are said to have fallen victims to this blind panic: and the remainder who reached Carthage, entered the gates in wild trepidation, as if they had been closely pursued by the enemy. The African deserters, meanwhile, who had occasioned all this terror, no sooner perceived the Carthaginian camp on fire, than they changed their first resolution, and began to return back under similar apprehensions to those which they inspired. The Greeks, who had not yet been apprised of their desertion, were informed of the movement of a great body of men, in their own neighbourhood.

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They beheld the distant conflagration; the tumultuary cries of the Carthaginians had distinctly reached their ears: it immediately occurred to them that the barbarians, intoxicated with their recent victory, had advanced against them with their whole forces, after setting fire by way of bravado to their own tents. Agathocles ordered his soldiers to arm. They rushed tumultuously from the camp, and the nearer view of the nocturnal conflagration increasing the general alarm, convinced them that their only resource was in immediate flight. One division of them encountered the African deserters, to the mutual consternation and with great destruction of both parties. Many scattering themselves at a distance on all sides of the camp, remained in lurking places for the whole night long; and the return of light only showed to the Greeks, as well as to the Carthaginians, how shamefully both of them had been deluded by empty terrors.[106]

Termination of Agathocles's war in Africa, and his return to Sicily. Olymp. cxviii. 4. B. C. 305.

The morning, however, rose with very different prospects to the adverse armies. The Carthaginian forces were still entire, and continually augmenting by the daily return to duty of their revolted allies or rebellious subjects. The Greeks, on the other hand, being totally deserted by their African auxiliaries, and having lost four thousand men in the nocturnal tumult, and three thousand in the preceding battle, were reduced to a mere handful of soldiers in

[106] Diodor. l. xx. s. 67.

a hostile country, at once dispirited and mutinous, fearing the enemy, and angry with their general. Under such a reverse of fortune, Agathocles would readily have submitted to any terms of accommodation; but he suspected that the Carthaginians would be contented with nothing less than his absolute destruction. The movements of the tyrant's mind were rapid and decisive. He determined to embark secretly for Sicily with his younger son Heracleides, leaving Archagathus and his army to their fate. Archagathus discovered this design, and communicated it to the officers; the officers declared it to their troops; and mutiny ensued: Agathocles was seized and bound: but the sight of their general in bonds could not be endured by the soldiers: they relented, and released him: whereas, he, anxious only for his own escape from the Carthaginians, employed the first moment of liberty to embark in a small passage-boat, (though it was winter,) with a few sailors for Sicily. The army, having discovered his flight, put his sons to death, and chose new commanders who came to a capitulation on the following terms: that the towns yet possessed by the Greeks, should be surrendered on the payment of three hundred talents: that as many of the officers and soldiers as judged proper, should enter into the Carthaginian service, and be entitled to pay and promotion according to their rank and the rules established in the army: and that those who did not think fit to remain in Africa, should be

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sent to Sicily, and have habitations assigned to them at Solois; a place formerly mentioned as one of the principal Carthaginian settlements in the island. These conditions, though highly acceptable to the camp, were rejected by the Grecian garrisons which still confided in the extraordinary resources of Agathocles. Their towns were stormed: the commanders crucified; and the soldiers, disgraced by fetters, were condemned to repair the effect of their own ravages, and to cultivate with incessant toil the lands which during four years of war they had continued to desolate.[107] Thus ended the expedition of Agathocles into Africa, which once promised to be as important in its consequences, as it certainly is memorable in its incidents.

Agathocles's cruelties in Egesta.

The return of Agathocles to Sicily was marked by such outrages as might be expected from cruelty exasperated by suffering. He landed near the western extremity of the island by the shortest voyage from Africa: and immediately sent orders to Syracuse, that a band of his faithful mercenaries should repair to his standard. They joined him near Egesta, a city at that time in alliance with Syracuse, containing ten thousand families and many of them opulent. Agathocles demanded their money. The Egestians hesitated to comply with this requisition. The tyrant's impatience brooked not delay. He massacred the largest portion of

[107] Diodor. l. xx. s. 68. & 69.

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the citizens, and extracted from the remainder their hidden treasures, by tortures that in variety of contrivance are said to have rivalled the fabulous pains of Tartarus. To escape his execrable machinations many laid violent hands on themselves, and Egesta in one miserable day was completely desolated by the murder of its men and women, and by a sale of the boys and girls to the barbarous Brutii. A youth of singular beauty, named Mænon, was alone reserved for the domestic servitude of Agathocles. Mænon survived to avenge, by an action well becoming the favourite of a tyrant, both the destruction of his countrymen and his own disgrace. The walls and houses, however, still remained; and Egesta, under the protection of Agathocles and its new name Dicæopolis [108], became a receptacle for banditti and deserters [109], and a fertile seminary of mercenary assassins, naturally abounding in a country torn to pieces by foreign and domestic warfare.

And in Syracuse.

Syracuse, which had furnished instruments of vengeance against Egesta, experienced shortly afterwards the sad effects of the tyrant's fury. He was no sooner apprised of the murder of his two sons by his revolted army in Africa, than he sent orders to his brother Antander to destroy, without exception, the whole kindred of the rebels. The command was strictly executed; in some instances four generations of the same family were cut off in the same hour; and we

[108] The city of justice.

[109] Diodor. l. xx. s. 71.

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may indulge the pathetic exaggerations of a Sicilian, in describing the massacre as so dreadful that when the dead bodies were thrown into the sea, (for none ventured to acknowledge and bury them) the waters for a considerable distance from the shore were died red with blood.[110] These monstrous cruelties, which cried to heaven for vengeance, were punished in the first instance by the revolt of Pasiphilus, the tyrant's general; to whom, while his own brother Antander held the government of Syracuse, he trusted the command of Gela, and other important though subordinate cities. The defection of Pasiphilus, however, was occasioned not by his detestation of his master's crimes, but by an ill-founded contempt of his power. The tyrant, indeed, had lost an army in Africa: Deinocrates still bade him defiance in Sicily; and by his recent massacres, he had greatly diminished his own strength. Pasiphilus hoped by joining Deinocrates to give a decided preponderancy to the cause of public freedom and Sicilian independency, which that great master of artifice had so long and so ably supported. The tyrant acted as if he had felt this stroke with peculiar sensibility, and had believed that the defection of his lieutenant would prove the ruin of his affairs. He negociated at once with Deinocrates and the Carthaginians. To the former he offered to abdicate the government of Syracuse, and to restore

His treaty with the Carthaginians. Olymp. cxviii. 4. B. C. 305.

[110] Diodor. l. xx. s. 72.

freedom to the citizens, and the exiles to their country. Tired of grandeur, he desired nothing but safety; for which purpose he required for his residence the two fortresses of Thermæ and Cephalœdion; the former deriving its name from the hot baths; the latter from its situation at the top of a lofty and almost inaccessible promontory: and both of them standing near the middle of the northern coast. To the Carthaginians he offered to guarantee that western division of the island which had formerly belonged to them, extending from the extreme limit of Lilybœum to Himera on the northern, and Heraclæa on the southern, shore. The Carthaginians, who earnestly wished to extend their footing in Sicily, sacrificed their resentment to their interest; and purchased a precarious alliance at the price of three hundred talents and two hundred thousand bushels of corn. [111]

His negociations with Deinocrates.

In the propositions made to Deinocrates, it is not easy to determine whether the tyrant was sincere. His monstrous crimes could not fail to anticipate dreadful punishment, as soon as he was stung by adversity. But knowing the character of the man with whom he had to negociate, he might also wish to expose him in his true light to the Sicilians. Deinocrates rejected his humble request, and disdained his advantageous offers. That Syracusan exile was at the head of an army of twenty-eight thou-

[111] Diodor. l. xx. s. 78.

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sand men, had many rich cities at his devotion, and enjoyed, under the name of a fugitive, the authority of a king. It was not his intention, therefore, to lay down his power, and to restore either independence to the Sicilian cities, or democracy to Syracuse: under which form of government he must have mingled with the crowd, and have thenceforth held his life, and every thing dear to him, at the will of turbulent demagogues and a capricious multitude. He therefore rejected all terms of accommodation with the tyrant, a circumstance which the latter immediately made known over the island, complaining that Deinocrates's ambition and obstinacy hindered the Sicilians from returning to their respective cities, and all those cities from being declared free and independent.[112]

Whom he defeats at Forgium. Olymp. cxviii. 4. B. C. 305.

Expecting much benefit from this communication, Agathocles determined to venture a battle with five thousand foot and eight hundred horse, against an army four times as numerous. The scene of the action was near Forgium, an inland and now unknown mountain, but anciently remarkable as the haunt of vultures; and from which the Sicilian vultures derived their specific name. The battle was scarcely begun when above two thousand of Deinocrates's troops passed over to the side of Agathocles. This defection was followed by distrust and dismay in the whole army of allied Sicilians. They fled in

[112] Diodor. l. xx. s. 78.

scattered disorder. The tyrant, after a short pursuit, ordered the slaughter to cease, and proclamation to be made that the fugitives might return to their several homes. Many accepted this permission; others spread themselves over the country in the night; the cavalry escaped to the neighbouring but now unknown fortress of Ambicæ; and a body of seven thousand infantry posted themselves on a strong eminence, but capitulated on promise of safety, and descended from their fortress. Their false confidence was rewarded by an immediate and universal massacre. After this enormous perfidy, Agathocles received the remainder of the fugitives under his protection, and made peace with Deinocrates; who, having hitherto fought against him for more than a dozen years, became from this time forward his coadjutor and confident. Deinocrates was a man of the same stamp with himself; they thoroughly knew each other: the tyrant had saved his life in the first massacre at Syracuse; and the bond of their renewed friendship was the assassination of the too credulous Pasiphilus, whom Deinocrates, his late partner in arms, caught and murdered with his own hand at Gela.[113] Still, however, it is wonderful that two such monsters should have thenceforth continued mutually faithful. There must have been much vigilance on one side, and great patience on the other. The one, who was old, needed an active in-

[113] Diodor. l. xx. s. 90.

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strument; and the other, who was young, expected to inherit the power which he had helped to establish. In the space of two years all the cities in the island, except those situate within the jurisdiction of Carthage, were subjected to the tyrant of Syracuse, chiefly by the arms or artifices of Deinocrates.

Agathocles's subsequent transactions. Olymp. cxix. 1. cxxii. 4. B. C. 304. 289.

Agathocles respected his treaty with the Carthaginians for the present, only that he might infringe it in due time the more boldly. Among the concluding transactions of his reign, the principal bear a reference to this great design; a new invasion of Africa and the recovery of the laurels of his youth. With this view we find him strenuously employed in amassing treasure, collecting mercenaries, and equipping a powerful fleet. In his extensive plan of pillage, no corner, however obscure, was overlooked, no place, however sacred, was unviolated. The superstition of antiquity dwells with complacence on his impious invasion of the Liparean isles, because of the memorable and appropriate vengeance afterwards inflicted on him.[114] These islands derived their name from Lipara the largest, eight miles in length and twenty in circuit, and early planted by a Dorian colony from Cnidus.[115] They are seven[116] in number, situate

The Liparean isles.

[114] Diodor. l. xx. s. 101.

[115] Eustathius ad Dionys. Perieget. Τηνδε μετ' Αιολιε εισι περιδρομοι εν αλι νησοι, &c. v. 461.

[116] Authors differ on this subject; but the number seven is assigned by Aristotle, Strabo, Diodorus, Pliny, Pomponius Mela, and Dionysius Periegetes.

between the distance of fifteen and forty-five miles from the northern coast of Sicily. Two of them still continue to emit fire, Vulcania and Strongylé; but they were all formerly volcanic, holding, as it was supposed, a secret commerce with Ætna, whose flames they alternately borrowed and supplied. Agathocles appeared before them with a fleet, exacting fifty talents for their ransom, and when the money fell short, despoiled their sacred treasuries of the dedications stamped with the awful names of Eolus and Vulcan. The god of the winds punished him by a storm which sunk eleven of his ships; and Vulcan only reserved his ire, to gratify it at last still more terribly.

Their violation by Agathocles.

With the same predatory views, the tyrant undertook different expeditions to the continent of Magna Græcia. In one of these he conquered and garrisoned the rich commercial city of Crotona; and in another he dispossessed the Brutii of the maritime town Hipponium, where he built a dock or arsenal. That no gleanings of gain might be lost, he lent vessels to the pirates who invested those coasts, and was strict in exacting his full share of their booty.[117]

Other predatory expeditions. Olymp. cxx. 2. B. C. 299.

Yet these minute attentions did not narrow his mind, or render him careless of the great transactions of the times. He maintained a correspondence with Alexander's successors, and connected himself with several of them by treaties and intermarriages. When the fortune

His transactions with Alexander's successors.

[117] Diodor. ibid.

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of Antigonus was predominant, he abetted the measures of that prince against Cassander and his allies, and burned the whole of a Macedonian fleet which besieged Corcyra.[118] His daughter Lanassa was married successively to Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, and to Pyrrhus of Epirus. To the former of these princes, at that time master of Macedon, he sent his favourite son, who bore the same name with his father. Demetrius received the youth with kind and honourable courtesy, invested him, after the eastern fashion which he affected, with a royal garment; and under show of consolidating friendship with his father, sent him back loaded with presents, and accompanied by one of his own creatures and flatterers Oxythemis; whose real errand, however, was to spy out the land, and to survey the actual state of Sicily. The report must have conveyed a magnificent idea of the tyrant's power; for Agathocles, never losing sight of his designs against Carthage, had collected a great body of mercenaries, both Greeks and Italians, whose infamous history under their common name of Mamertines, will presently be related; and, besides other naval preparations, had equipped two hundred galleys of a large size, with four and six banks of oars.[119]

His grandson Archagathus.

But, before this mighty armament was ready to set sail, the tyrant died a death, suitable indeed to his life, if any death could have expiated his execrable and innumerable crimes. He had

[118] Diodor. Eclog. l. xxi. p. 491.

[119] Diodor. ibid.

a grandson, named Archagathus after his father who perished in Africa. This youth did not degenerate from his ancestors, being endowed with courage and craft, submissive ministers to an ambition as unprincipled as it was boundless. He now commanded an army encamped in the northern district of mount Ætna. The tyrant, in availing himself of his services, gradually discovered his character, and determined to remove him from command. As he himself was now in his seventy-second year, he had fixed the hopes of perpetuating his power on his son and namesake Agathocles, whom he had recommended to the Syracusans as their future king. He now sent him to the army, furnished with an order to receive the command from Archagathus. The latter feigned willingly to resign; sailed to one of the Liparean isles to perform a promised sacrifice; invited his uncle and successor to partake of the entertainments which usually accompanied that solemnity; and seized a favourable moment for plunging a dagger into his breast. The body of the younger Agathocles was thrown into the sea, and carried by the waves to the coast of Sicily, where it was recognized and sent to his father at Syracuse. [120]

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But the tyrant was by this time incapable of punishing the assassin. Archagathus, while he assumed to himself the part of murdering his uncle, had committed that of destroying his grandfather to Mænon of Egesta, who long

Death of Agathocles. Olymp. cxxii. 4. B. C. 289.

[120] Diodor. Eclog. l. xxi. p. 491.

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watched for an opportunity of avenging on the tyrant his own disgrace and the ruin of his country. The tyrant regularly after meals picked his teeth with a quill; this tooth-pick was usually supplied by his favourite Mænon, and on the present occasion was one so skilfully impoisoned, that the infection, after destroying his gums with excruciating torture, began in a few days to seize his vitals. While yet capable of speech, he summoned an assembly of the Syracusans, and arraigned the impiety of Archagathus, who had ruined both himself and his hopes; himself by poison, his appointed successor by assassination. He conjured his subjects to punish the parricide, and to re-establish and defend against him their hereditary democracy. Thus saying, he was carried from the tribunal and soon afterwards conveyed to the funeral pile, speechless yet breathing; a dire atonement (as history blushes not to relate) to Vulcan for his plundered temple. He lived seventy-two years, and reigned twenty-eight. His life was written by Timæus and Callias, both of them Sicilians: his brother Antander, also an historian, treated the same subject [121]; a dreadful subject for the pen of a brother!

His wife Theoxena.

When the tyrant was no more, his instruments remained; fleets, armies, arsenals, and treasuries. Immediately before his death, part, indeed, of his ill-gotten wealth had been consigned to Theoxena [122], the wife of his old age, and

[121] Diodor. Eclog. l. xxi. p. 491. [122] Justin, l. xxiii. c. 2.

daughter to Magas[128], who, upon the destruction of the usurper Ophellas, had been entrusted by Ptolemy Soter with the vice-royalty of Cyrené. To Magas, Theoxena returned with her children by Agathocles, who, had they remained in Syracuse after the death of that tyrant, would have been exposed to the rage of the multitude, or the more relentless cruelty of their kinsman Archagathus. CHAP. IX.

Yet Archagathus himself did not long enjoy the fruits of his parricide. He was the victim of his accomplice Mænon; and the assassin assumed his power as commander of the mercenaries. The Syracusans shut their gates against the usurper; re-established their democracy; and chose Hicetas, a popular citizen, for their general. A war ensued between the new republic and the veteran hirelings of Agathocles; and the latter, being abetted by the Carthaginians, compelled the Syracusans to admit them within their city, and to acknowledge them as sharers in its honours. The new citizens, however, were viewed with extreme jealousy by the old; and as they were much inferior in point of numbers, they were generally foiled in all their competitions. Indignant at this treatment, they complained, threatened, and set themselves in readiness to take arms. Their sedition was with difficulty repressed by the seasonable interference of a few wise and equitable men, con-

History of Sicily to the invasion of Pyrrhus. Olymp. cxxii. 4. cxxv. 4. B. C. 289. — 277.

[128] Magas was son, by a former obscure marriage, to Ptolemy Soter's admired queen, Berenicé.

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nected indeed in party with their adversaries, but whose impartiality had gained their confidence; and a compromise in the form of a regular treaty was made with them, in which it was stipulated that, upon receiving the full value of all their possessions, they should quit Syracuse and its dependencies.[124]

Agathocles's mercenaries under the name of Mamertines, — usurp Messené. Olymp. cxxiv. 1. B. C. 284.

Under the veil of this plausible transaction, many of the unprincipled soldiers cloaked a design of enormous wickedness. The greatest part of them belonged to Campania, the most infamous district in Italy, and in their frequent journies between their native country and southern Sicily, had often cast covetous eyes on the rich territory of Messené abounding with whatever could tempt their rapacity or allure their voluptuousness. Upon leaving Syracuse in terms of their agreement, they proceeded towards the Sicilian frith, with the apparent design of crossing the narrow[125] strait from Messené to Rhegium. At the former place, they were received kindly and treated generously, which unsuspecting bounty they repaid by an enormity decisively bold, and memorably successful. With one consent, they murdered their hosts and usurped their possessions.[126] By this sudden stroke, the last branch of the Messenians perished, a people whose long and compli-

[124] Diodor. Eclog. l. xxi. s. 13.

[125] By a comparison of the best authorities, ancient and modern, the narrowest part will be found to measure a mile and a half, English.

[126] Polybius, l. i. c. 7.

cated sufferings I had occasion in a former work to commemorate. Not a male beyond the age of puberty was left in the city or territory, which being thus fiercely occupied, were with equal fierceness maintained by a mixed band of ruffians, who from the prevalence of Campanians among them, assumed the name of Mamertines after Mars, the god of war, called Mamers in the provincial dialect of Campania.[127]

Wretched state of Sicily from this period to the invasion of Pyrrhus. Olymp. cxxiv. 1. cxxv. 4. B. C. 284. —277.

For the space of seven years, which elapsed from this horrid transaction to the arrival of the renowned Pyrrhus in Sicily, to assert his claims there as husband to Lanassa, and heir to Agathocles, the Mamertines, abetted by the Carthaginians, set their Greek neighbours at defiance, and exercised a sort of predatory dominion over the northern coasts of Sicily. As *their* ascendency prevailed, the Syracusans sunk in the scale. The ancient subjects of Syracuse, who had trembled at the name of Agathocles, threw off the yoke of the newly established democracy. Fraud or violence prevailed in every city; Phintias and Tyndarion domineered respectively in Agrigentum and Tauromenium; and during the seven years just mentioned, Sicily was variously deformed[128] by sedition, anarchy, the rashness of demagogues, the jealousy of tyrants, the merciless exactions of mercenaries, and finally by a cruel invasion from Carthage.

[127] Diodor. Eclog. l. xxi. s. 13. cum Not. Wesseling.

[128] Diodor. Eclog. l. xxii. s. 2. 11. Conf. Plut. in Pyrrho.

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Disorders on the Death of Seleucus. — New Kingdoms of Pontus, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pergamus. — Gauls prepare their Irruption. — Transactions preceding that Event: I. *in the Kingdom of the Greeks, or Syria;* II. *in Egypt;* III. *in Macedon;* IV. *in Thrace;* V. *in Greece. — Gauls, their Migrations. — Arts and Manners. — Assail Macedon, and slay Keraunus. — Invade Greece. — Marvellously defeated at Delphi. — More probable Account of their Catastrophe. — Gallic Kingdom of Tulé. — Their ambulatory Dominion in Lesser Asia. — They establish themselves in New Gaul, or Galatia. — Their Pursuits in that Country, and improved Manners.*

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Disorders on the death of Seleucus. Olymp. cxxvi. B. C. 280.

FORTY-ONE years had elapsed from the death of Alexander, when Seleucus, the last survivor among his generals, followed him to the grave. During this memorable period, the finest countries of Asia remained a spoil to the Macedonian captains, whose ambitious struggles with each other were unobstructed either by domestic rebellion, or by foreign invasion. But upon the death of Seleucus, as if the energy, infused by Alexander, had passed away with his immediate successors, the empire was assailed at once in its centre, and on its frontiers. Part of the controuling army had marched with Antiochus into the East; another part had crossed the Helles-

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The new kingdoms of Pontus, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pergamus.

pont, into Macedon. Under these circumstances, several nations of Lesser Asia assumed arms and independence; particularly the inhabitants of Pontus, Cappadocia, and Bithynia; countries which contained an admixture of European blood, and which had subsisted, under the Persians, as hereditary satrapies.[1] Pergamus had a different origin from the other states erected at this time in the Peninsula. Philetærus, treasurer to Lysimachus, who had offered to resign his invaluable strong-hold to Seleucus, thought fit to appropriate and defend it upon the tragical death of this great prince.[2] His castle, through the judicious employment of the treasures which it contained, grew into the capital of a small territory. This was ably governed by Philetærus, for the space of twenty years[3], and by him peacefully transmitted to his nephew Eumenes; from which time forward, Pergamus was governed by princes named alternately Eumenes and Attalus; while Bithynia, Pontus, and Cappadocia respectively acknowledged the lines of Nicomedes, Mithridates, and Ariarathes; hereditary names with their ancient satraps. The king of Bithynia fortified his residence, called from him Nicomedia, on the bay of Astakus: the royal army of Pontus, a kingdom afterwards so famous under the sixth Mithridates, occupied the banks of the Ther-

[1] Appian, Mithridat. c. 115, 116. Polyb. l. v. c. 43. Plutarch in Demet. & Memnon apud Phot. cod. xxi. et seq.

[2] Pausanias, l. ii. c. 10.

[3] Strabo, l. xiii. p. 623.

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modon: Mazaca, on the river Melas, was the capital and main strong-hold of the Cappadocians.[4]

Irruption of the Gauls. Olymp. cxx B. C. 279.

Contemporary with the formation of these hostile states in the centre of the empire, an event happened of still greater magnitude, and which left deep and bloody impressions both in Europe and in Asia. This was the fierce irruption of the Gauls, which swept away the Greek kingdom laboriously erected by Lysimachus in Thrace; reduced Macedon to that condition of weakness and obscurity in which it had subsisted before the reign of Philip; and carrying desolation into Greece, threatened with total extinction her once-illustrious republics. From Europe the Gauls crossed the narrow seas into Asia, defeated and slew Antiochus, the unequal successor to Seleucus; long exercised a predatory dominion over his finest provinces, and finally usurped, in Lesser Asia, the large territory called from them Galatia. We shall proceed to relate this part of history, after briefly adverting to the transactions immediately preceding it, in the various divisions of the empire.

Transactions immediately preceding it.

Of this empire, Antiochus, from the vastness of his dominions, deserved to be regarded as the head.

I. In the kingdom of the Greeks.

In his father's life-time, he reigned over a wide expanse of Upper Asia, then bridled by garrisons, enriched by marts of inland traffick, adorned in many places by Grecian arts and edifices, and confirmed in peaceful allegiance

[4] Strabo, l. xii. p. 568, & l. xiv. p. 663, & Memnon. apud Phot. p. 732.

under its Macedonian masters. Besides Syria, which he inherited, the huge square previously resigned to him, touching respectively on its four sides, the Euphrates, the Indus, the Arabian gulph, and the Caspian, was computed two centuries ago[5], to contain, under the general name of Persia, about five hundred cities, sixty thousand villages, and forty millions of inhabitants. If such indeed was its population, after a long succession of barbarous dynasties, how much more flourishing[6] must it have been, when, through the arrangements of Alexander, the Scythians and Arabs, those desolating Nomadic conquerors, were kept at a distance, and confined within their native deserts?[7] But, as if the passive submission of such dominions had diminished instead of augmenting their value, Antiochus was in haste to claim Macedon in virtue of the last victory of his father. In his progress westward, he had to encounter the Bithynians, and other rebels in Lesser Asia. The opposition which he found in that quarter, and which he

[5] Conf. Chardin. v. iii. c. 1. et seq. and Tavernier, v. i. p. 635.

[6] Even the mountainous tracts between the Caspian and the Indus, the roughest parts of the whole territory, contained many Greek cities. Appian, Syriac. and Strabo, passim. The satrapies subject to the kingdom of the Greeks, are stated in Maccabees at seventy-two: Artaxerxes boasted one hundred and twenty-seven satrapies from India to Ethiopia. Esther, c. xvi. v. 1. Their number, for reasons above given, continually varied.

[7] The desolation has been progressive, for, by our latest travellers, Persia (the country between the Tigris and Indus), is computed to contain little more than twenty millions. But this cannot be correct, if the population of the kingdom of Caubul alone amounts to fourteen millions. See Mr. Elphinstone's Caubul.

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[8] Memnon apud Phot. and Appian, Syriac.

[9] "It may be observed of the capitals of states, in general, that such as are neither emporiums of commerce, nor meant as citadels in the last resort, are attracted, as it were, to the quarter from which hostility is either intended or expected." Rennell's Memoir of a Map of Hindostan, Introduction, p. 46.

[10] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 750.

and entirely dedicated to arms and exercises; while productive and commercial industry enriched the greater cities in its neighbourhood. Oppressed by the military despotism of the Mamelukes, this country, in the fourteenth century, is said to have contained sixty thousand villages[11]; a vague estimate, yet of use in the appreciation of its resources, under a wiser and milder administration. CHAP. X.

II. In Egypt

Egypt, by its detached situation, and the diligence of the first Ptolemy in fortifying it, was placed beyond the reach of the Gallic broadsword. At the age of eighty-four, that able prince left his son Philadelphus, whom he had previously associated in power, sole master of Egypt and its dependencies in Phœnicia, Cœle-Syria, Cyrené, and Cyprus.[12] This second Ptolemy had now reigned four years, at peace abroad, firm in his government at home, and zealous to complete, as will be explained in due time, the great designs of his father with regard to every important branch either of domestic or foreign policy.

III. In Macedon.

The destiny of Macedon was totally the reverse of that of Egypt. From the death of Cassander, the events in the former kingdom, instead of resembling those of a regular monarchy, had exhibited all the wildest caprices of a licentious soldiery. By gaining this instrument of sedition, Ptolemy Keraunus had

[11] Histoire de Timur Bec, l. v. c. 20.

[12] Lucian in Macrob. Conf. Polyb. l. ii. c. 41. and Pausan. l. i. c. 7.

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mounted a blood-stained throne, from which eight kings had been precipitated in the space of eighteen years. His title, unquestioned by the Macedonians, was disputed, however, by three foreign princes; Antiochus Soter, in right of his father Seleucus; Antigonus Gonatas, in right also of his father Demetrius; and Pyrrhus of Epirus, as partner in arms with Lysimachus, in the expulsion of Demetrius from Macedon.[13] The first of these princes was prevented from asserting his pretensions by the rebellion in Lesser Asia; and the adventurous Pyrrhus, in his habitual eagerness to abandon an old for a new project, was bribed into peace, by the loan of fifty elephants, five thousand foot, and four thousand horse, for the service of his Italian expedition.[14] Antigonus Gonatas thus remained Keraunus's only competitor. In compliance with the advice of his father, Antigonus had kept firm hold of his possessions in Greece, particularly of Corinth and Sicyon.[15] With an armament equipped in those harbours, he sailed towards Macedon. A decisive battle at sea was fought between him and Keraunus. Antigonus was completely defeated by the fleet of Pella, assisted by that of Heraclæa in Bithynia; a republic then in its highest bloom, warmly attached, as we have seen, to the house of Lysimachus, and whose alliance Keraunus had obtained by pretending to be the avenger of

[13] Conf. Plut. in Pyrrh. and in Demet.
[14] Id. in Pyrrho.
[15] Id. in Demet.

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that prince[16], and the protector of his unfortunate family. It is worthy of remark, that among the ships assisting him from Heraclæa, many were provided with five and six tier of oars, and one with eight tier, bearing an hundred rowers on each. On the two sides of the vessel, there were thus sixteen hundred seamen, besides two pilots, and twelve hundred marines, who fought from the decks.[17]

Large size of the Heraclæan vessels.

Keraunus having in this manner repelled or eluded foreign hostility, had, however, one enemy behind, in the heart of his kingdom, his half-sister Arsinoé, the widow of Lysimachus, who, since the destruction of her husband, had remained shut up with her two sons in the city of Cassandria. The strength of the place might have made an obstinate resistance; and the unprincipled boldness of Arsinoé trembled at no crime for recovering her own greatness, or enforcing the claims of her children. To avoid the delays of a siege, Keraunus had recourse to artifice; he imputed his crimes only to love for Arsinoé, and solemnly swore, that if she consented to accept him as her husband, her sons by Lysimachus should inherit the throne. The profligacy of her own character might have taught this wretched woman to distrust the oaths of Keraunus. But she confided, perhaps, in her greater dexterity for anticipating

Keraunus murders his nephews in presence of their mother.

[16] See above, p. 64. the friendly connection between Lysimachus and Heraclæa.

[17] Memnon apud Photium, c. xiv. p. 718.

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his crimes; or thought, more probably, nothing, save the seduction of her stepson Agathocles, beyond the power of her charms: Cassandria opened its gates: Arsinoé threw herself, as affianced, into the arms of her victorious brother; but amidst the preparations for the nuptial ceremony, the sons of Arsinoé, Lysimachus and Philip, one sixteen and the other thirteen years old, were butchered before their mother's eyes, by the execrable cruelty of their uncle.[18] By this monstrous deed, uniting the bloodiest ferocity with the basest perfidy, Keraunus completed a rapid series of prosperous crimes, which confirmed his sovereignty in Macedon, and sealed the title which he had assumed from the resistless celerity of thunder.[19] But in the space of a few months, he was himself doomed to swift destruction, by enemies not less deserving of that tremendous epithet.

IV. In Thrace.

During the short span allotted to him, he was alike busy in arms and intrigues. He had pretended to avenge Lysimachus in the blood of Seleucus; he now pretended to avenge Agathocles, by the murder of the sons of Arsinoé, since, for their sake, that virtuous prince had been abandoned to the rage of his step-mother by his unnatural father. As uniting in his own person the rights of Lysimachus and Agathocles, Keraunus, in addition to Macedon, claimed the

[18] Conf. Justin. l. xvii. c. 2. & l. xxiv. c. 2.

[19] Pausanias, Attic. refers the origin of this name to his celerity; Memnon, to his ferocity. Excerpt. c. ix. p. 714. The furious Bajazet I. probably knew not that his title of Ilderim, had been anticipated by an ancient king of Macedon.

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contiguous kingdom of Thrace; and, after defeating Antigonus Gonatas, he was eager to extend his dominion on the other side, by carrying his arms into Greece. But a prince whose crimes were palpable, and whose character was odious, found his authority too precarious at home, to make vigorous exertions abroad. The barbarous monarchy of Thrace, which Lysimachus had cemented with such unremitting labour, was in a moment dissolved. Each warlike chieftain trusted to the sword of his immediate dependents for a separate establishment. Under the hereditary names of Seuthes, Cotys, and Sitalces, the Thracians resumed their accustomed animosities, and repeated their ancient depredations, the tribe of the Bessi[20] spreading terror from mount Rhodopé, the Odrysæ[21] prevailing in the inland country, and the Sapæans[22] domineering over the seacoast. Blinded by their domestic feuds, they perceived not the arm of the Gauls uplifted, and ready to overwhelm them.

V. In Greece.

In Greece, which had long been a sport to the Macedonian captains, affairs assumed a new aspect. Its ancient republics again emerged from obscurity, through the weakness and disunion of their former masters. The recent disaster of Antigonus, in the attempt to recover

[20] Strabo, l. vii. p. 318. Et sua Bessi nive duriores. Paul. Nolan. Carm. v. 206.

[21] The most powerful tribe in Thrace, and whose name is often used as synonymous with that of the nation.

Mavors in prælia currus
Odrysia tellure vocat. Sil. Ital. l. iv. v. 432.

[22] Strabo, l. x. p. 457.

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his father's kingdom of Macedon, lessened his ascendency in the Peloponnesus. The cities beyond the Isthmus expelled his deputies, whom they stigmatised as tyrants. Athens, under her admired Callippus[23], once more despising danger, panted for glory. The Achæans renewed their confederacy of virtue and liberty[24]; the Etolians were always ready to associate in leagues of rapacity and revenge. Such was the general state of the empire in its principal divisions, from the Indus to the Ionian sea, when the western and most warlike frontier was assailed by an enemy, hitherto little known in those parts, and therefore the more terrible.

Gaul.

The spacious square, called Galatia, or Gallia, by the ancients, was comprehended, in one direction, between the English channel and the Mediterranean; and in another, between the Bay of Biscay and the Rhine. Its two southern corners were fortified by the natural bulwarks of the Alps and Pyrenees. This ample and compact territory was, in all ages, distinguished by the roving inconstancy and martial enterprise of the Galatians, Gauls, or Celts[25], its imme-

[23] Pausanias, l. i. p. 4. [24] Plutarch in Arat.

[25] Unlike as the words Galatians and Celts sound to an English ear, they are clearly the same. According to the analogy of the language spoken by the Gauls inhabiting Lesser Asia, the *e* in the word denoting *Celts*, plural, is changed from *a* in the singular. From Calta to Galta and Galata, the transition is easy, as the difference is rather in the writing than in the pronunciation. The name of Celtæ or Galli is applied, either generally to the whole inhabitants of Gaul, (Vid. Strabo, l. iv. & l. vii.) or particularly to one of the three great divisions of people inhabiting that country. Cæsar de Bell. Gallic. l. i. c. 1.

morial inhabitants. Three centuries before the migration whose consequences we are going to explain, history records how the Gallic tribes, actuated by their habitual restlessness, penetrated into the northern valleys of the Alps, where the vast abundance of wood for fuel and for building, with rich specks of intermediate pasture, induced them to take up their temporary abode, until moved, with the desire of exploring what lay beyond those regions of snow and solitude, some daring adventurers, in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, insinuated themselves through the windings of the Tyrol, and passing one mountain after another, poured from the Rhetian rocks into the soft bosom of Italy.[26] The beauties of the delicious plain, into which they had suddenly descended, affected them the more powerfully, as they still affect every traveller[27], by contrast with the dark dens and rugged mountains which they had left behind. When news of their successful boldness reached their longing countrymen, ever discontented at home, the standard of foreign enterprise was crowded by new multitudes, who invaded, conquered, and colonised part of the territory between the Alps and Apennines, then cultivated by the Tuscans; from which, careless of every art but agriculture and arms, the Gauls diffused terror on all sides around them: compelled the neighbouring nations of Italy to receive their

Ancient emigrations of its natives.

Their conquests in Italy and struggle with Rome.

[26] Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 17—33. et seq.

[27] I speak from a warm recollection of my own feelings.

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[28] Polyb. l. ii. c. 17, 18. The Veneti, according to Strabo, l. iv. p. 194. were a Belgic nation: and the Belgæ, who were the bravest people in Gaul, differed in language from the Celtæ and Aquitani; the two other nations by whom Gaul was inhabited. Cæsar de Bell. Gallic. l. i. c. 1.

[29] Conf. Polyb. l. ii. c. 18. et seq. Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 9. et seq. l. viii. c. 20. l. x. c. 27. et seq.

[30] Rome was sacked, Olymp. xcvii. 3. B. C. 390. The decisive victory of Æmilius Papus was gained, Olymp. cxxxviii. 4. B. C. 225.

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Their invasion of the countries south of the Danube.

The lofty destiny of the power with which they so long contended, gives an interest to the *Italian* Gauls, which their *Illyrian* brethren possess inherently in themselves, from the strangeness and variety of their adventures. In modern times, navigation is perpetually discovering new lands, but in remote ages of antiquity, the spirit of emigration was only to be checked by the discovery of new and impassable seas. Could we make a fair estimate of the dangers encountered, and the obstacles overcome, the courage of the Gauls in penetrating from the confines of the Rhine to those of the Euxine, after exploring the gloom of the Hercynian forest, and settling their colony of Boii in the delightful irriguous district still commemorating this event in its name of Bohemia[31], would not perhaps be disgraced by a comparison with the boasted exploits of our most celebrated mariners. In the expedition of those fierce tribes, which invaded the Macedonian empire, no notice however is taken of their contrivances for passing the Danube, nor the smallest hint dropped of any hostilities between them and the Germans. Though the vague language of antiquity brings them from the extremities of the ocean, from coasts repelling approach by rocks, tides, and sea-monsters[32], it should seem more probable that they marched

[31] Manet adhuc Boiemi nomen. Tacit. de Mor. Germ. The word is plainly German, Boienheim.

[32] Pausanias, Attic. l. i. c. 3. Horace had before said,

Te *belluosus* qui remotis
Obstrepit Oceanus Britannis, &c.
L. iv. Ode 14.

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immediately from the provinces south of the Danube; from Noricum, Pannonia, or Illyricum.

Their arts and manners.

But the inquiry into what they were, is more important than the question, from whence they came. The most curious indeed of the Greeks acknowledge their very imperfect[83] information, concerning those great divisions of Europe, which, in modern times, have been cultivated and improved into flourishing and powerful kingdoms. From the notices which they afford, we can only infer, that the inhabitants of Gaul, like those of Britain, Spain, and Germany, subsisted in that middle state of barbarism, which, though elevated above the penury and gloom of savage life, was still further removed from the dignity and elegance of enlightened commonwealths. Their uncouth appearance, ferocious manners, and abominable superstitions, which made historians hesitate, whether the Gauls had not a natural unfitness for civilization, were accompanied, however, with such knowledge in the arts appertaining to war and agriculture, as usually denote a considerable degree of improvement in legislation and policy. The use of iron and copper was familiar in their instruments or implements; the ore collected from the foaming

[83] Polyb. l. iii. c. 38. Conf. Herodot. l. iii. & iv. The distinction between the Gauls and Germans is particularly obscure. The latter, according to Strabo, l. vii. p. 290. were called *Germani* by the Romans, to express their genuine affinity with the Gauls. The Belgæ, the bravest nation in Gaul, Cæsar says, were descended chiefly from Germans. De Bell. Gallic. l. ii. c. 4.

torrents of their rivers was smelted into gold for the ornaments of both sexes[34]; their houses, though formed wholly of wood, were so firmly constructed as to repel the inclemencies of a northern sky; and they had provided useful animals in such abundance, that the flower of their military force consisted in cavalry.[35] In this last particular, they agreed with the Germans, with whom, in all other respects, those tribes[36] of the Gauls, at least, who invaded the Macedonian empire, should seem to have had much affinity. Their complexions, like those of the Germans, were fair; their long hair was for the most part red, which colour both nations heightened by art[37]; and the Gauls as well as Germans were dreadfully distinguished by gigantic stature and unbridled ferocity. In their military expeditions, each Gallic horseman was accompanied by two retainers, also mounted; one of whom assisted his master when unhorsed or wounded, and the other instantly succeeded to his place in the ranks. This singular arrangement was expressed by a word, which, like all the remains of the dialect of those Gauls, exactly corresponds with the language still spoken in Germany.[38] The armour of their foot-soldiers

Persons, armour, and tactics.

[34] Diodor. l. v. c. 27.

[35] Pausanias, l. x. c. 20. Conf. Diodorus, l. v. s. 29. and Strabo, l. iv. p. 196.

[36] Strabo, loc. citat. extends the observation to the Gauls in general. Conf. l. vii. p. 290.

[37] Diodor. l. v. s. 28.

[38] Τουτο ωνομαζον το συνταγμα τριμαρκισιαν, or, a better reading, τριμαρρισιαν. Pausan. Phocic. c. ix. p. 645. Edit. Xyland. Tri-

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was suitable to their persons, and like them more remarkable for magnitude than firmness.[39] Their gæsa were missile weapons, consisting of a wooden rod tipped with iron.[40] Having thrown the gæsum, the Gaul had recourse to his broad-sword[41], which differed essentially from the swords of Greece and Italy, in being formed, not to pierce or thrust, but chiefly to hack or strike, and therefore less fitted to inflict a dangerous wound, while the uplifted arm, by which it was brandished, invited the pointed weapon of a dextrous adversary.[42] To ward off this danger, the Gaul interposed the orb of an ample though light buckler, his defence in war, his ornament in peace; for though his neck and arms were adorned by a golden collar and bracelets, yet the emblems, described on his Thyrius or shield, were the specific indications of his merit and renown.[43] To paint or carve these emblems, consisting in rude resemblances of fierce animals[44], afforded an agreeable employment to his

marrisia, the termination is Greek, but the word evidently compounded of *drey*, three, and *mahr*, a horse. Yet the same Greek word is allied to the Cornish *marh*, the Welch and Armoric *march*, and the Scotch or Irish *marc*. Many words being common to the Teutonic and Celtic, little is to be built on such etymologies.

[39] Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 42.

[40] They were much used in fowling. Strabo, l. iv. p. 136.

[41] Αντι δε τ̃ ξιφες σπαθας εχεσι. Ibid. c. 30. The word σπαθα has passed to the modern Italians, "spada," through their admixture with the Gauls.

[42] Veget. de Re Milit. l. i. c. 12. The Romans were taught "punctim non cæsim ferire," to thrust, not to cut or hack.

[43] Θυρεοις ανδρομηκεσι πεποικιλμενοις ιδιοτροπως. Diodor. l. v. c. 30.

[44] Thence the word expressing their shield from the German word *Thier*, a wild beast.

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leisure. Each noble warrior was distinguished by his peculiar coat of arms, commemorating the glory of his ancestors or his own; and according to careful observers of human manners, the Gauls, like most ignorant Barbarians, were extravagantly fond of finery, and totally corrupted by ostentation and vanity; vices which rendered them insolent in prosperity, and meanly abject under the first reverse of fortune. [45]

Coats of arms.

Both parts of their character are illustrated in their transactions with the Greeks. The behaviour of their ambassadors to Alexander, while that conqueror was encamped near the Danube, made him say contemptuously, "The Gauls are an arrogant people." The glory of the Macedonian hero repressed the hostility of neighbours, who, under the pretence of embassies, explored an opportunity for inroads.

Boastful character.

Their first expedition into Thrace was conducted by Cambaules in the reign of Lysimachus. The invaders proceeded to the foot of mount Hæmus, but the reception which they met with, made them retreat precipitately homewards. They resumed their undertaking during the bloody and distracted usurpation of Ptolemy Keraunus. [46] At that period, so favourable to their views, the Gauls under three distinguished leaders poured into Thrace and

They invade Macedon and slay Keraunus. Olymp. CXXV. 2. B. C. 279.

[45] Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. i. c. 4. & Polybius, l. ii. c. 32. et seq. & l. iii. c. 75. & Tit. Liv. l. x. c. 28. et passim. Strabo, l. iv. p. 195, is more favourable to the Gauls, calling them a simple people and without malice, ἁπλουν και ε κακοηθες.

[46] Pausanias, l. x. c. 19.

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Macedon; the former country was ravaged by Cerethrius, the latter fell a prey to Belgius and to Brennus. The petty chieftains of Thrace, who had recently emancipated themselves, as we have seen, from Keraunus, sought refuge in their walls and fastnesses. The inhabitants of Pæonia beheld from their battlements the sword of Brennus raging uncontrouled in that northern division of Macedon. Belgius carried desolation into the southern provinces; but had not the rashness of Keraunus equalled his cruelty, Pella, Dium, and other strong-holds might have sheltered his army and subjects, until the Gallic hurricane had spent its rage. But the mad Keraunus, who, in the language of an ancient historian, thought it as easy to gain victories as to commit crimes[47], hurried inconsiderately to the field. The Macedonians were broken and put to flight by enemies far inferior to themselves both in armour and in discipline. Ptolemy, fighting on an elephant[48], was wounded and made captive. His dead body became a sport to the Gauls; and his head, being fixed on a lance, was carried through their ranks in barbaric triumph.[49]

They are repelled by Sosthenes, but return with increased numbers.

Upon the death of this odious usurper, the Macedonians, to resist the torrent of invasion, elected a new king or general. Meleager reigned two months; his successor Antipater was denominated the Etesian, because his com-

[47] Justin, l. xxiv. c. 4.

[48] Memnon apud Phot. c. xv. p. 718.

[49] Pausan. l. x. c. 19.

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mand lasted forty-five days[50], the ordinary period of the Etesian winds. Sosthenes, a man adored by the multitude[51], assumed the helm of government, skilfully eluded the assailing tempest, watched his opportunity of attacking the enemy with advantage, defeated the Gauls in battle, and slew Belgius their leader. But this gleam of prosperity was soon overcast. The invaders retreated to their brethren, still employed in ravaging Pæonia and Thrace; and, from thence proceeding to their possessions near the Danube, tempted their countrymen, who had hitherto declined the expedition, with alluring accounts of Macedon; of the wealth and luxury of its cities, the lofty grandeur of its palaces, the splendour and magnificence of its temples. To their rude eloquence, they are said to have joined the artifice of exposing the most puny of their Macedonian captives covered with rags, in contrast with the tallest of the Gallic youth gayly ornamented and proudly armed.[52] Animated with the hope of an easy conquest, the Gauls prepared for emigration in swarms, compared poetically by Callimachus to the twinkling stars of a winter's night, and with less philosophical inaccuracy to the thick descending flakes of drifted snow.[53] History computes their number at an hundred and fifty-

Olymp. cxxv. 3. B. C. 278.

[50] Diodor. Fragm. l. xxi. p. 641.

[51] Δημοτικος will bear this sense, though Justin translates ignobilis; very inconsistently, since he had just before called him "unus ex principibus, l. xxiv. c. 5.

[52] Polyænus, l. vii. c. 35.

[53] Hymn. in Delum.

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two thousand infantry, and fifteen thousand cavalry.[54] But in their march towards Macedon a sedition divided this mighty host: Leonorus and Lutarius with their followers diverged to Cerethrius on the coast of Thrace, laid Byzantium and other maritime cities in its neighbourhood under heavy contributions, and being joined by new swarms from the Danube, founded the Gallic kingdom of Tulé[55], extending from the foot of mount Hæmus to the Propontis, and which lasted from this time forward during a period of sixty years, when it was overturned by a rebellion of the Thracians.

The Gauls invade Greece. Olymp. cxxv. 3. B. C. 278.

Meanwhile Brennus and Acichorius, commanding the main body of their countrymen, pursued their journey to the Macedonian capital, defeated and slew Sosthenes[56]; and having ravaged Macedon, entered Thessaly, cruelly desolating the country, and plundering the temples with sportive insult. After marching unobstructed through so many warlike nations, and vanquishing the Macedonians who had often conquered Greece, they expected not to meet with any considerable resistance in that country. But the Greeks who had sunk under the military preponderancy of Alexander's immediate successors, began to emerge amidst the

[54] Justin, l. xxiv. c. 6. but each warrior, as said above, was followed by two attendants, so that the whole number of horsemen amounted to 45,000.

[55] Polyb. l. iv. c. 46. Cavarus was the last Gaul who reigned in Thrace. Polyb. l. iv. c. 46. & 52. Conf. Athen. Deipnosoph. l. vi. p. 252.

[56] Pausanias, l. x. c. 19.

weakness and impolicy of those who came after them. To oppose the Gauls, they collected a greater force than that with which, in their brightest ages, they had resisted the invasions of the Persians. Twenty-three thousand foot, and three thousand horse, besides the cavalry of the Etolians, whose number is not specified in history, assembled in the neighbourhood of Thermopylæ.[57] This army was furnished solely by the states beyond the Isthmus. As the Gauls had not a fleet, the Peloponnesians provided for their safety by fortifying the narrow inlet to their peninsula; and Antigonus Gonatas, who still held Corinth and several neighbouring cities, reinforced but sparingly the confederates at Thermopylæ, commanded by Callippus the Athenian. The Gauls having proceeded to Magnesia in Thessaly, sent advanced parties to Phthiotis, another district in that country; and prepared to pass the Sperchius, a deep and broad river, which flows from the roots of mount Œta into the Malian gulph.

Are resisted by a greater force than that raised against the Persians.

Callippus detached a body of horse and light infantry to destroy the bridges on the river. This service was effected with ease, but without any advantage; for Brennus immediately advanced many thousands of his tallest men, who, as the Sperchius expands and grows shallow towards its mouth, either waded over, or swam across the stream, by the aid of their broad and

They pass the Sperchius and ravage Phthiotis.

[57] Pausanias, l. x. c. 20.

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buoyant bucklers.[58] The Greek detachment fell back to the camp of Thermopylæ; and the Gauls, now masters of the Malian gulph, compelled the inhabitants of its shores to build new bridges, conducted their main army across the Sperchius, and ravaged without mercy the whole territory of Heraclæa; a city built by the Lacedæmonians during the Peloponnesian war, near ancient Trachis in Phthiotis[59], which now lay in ruins. The invaders spared neither age nor sex in the open country. They waited not, however, to besiege the city into which the Etolians had recently thrown a considerable garrison; but passing contemptuously under its walls, hastened to dislodge the Greeks from Thermopylæ.[60]

Are defeated and repelled at Thermopylæ.

As the invaders were ignorant of the roads leading from Thessaly to Phocis across mount Œta, they followed the narrow tract confined between the eastern extremities of that mountain and the slimy marine marsh formed by the tides of the Malian gulph. From a source of hot waters about half-way between the entrance and issue of the defile, the whole tract is called the Straits of Thermopylæ, extending seven English miles in length; and at the northern extremity forty-eight feet wide; swelling to the breadth of forty fathoms towards the middle, and again contracting at Alpenus to a narrow pass of only eight feet[61], which, opened

[58] Pausanias, l.x. c. 20.
[59] Conf. Thucydid. l. iii. p. 240. & 263. and Strabo, l. ix. p. 295.
[60] Pausanias, ibid.
[61] Herodot. l.vii. c. 176. et seq.

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into the woody lawn of Bessa. In such ground, neither the cavalry nor the vast numbers of the Gauls could avail them. The bravest of their infantry rushed with loud shouts and blind fury to the straits, where the heavy-armed Greeks resisted them in front, while their flanks were galled by missile weapons from the light troops conveniently posted on the adjacent hills, and from a large Athenian fleet which had come to anchor in the Malian gulph. Their limber *Thyrii* formed ineffectual defences against the weight and sharpness of iron javelins; and their cutting broad-swords were ill fitted to contend with the points of Grecian spears. Enraged to madness by disappointment and pain, many tore from their flesh the darts by which they had been wounded, and furiously retorted them on the enemy. But as their progress was completely checked, they grew tired of suffering in vain, and retreated more precipitately than they had advanced, trampling down each other on the sides of the mountain, or sinking irrecoverably in the oosy marsh. The victors declined to pursue them into the Trachinian plain, where their superiority of numbers might have again rendered them formidable. They were contented to have repelled, with little loss to themselves, those inhuman Barbarians, at whose stupidity they wondered, in their neglect before battle, of every mode of divination or augury; at whose impiety they shuddered, in their unconcern after defeat, about recovering the bodies of their slain.[62]

[62] Pausanias, l. x. c. 20.

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Enormities committed by the Gauls in the valley Callion.

Seven days elapsed before the Gauls renewed their attempts for penetrating into Phocis, and then not by Thermopylæ, but by an abrupt mountainous path leading to the ruins of Trachis, and a rich temple of Minerva, which they purposed to plunder on their way. The traitors, or fugitives, from whom they obtained notice of this road, had neglected to inform them, that it was strongly guarded. They were attacked unexpectedly, and repelled. Brennus having learned that the Etolians were more numerous than other divisions of the confederates, determined to cause a diversion by invading Etolia. Forty thousand men were detached under Orestorius and Camburis, the fiercest and most sanguinary of the Gallic chiefs. They repassed the Sperchius, traversed Thessaly in haste, and entering the devoted province of Etolia, desolated it most dreadfully by fire and sword. Having taken the city Callion, in the valley watered by the Evenus, between mounts Pindus and Tymphrestus, they killed the men, violated the women, and ate the children; aggravating[63], it is said, even these brutal enormities by deeds too shocking to be described, and too monstrous to be easily believed. Their merciless invasion drew the Etolians home: who, assisted by the Achæans of Patræ, from the opposite side of the Corinthian gulph, encountered the Gauls as they returned in triumph, loaded with the spoils of their houses and temples.

Revenged on them by the Etolians.

[63] Pausanias, l. x. c. 22. p. 650.

These desolating invaders were defeated with great slaughter, and almost entirely destroyed in their retreat, the whole inhabitans of Etolia, old men, and even women, deriving such vigour from revenge, as enabled them to overwhelm with just and swift punishment inhuman Barbarians, who, in their frightful proceedings at Callion, had surpassed the horrid feasts of the Cyclops and Lestrigons.[64]

The Gauls turn the Grecian army by passing Mount Œta.

Meanwhile Brennus remained not inactive at Thermopylæ. The inhabitants of the districts around his camp, willing by any means, however unwarrantable, to rid themselves of such dreadful guests, offered to conduct him into Phocis by a middle path, more spacious than the road along the sea-shore, and more easy of ascent than the passage by Trachis. He consented to follow them with above forty thousand men, after leaving Acichorius in his camp, with orders to renew the assault at Thermopylæ, as soon as he himself should have crossed the mountains. The track, which Brennus now pursued, was the same by which the Persian Hydarnes turned the invincible army of Leonidas. It lay across thick forests of oaks, and was guarded by a detachment of Phocians. The day that Brennus with the best half of his army ascended the mountain, was darkened by such a thick fog, that the Gauls were first discovered by raising their shout of war, which preceded the general discharge of their *gæsa*. The Phocians, in provid-

[64] Pausanias, l. x. c. 23.

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ing for their own safety, neglected not that of their confederates at Thermopylæ, now in danger of being crushed between the assault of Acichorius in front, and that of Brennus in rear. They flew to their allies; apprised them of their danger: the Athenian fleet still anchored on the coast; the Greeks embarked, and sailed to the defence of their respective territories.[65]

They march against Delphi. Olymp. cxxv. 3. B. C. 278.

The golden treasures of Delphi attracted the avidity of Brennus. Without waiting for Acichorius, whose progress had been interrupted chiefly through the desperate exertions of the Etolians, he advanced to plunder the temple, the rich seat of commerce[66] and superstition. Already he perceived at a distance the fantastic tops of Parnassus, overshadowing the sacred city. At length Delphi rose to view in form of an amphitheatre, extending two miles in circumference, destitute of walls, but sufficiently defended by the awfulness of the place and the majesty of its oracle. The Gauls carelessly regarded the towering summits and deep caverns of Parnassus: they beheld without emotion the rude and shapeless mount Cirphis, pouring forth the foaming Plistus. But the shining ornaments of the temple which crowned, as it were, the city; with the bright statues disposed on different terraces and irradiating the spacious streets to which they respectively pointed, inflamed the rapacity of robbers, who, though

[65] Pausanias, l. x. c. 22.

[66] See History of Ancient Greece, vol. i. c. 5.

they neither admired nor understood the forms of art, yet coveted, as inestimable, its glittering materials.[67] They rushed forward to seize those golden or rather gilded images, defended only by the Delphic priests and citizens, and four thousand Phocians and Etolians who had hastened to their assistance. But, according to the most circumstantial narrative of the Gallic invasion, aid, more powerful than mortal arm can afford, defended the city of Apollo. It was winter: a collecting tempest exploded; the ground shook with a palpable and long-continued motion; amidst tremendous peals of thunder, the temples of Delphi opened spontaneously; and the venerable forms of ancient heroes and armed virgins opposed, with adverse front, the impious assailants. As darkness approached, the Gauls were overtaken by more substantial evils, benumming cold and an extraordinary fall of snow, which, overloading the craggs of Parnassus, hurled them from their bases, and buried many wretched victims under the ponderous *avalanche*. At dawn, Brennus hastened to remove from a scene of terror, equally intolerable to his senses and his fancy. But his march was obstructed in front by a body of auxiliary pikemen, while his flanks and rear were harassed by the enraged Phocians themselves, who, being well acquainted with the intricate sinuosities of the mountains, issued unexpectedly like dæmons of vengeance from their winding and snowy paths. At

Marvellous interposition in favour of the sacred city, and dreadful destruction of the Gauls.

[67] See History of Ancient Greece, vol. i. c. 3.

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the head of his guards, distinguished by their strength and stature, and whose courage not even the manifest wrath of the gods could appal, Brennus fought valiantly till disabled by his wounds. The guards then gave way, carrying off their bleeding chief, and augmented the tumultuous rout of their disbanded army. All next day, they pursued their dreary flight through dangerous roads and deserted villages, from which the Greeks had carefully removed every necessary of life. When night returned, they were seized with a panic terror, which directed their arms against each other. Brennus died by his own hand. His wretched followers, having joined the harassed division of their countrymen under Acichorius, fell into an ambush laid for them by the Athenians and Bœotians in their way to Heraclæa. A part, however, reached the camp in that place, where a detachment had remained to guard the booty previously collected. The camp was raised; the remnant of the Gallic invaders repassed the Sperchius; but in Thessaly they had to encounter a new ambush, and were totally destroyed.[68]

More probable account of that catastrophe.

Such is the narrative of Pausanias, which the Delphians might propagate from interest, which the Greeks might believe through superstition, and which friends to the Gauls might admit as the best apology for their shameful defeat. But an historian, more respectable than Pausanias,

[68] Pausanias, l. x. c. 23.

informs us that, instead of entirely perishing in their Grecian expedition, many Gauls rejoined their brethren in Thrace, and united with them in their newly established kingdom of Tulé.[69] As the marvellous and total destruction of the invaders is not a matter of fact, so our knowledge of the Delphian priests will not justify the supposition that the losses really sustained by the enemy were produced by supernatural interference. To encourage their countrymen, the priests of Apollo, indeed, published a decree, that "the god would protect his temple;" but instead of committing their interests to heaven alone, they appear to have themselves defended them with admirable dexterity. After a fatiguing march across craggy mountains, the Gauls, it should seem, found the Delphian villages destitute of inhabitants, but copiously replenished with strong wine; a temptation which even their thirst for gold was altogether unable to resist. They were defeated, therefore, by their own intemperance[70], and disturbed in their senses, before they were assailed by tempests, shaken by earthquakes, and repelled by armed divinities.

Subsequent fortunes of the Gauls.

The disastrous expedition of the Gauls into Greece proved to that fierce nation but a tran-

[69] Conf. Polyb. l. i. c. 6. & l. ii. c. 20. & l. iv. c. 46. and Athen. Deipn. l. vi. p. 234.

[70] They could not resist the temptations of a delicious country, the luxuriant fruits of the Crissæan plain, the rich wines produced from the sun-beat rocks of Delphi, Δελφίδες ακραι. Callimac. in Delum, v. 177. Comp. History of Ancient Greece, vol. i. c. 5. With such Barbarians, the present passion is always the most powerful.

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sient misfortune. For the space of forty years after that event, they continued, from their kingdom of Tulé, to harass the neighbouring countries of Europe and of Asia. Their numbers, which poured into the latter, equalled, perhaps surpassed, those of the Macedonian conquerors. As they were frequently augmented by new swarms from home, they seized, desolated, and abandoned large tracts of territory, laid the richest provinces under heavy contributions, and interfered with a high hand in the affairs of Syria, Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, and Bithynia. During the whole course of their ambulatory dominion, they were vexatious to their neighbours, merciless to their enemies, and treacherous to their allies; often selling their troops to rival powers; easily quitting one service for another; and, in all this infamous traffic of blood, uniformly preferring the highest bidder.[71] The first Antiochus king of Syria gained a battle over the Gauls from which he obtained his title of Soter, the saviour[72]; but the same prince perished in a subsequent conflict with this barbarous enemy.[73] In the disputed succession of Bithynia, they interposed their armed mediation in favour of Nicomedes against his brother Zipætes. Upon the death of the former prince, they raised his unworthy son Zeilus to the throne, in opposition to his father's testament; and afterwards treacherously mur-

[71] Conf. Polyb. l. iv. and Plutarch in Pyrrho. Tit. Liv. l. xxviii. c. 16.

[72] Appian, Syriac. c. 55.

[73] Plin. l. viii. c. 42.

dered the king whom they had capriciously created.[74] But, according to the natural order of events, the provoking insolence of the Gauls occasioned their downfall. Many thousands of them perished[75] in an attempt to shake the throne of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which they had been hired to defend. An hundred and twenty thousand Gauls are said[76] to have fallen in Babylonia, while assisting a rebellious brother against Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria. At length the first Attalus, king of Pergamus, defeated them in a decisive battle, which, according to the popular belief of the Greeks, had been foretold by the prophetess Phœnnis[77] twenty-five years before the passage of those Barbarians into Asia, and sixty-five years before that memorable victory.[78]

Their defeat by Attalus of Pergamus, Olymp. cxxxiv. 4. B. C. 241.

The incidents in the engagement itself are not recorded. History makes mention only of its cause and of its consequences. Attalus, who united craft with courage, having fixed an impression of gum on his right hand, plunged it into the reeking bowels of a victim, which, being examined for the purpose of divination, announced to the wondering spectators "the king's

[74] Memnon apud Phot. and Athenæus, l. ii. c. 18.

[75] Pausan. Attic.

[76] 2 Maccabees, c. viii. v. 20.

[77] Pausanias, l. x. c. 15.

[78] Polybius, in his character of Attalus, mentions this decisive victory over Βαρυτατον και μαχιμωτατον εθνος των τοτε κατα την Ασιαν, the most oppressive and most warlike nation at that time in Asia. Polyb. l. xviii. c. 24.

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victory."[79] Thus encouraged by recent prodigies as well as by ancient predictions, his soldiers obtained a decisive victory. The Gauls were driven from their possessions on the sea-coast; and compelled by treaty to quit their ambulatory life and habits of depredation, and to remain in a central territory which they had long occupied, and which was thenceforward confirmed to them by the controuling powers in Asia.[80]

Territories assigned to them.

The country thus assigned to them was called from their name Galatia, and consisted of three contiguous districts dismembered respectively from Bithynia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia. Each of these districts of Galatia was inhabited by a particular tribe of Gauls.[81] The Bithynian, or middle, division was the seat of the Tectosages, and the site of their strong-hold Ancyra; towards the east dwelt the Trocmi, in the neighbourhood of Tavium; and, on the west, the Telestoboii in that of Pessinus, a place long famous in the commerce and superstition of the peninsula.[82] Taken together, the three divisions of Galatia extended about two hundred miles in length and a hundred in breadth; a beautiful country, diversified by hill and dale, and intersected near its

[79] Suidas.

[80] The prophecies of Phaennis announcing their total destruction are hyperbolical. Ὡς πασιν Γαλατησι ολεθριον ημαρ εφηται. Pausanias, l. x. c. 15. Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 16. and Polyb. ubi supra.

[81] Memnon apud Phot. c. xx. p. 732. Conf. Strabo, l. xii. p. 566. et seq.

[82] See above, Vol. I. p. 126.

opposite extremities by the winding courses of the bitter Halys and fishful[83] Sangarius.

They become industrious and peaceful. Olymp. cxlviii. 1. B. C. 188.

As inveterate habits are seldom to be eradicated, the Gauls seem frequently to have relapsed into their former vices. The consul Manlius, fifty-three years after their defeat by the Pergamenian king Attalus, and two years after Antiochus the Great was defeated by the Romans, found it necessary farther to repress the lawless spirit of the Gauls, and to take measures for rendering them in future honest and harmless neighbours.[84] Chiefly from this æra, they seem to have availed themselves of the natural advantages of their country, whose mountains and valleys afforded excellent pasture, and whose sunny hills are naturally adapted to vines and olives. The saline qualities of the soil were peculiarly favourable to their valuable herds of sheep and goats.[85] From the wool of the former and the soft hair of the latter, the Gauls manufactured a variety of cloths, whose beauty they were enabled to heighten by possessing in great abundance the coccus, affording an elegant purple die.[86] Enriched by the commerce of articles in great request, the wandering robbers improved into peaceful citizens. St. Paul's œcumenical epistle, addressed to the Galatians, implies that

[83] Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 18.

[84] Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 17. et seq.

[85] See the description of the country in Tournefort. Voyage du Levant. Lettre xxi. and Browne's Travels. Angora, the Ancyra of the Gauls, Mr. B. says, is the neatest town, and its inhabitants the most polished people, in all Anatolia.

[86] Salmas. ad Solinum, p. 272.

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they were familiarly acquainted with the Greek tongue, then universally diffused over the civilised world. Between the beneficence and meek forbearance recommended by the apostle, and the brutal ferocity of Brennus and Camburis, how wide is the interval!

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Effects of the Gallic Invasion. — Reign of Antigonus Gonatas. — The Achæan League. — Reign of Antiochus Soter. — Accession of Antiochus Theos. — Revolt of Parthia and Bactria. — Horrid Transactions in Syria. — Reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. — Tragic Events in Cyrené. — Flourishing State of Egypt. — Army. — Navy. — Treasury. — Productive and commercial Industry. — Canals and Harbours. — Picture of Nations between the Nile and the Red Sea. — Ptolemy's Views with regard to the Commerce carried on by the Ethiopian Nomades. — Arts and Sciences. — Constellations of Poets. — Historians. — Philosophers. — Ptolemy's Intercourse by Embassies with Rome and Carthage. — Transition to the History of the Growth and Aggrandisement of Rome.

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Effects of the Gallic invasion. Olymp. cxxv. 3. B. C. 278.

THE conquests, made by the Gauls, corresponded not to the vastness of their numbers. Their invasion, however, left a wide and deep impression on the empire, besides separating from it the two important provinces of Thrace and Galatia. Their ravages so much weakened Macedon, that Antigonus Gonatas, with the aid of his Peloponnesian subjects, found little difficulty in remounting the throne of his father Demetrius. The first successors of Seleucus were prevented, chiefly through the Gauls, from recovering their

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lost authority in Lesser Asia; while the disorders which these Barbarians caused or abetted in all other parts of the empire gave a degree of relative importance to Egypt, to which that country truly valuable in itself, could not naturally have laid claim, but which it eventually acquired while standing aloof from danger, and collecting the wealth, populousness, and industry of surrounding nations. This subject will be illustrated in the present chapter, which will contain the transactions of what may be called the second generation of Alexander's successors[1], since the successor of Antiochus Soter, as we shall see, died in the same year with Ptolemy Philadelphus, and even three years before Antigonus Gonatas.

Antigonus Gonatas recovers Macedon. Olymp. cxxv. 4. B. C. 277.

The last-mentioned prince reigned thirty-four years in Macedon. To the title of his father Demetrius above explained[2], Antigonus, by his mother Philla, added the *legitimate* claims of the house of Antipater, after the family of the great Alexander had been totally extinguished. His authority, therefore, was not disputed by his Macedonian subjects; but, in the first stage of his administration, he found powerful competitors in Antiochus Soter king of Syria[3], in th

[1] This second generation contained those called *επιγονοι*, in opposition to the *διαδοχοι*, or immediate successors. Vid. Dionys. Halicarn. Hist. Roman. in Procem. The first Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and Demetrius as joined in sovereignty with his father Antigonus were *διαδοχοι*. Ptolemy Philadelphus, and Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius, were *επιγονοι*.

[2] See above, p. 34.

[3] Memnon, Excerp. c. 19.

chieftains of the Gauls, and in Pyrrhus of Epirus.[4] His vigorous exertions for defence, and the alliance of Nicomedes of Bithynia, compelled the king of Syria, after a fruitless campaign in Lesser Asia, to cede his pretensions to the Macedonian throne, and to yield in marriage to Antigonus, the Syrian princess named Philla after her grandmother the admired daughter of Antipater.[5]

Defends it against Antiochus.

It happened fortunately for Antigonus that this treaty was cemented before he met with any disturbance from the Gauls in Tulé, reinforced by new swarms from their seats in Illyricum and Pannonia. Though these invaders repeatedly entered his kingdom, they were resisted with such superior skill, that they retreated with more loss to themselves than they occasioned to the enemy.[6] The terror caused by their first furious irruption had gradually subsided; but they became again formidable when headed by Pyrrhus, just returned without success, but, as will be seen hereafter, with little diminution of renown, from his Italian expedition. With a combined army of Gauls and Epirots, that warlike adventurer, made himself master of the greatest part of Macedon,

Against the Gauls and Pyrrhus.

[4] Plut. in Pyrrho.

[5] Justin, l. xxv. c. 1. and Plutarch in Demet. The Philla, whom Antigonus married, was daughter to his sister Stratonicé, by her first husband Seleucus Nicator; and Stratonicé, as above related, was resigned by Seleucus to cure the pining love of his son Antiochus. Philla, therefore, was niece to Antigonus, who married her; and at once half-sister, and daughter-in-law to Antiochus, who gave her in marriage. The incestuous unions of the Greek kings involve their affinities in endless perplexity.

[6] Justin, l. xxv. c. 2. and Memnon, Excerp. c. 20.

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and might have gained and preserved the whole, when he hastened unadvisedly to make new conquests in Peloponnesus. He was slain in the assault of Argos; and his death was viewed as a judgment both in Greece and Macedon, his Gallic allies or mercenaries by ransacking for gold the royal tombs, in the ancient capital of Ægæ, having provoked public resentment, exasperated by religious abhorrence.[7] Their expulsion from Macedon thus became a matter of universal interest and easy execution: and Pyrrhus's ill-conducted enterprise for recovering that kingdom, only established more firmly the throne of Antigonus.

Antigonus's reign, and success of his crooked policy. Olymp. cxxvii. 2. B. C. 271.

From this time forward Antigonus reigned twenty-seven years with little molestation at home, and without taking any part in the affairs of Egypt and Syria, the two great rival powers in the empire. He formed for himself a system apart, in the conducting of which Philip, father of Alexander, appears to have been his model. But he wanted the taste and talents of that elegant as well as politic prince, and even exceeded him in the vileness of those political intrigues which constituted the opprobrious part in Philip's character. The great object of his reign was to recover the Macedonian dominion over the divided republics of Greece, several of which he still held by his garrisons, and a still greater number by his profligate partisans among their own citizens. This undertaking

[7] Plut. in Pyrrho.

was carried on by arms and artifices, with unwearied attention and unabating activity; and as like temptations engender similar crimes, the struggle of Antigonus against the free cities of Greece, will remind us of the execrable proceedings of the modern tyrants in Italy, whose purposes were attained by address rather than force; and of whose dark and crooked policy, assassination, perfidy, and poison were the ordinary and most successful instruments.[8] For many years the schemes of Antigonus advanced with an unremitted tide of good fortune. In Peloponnesus, Sparta and Argos acknowledged his supremacy; and of the great cities beyond the Isthmus, Thebes was completely humbled; and Athens, taken and garrisoned, notwithstanding the resistance of a fleet belonging to Ptolemy Philadelphus.[9]

The small cities of Achaia associate for defence.

In this situation of public affairs, the first symptoms of steady opposition to the usurpations of Macedon, appeared in the small cities of Achaia, a territory sixty miles long, and twenty broad, extending along the Corinthian gulph, whose rocky shores, often beat by the foaming surge, were the terror of Grecian mariners. To a few of these cities, which, in expelling their Macedonian garrisons, had associated for common defence, Alexander, the instrument of Antigonus's dominion in Corinth, offended by

[8] See Machiavel, Guicciardin, Nerli, Varchi, Malavolta; by many deemed entertaining historians, through the singular odiousness of their subjects.

[9] Pausanias, Lacon. c. vi.

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some act of severity in his master, had added that important emporium, and rendered its lofty citadel, formerly the controuling garrison, now the protecting bulwark of Peloponnesus. [10] The defection of Alexander was punished by a cup of poison; but this crime proved not immediately useful to Antigonus, since Nicæa, widow to the deceased, assumed the government of Corinth, and administered it with the firm virtues of the other sex, although she was soon to be disgraced and ruined by the silliest weaknesses of her own. Antigonus being apprised of her character, instead of submitting to the tedious formalities of a siege, sent to Corinth his son Demetrius, who inherited with the name, the fair external accomplishments of his grandfather Poliorcetes. The courtship of this young prince was not to be resisted by an amorous old woman like Nicæa; who, in giving away herself, fondly and absurdly hoped to retain her power: for, amidst the joys of the nuptial festivity, Antigonus surprised and gained the Corinthian citadel; after which event, Nicæa, abandoned by her lover, was left to lament in solitude over the bitter fruits of her credulity, while the contriver of the delusion gave way, it is said, to such excesses of drunken levity, as seemed to indicate that the taking of Corinth had taken away his own understanding. [11]

Corinth joining them is recovered by a stratagem.

[10] Τας πυλας της Ἑλλαδος. Plut. in Arat.

[11] Τα τοπα κρατησας α κατειχεν ἑαυτον. Plut. in Arat. p. 1034. Conf. Justin. l. xxvi. c. 2.

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Aratus of Sicyon—his connection with Ptolemy, and opposition to Antigonus. Olymp. cxxxii. 1. B. C. 252.

The Achæans soon found in Aratus of Sicyon, abler and worthier protection, than they could ever have expected to derive from Alexander the Corinthian, first the creature, and afterwards the betrayer of a foreign prince. Aratus had in early youth gained the friendship of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by his taste in arts and letters, and had rendered himself highly useful to this learned king of Egypt, by providing him with books and pictures from Sicyon, and other cities of Greece. Ptolemy, whose skill in raising money was only equalled by his judicious liberality in employing it, rewarded his Grecian friend with an accumulation of presents of such value, that in the hands of this generous patriot, they became important subsidies to the Achæan confederacy. Antigonus, through hatred to a man whom he could neither intimidate nor corrupt, endeavoured to bring Aratus into suspicion with his royal benefactor. For this purpose he loaded him with caresses and eulogies; and on one occasion sent to him, from Corinth to Sicyon, a portion of the victims sacrificed at the Isthmian games, which, according to the maxims of that age, constituted the highest mark of respect that a citizen of Greece could receive, from the magistrate presiding in that solemnity. At the same time he ostentatiously boasted, before the numerous strangers then convened at the Isthmus, of the perfect devotion of Aratus to his interest: that this honest Greek derided, with himself, the wealth and effeminacy of Ptolemy, and would scorn any

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longer to be indebted to his insolent bounty. Philadelphus was industriously informed of this discourse; but instead of rashly withdrawing his confidence from Aratus, he, with his usual prudence, informed him of the malicious accusation, and thereby afforded him an opportunity of making a satisfactory defence. The illustrious Sicyonian thus continued to counterwork [12] the designs of Antigonus in Greece; until the latter returned in final disappointment into Macedon, where he died at the age of eighty, and in the thirty-fourth year of his reign; leaving to his son Demetrius, a kingdom boldly acquired, and ably defended, but to which, notwithstanding his unceasing villanies, he failed of restoring its ancient ascendency over the Grecian republics.

Death of Antigonus Gonatas. Olymp. cxxiv. 1. B. C. 244.

Reign of Antiochus Soter. Olymp. cxxv. 1.—cxxix. 4. B. C. 280.—262.

Antiochus, king of Syria, had entered, as we have seen, into a treaty with Antigonus, by which he desisted from his pretensions to the Macedonian crown. Shortly after this transaction, Antiochus attained the brightest glory of his reign, in the great victory over the Gauls in Lesser Asia, from which he derived the title of Soter, the Saviour. [13] Of this victory, however, neither the time nor the place is exactly ascertained, and the principal notice concerning it, is the important service rendered to Antiochus by his elephants, on which account the elephant was assumed as his favourite trophy, and as

[12] Polybius, l. i. c. 43. Conf. Plut. in Arat.

[13] Appian, Syriac. c. 65. & Lucian de Zeuxi & Antiocho.

such, is eminently conspicuous on his coins. The subsequent reign of this second king of Syria, which lasted nineteen years, was tranquil and prosperous in the East; in the West, it was distracted and inglorious. His general, Patrocles, was defeated by the Bithynians. Antiochus in person incurred similar disgrace against Eumenes of Pergamus.[14] In the plain of Sardes, that petty prince maintained his independence against the great monarch of the East, and even extorted from his adversary a large extension of his boundaries.[15]

His Unfortunate war with Ptolemy Philadelphus. Olymp. cxxix. 1. B. C. 264.

Antiochus was equally unfortunate in a war with Ptolemy Philadelphus, in which he was involved by his connection with Magas, the rebellious governor of Cyrené. Magas was the son of Berenicé, by a former obscure[16] husband, before she was married to Ptolemy Soter. He was therefore brother uterine to Philadelphus, and continued by him in his government of Cyrené, which, at his mother's request, he had previously obtained from the father of that prince. But Magas revolted from his brother, and having married Apama daughter to Antiochus Soter, engaged his father-in-law to abet his rebellion, and to acknowledge him as king of Cyrené. In this transaction, the whole advantage was on the side of Magas; the loss redounded to Antiochus; for Ptolemy, whose fleet was the most powerful in the empire, in-

[14] Memnon, apud. Phot. p. 718.

[15] Strabo, l. xiii. p. 624.

[16] A Macedonian named Philip: this is all we know of him.

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vaded those maritime provinces of Lesser Asia, still subject to Antiochus, and chastised the perfidy of Magas, by dismembering the territories of his ally.[17] In addition to these misfortunes, Antiochus had the mortification of seeing his ancient enemies, the Gauls, domineering in the central provinces of the peninsula. The ravages of those fierce Barbarians reminded him how little he deserved his proud title of Soter. His last engagement with them was fought under the walls of Ephesus; a bloody, but undescribed battle, in which he lost his army and his life.[18] During his unhappy reign, public disasters had been embittered by domestic calamities. His beloved Stratonicé had been early snatched from his arms. Ptolemy, his elder son, having acted the part of a rebel, had suffered the death of a traitor.[19] Shortly after this event, Antiochus, imitating the example of his illustrious predecessor, raised his younger son to the throne of the East; a precaution which kept in obedience the upper provinces upon his own discomfiture and death in Lower Asia. Like other contemporary princes, he had illustrated his name by a new city, called Antiochia, in the remote province of Margiana, on the banks of the Oxus.[20] A foundation, unimportant as an

Slain in battle by the Gauls. Olymp. cxxix. 3. B.C. 262.

[17] Pausanias, Attic. c. vii. [18] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. viii. c. 42.

[19] Trogi Prolog. l. xxvi. This Syrian Ptolemy, is said to have rewarded the physician Erasistratus with an hundred talents, about twenty thousand pounds, for curing the father, against whom he afterwards rebelled. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxix. c. 1.

[20] Strabo, l. xi. p. 516. The city was seven miles in circuit,

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insulated fact, but highly memorable when taken in connection with other establishments of Alexander and his successors. Besides the southern communication through Egypt and the Red Sea, the intercourse between the East and West was carried on by two great northern channels, one passing along the Oxus and the Caspian, and another, still more northern, from Sera in the north-eastern province of China, to the stoney-tower [21], as it was called, on the frontiers of the Massagetæ. The subjects of the Syrian and Bactrian kings derived benefits from those northern routes, not inferior to those accruing from the commerce by the Red Sea to Egypt, and the Ptolemies.

Reign of Antiochus Theos. Olymp. cxxix. 4. cxxxiii. 3. B.C. 261—246.

Antiochus Soter was succeeded by his son of the same name, who, hastening to Syria on the news of his father's death, took possession of that kingdom, and endeavoured to retrieve his affairs in the great neighbouring peninsula. His warfare with the Gauls was not attended with any decisive event: they continued, after his departure, to oppress the inland districts. Antiochus next turned his arms to the valuable southern coast; to Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, which provinces had been wrested

and stood near the river Margus, then divided into many canals, for watering the contiguous country, Plin. l. vi. c. 16. Thence, in Isidore de Margiana, we should read *ανυδρος*, not *ανυδρος*; the *irriguous*, not the *dry* Antioch.

[21] Conf. Ptolem. Geograph. l. ii. vi. 13. He cites an author, mentioning discoveries made in the East Indies, by Macedonian merchants established in Upper Asia.

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from his father, by the fleets of Ptolemy Philadelphus. In the early stage of this expedition, the Syrians were successful, and Antiochus acquired his distinguishing title of Theos, the god. The Milesians first flattered his ear with the grateful sound, for having conquered and slain Timarchus, Ptolemy's governor of Caria, who had revolted from his master, and fixed the seat of his usurpation at Miletus.[22] After the merit of destroying this upstart tyrant, the remaining fourteen years of Antiochus the god were the life of a very weak and unfortunate man. On the northern coasts of Lesser Asia, the confederate cities of Byzantium and Heraclæa rejected his authority, and disgraced his arms[23]; while Ptolemy Philadelphus, after recovering the places which he had recently lost, extended his dominion over the whole southern coast of the peninsula, confirmed it over the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, and doubled, as we shall see presently, the natural and intrinsic value of these territories, by the great and solid purposes to which their resources were applied. On the part of Antiochus, the war against Egypt was often renewed with the whole force of his monarchy, but never attended with any continuation of success, and finally concluded in consequence of events most disastrous to the Macedonian empire in the East.

His unfortunate wars.

Revolt of Bactria and

By draining his garrisons in the upper pro-

[22] Appian, Syriac. 165. [23] Memnon apud Phot.

vinces, that he might carry on more effectually hostilities against Ptolemy, Antiochus left the out-lying countries of Bactria and Parthia, exposed to the twofold evil of domestic insurrection and foreign invasion. Theodotus the Bactrian, whose name indicates his Grecian descent, first raised the standard of revolt, and adding policy to prowess, gained or subdued the Macedonians and mercenaries who held that country in dependance.[24] His example was followed in Parthia, by the brothers Arsaces and Tiridates, the elder of whom dying in battle two years afterwards, was succeeded by the younger, who assumed his name and title. We are not informed of the circumstances which immediately occasioned the rebellion in Bactria: but in Parthia, one of the roughest and strongest provinces in the empire, crowded by a conflux of Scythian exiles, the materials prepared for combustion were thrown into a flame by the abominable outrage of Agathocles, Antiochus's viceroy, to the person of young Tiridates. In revenge for this insult, the brothers formed a conspiracy against the life of Agathocles, and having slain that brutish tyrant, summoned the Parthians to liberty.[25] That he might have leisure to suppress these commotions in the East, Antiochus was earnest for an accommodation with Egypt. His eagerness must have been great to attain this object, since he agreed to wed Berenicé,

Parthia. Olymp. cxxxi. 3. B. C. 254.

Antiochus's marriage

[24] Justin, l. xli. c. 4.

[25] Arrian, Parthic. apud Photium, p. 52. Conf. Georg. Monach. Chron. in Not. Justin. l. xli. c. 4. Edit. Gronov.

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with Berenicé, Ptolemy's daughter. Olymp. cxxxii. 1. B. C. 252.

the daughter of Ptolemy, and to settle his crown on the issue of that marriage, although he had already two sons by his wife and sister Laodicé, whom he had solemnly espoused in the first year of his reign.[26] Neither this dishonourable pacification, nor his great warlike preparations, nor the death of the elder Arsaces in battle, enabled Antiochus to recover his lost authority in Bactria and Parthia, or to prevent the contagion of rebellion from extending to neighbouring provinces of the East. Upon the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, Berenicé became the victim of the treaty of which she had been the bond. She had borne a son to Antiochus, but when the protection of her father was removed, the Syrian king, dissolving a marriage which had been the work of interest or fear, recalled Laodicé to his bed, and reinstated *her* children in their birthrights.[27] In committing this breach of faith, Antiochus too rashly despised the youth and inexperience of the brother of Berenicé, afterwards entitled Euergetes; but his perfidy was punished in the first instance by Laodicé, for whose sake the guilt of it had been incurred. That princess was no sooner restored to her rank of queen, than she determined that her own dignity, and the prospects of her children, should never again become the sport of state-policy. Having poisoned her husband, she engaged a Greek,

Antiochus Theos poisoned by Laodicé.

[26] Hieron. in Daniel, c. xi. v. 6. Appian and Athenæus.

[27] Polyænus, Stratagem. l. viii. c. 50. Conf. Appian, Syriac.

named Artemon, who strongly resembled him, to personate Antiochus in a pretended malady, and to name at the seeming approach of death, her elder son Seleucus, as successor to the kingdom. This artifice, which passed unquestioned with the public, escaped not the discernment of Berenicé, who, upon the first news of the transaction, fled in haste from Antioch to the neighbouring asylum of Daphné. In so sacred a retreat, she had reason to expect safety for her infant son and Egyptian attendants; but before they could be rescued by her brother Euergetes, the new king of Egypt, they were all of them seized and murdered, together with Berenicé herself, by the emissaries of her triumphant rival.[28] These enormities kindled a new war between Ptolemy Euergetes, and Seleucus, entitled Callinicus, who mounted, respectively, the thrones of Egypt and Syria in the same year.[29] The empire, while assailed by the Gauls in the West, and by the Parthians in the East, was thus weakened and deformed by the intestine discord of its two principal kingdoms. Syria was the chief sufferer in the conflict, under what may be called the third generation of Alexander's successors; but before we proceed to the events of that period, it remains to examine, with regard to arts as well as arms, the reign of the second Ptolemy in Egypt.

Berenicé and her son involved in his fate. Olymp. cxxxiii. 3. B. C. 246.

[28] Polyænus, Stratagem. l. viii. c. 50. Valer. Maxim. l. ix. c. 14. Plin. l. vii. c. 12. & Hieron. in Daniel, c. xi.

[29] Conf. Ptolemy in Canon. and Hieron. in c. xi. Daniel.

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Reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Olymp. cxxiv. 1. cxxiii. 3. B. C. 284—246.

His successful wars in Asia Minor and in Syria have been already *noticed*, for they are nowhere circumstantially described. He was unfortunate in attempting to rescue Athens from the gripe of Antigonus Gonatas; but this failure he compensated by conquering Ænos and Maronea, Greek cities of great strength[30] on the Thracian coast of the Ægean sea, and by gaining possession of the smaller Greek islands[31], surrounding Delos in a circular form, and therefore named the Cyclades. For these advantages, Ptolemy was indebted to the superiority of his fleet; and his armies had been equally successful in the Syrian warfare, excited, as we have seen, by the intrigues of Magas, the rebellious viceroy of Cyrené. After a defection of seven years, that traitor, who had usurped the title of king, intimidated by the disasters of his allies, desired to come to an accommodation with his injured brother. For this purpose he offered in marriage his only child, a daughter named Berenicé[32], to Ptolemy's eldest son; and to invest the proffered bride with the right of sole successor to his dominions. The proposal was accepted, for Magas was in the decline of life, and Philadelphus was not of a character to contend by arms for what he might more safely acquire by treaty. He agreed, therefore, that Euergetes, the son of a king, should marry Berenicé, the daughter of a rebel. Before the consummation of these nuptials, Magas died of

Marriage between Ptolemy's son and Magas's daughter. Olymp. cxxx. 3. B. C. 258.

[30] Polybius, l. v. c. 34.
[31] Schol. in Theocrit. Idyll. xvii.
[32] Justin, l. xxvi. c. 3.

excessive corpulency[33]; and Berenicé still remained at Cyrené, in the power of her mother Apama, daughter of Antiochus Soter, and one of those infamous females, whose profligacy still more disgraced, than their beauty adorned, the thrones of Alexander's successors.

Its consummation retarded by Apama, the widow of Magas; her profligacy and tragical end.

Apama had never consented to a transaction, by which her daughter and herself would have fallen into the hands of the Ptolemies, jealous rivals to the house of Seleucus. To defeat the proposed match of Berenicé with Euergetes, she invited from Macedon the younger brother of Antigonus Gonatas, who, together with the name of his father Demetrius[34], inherited his main characteristics of mind and body. The same graces of person, and the same deformities of soul which ruined the father, proved also fatal to the son. Demetrius espoused Berenicé, but lived as the husband of Apama. Proud of the love of the mother, and not less of the jealousy of the daughter, and elated with the matrimonial crown of Cyrené, which he knew not how to wear with decency, he provoked indignation by his insolence, and contempt by his folly. The burst of public revenge was anticipated by a conspiracy in the palace: Berenicé conducted the steps, and instigated[35] the hands of the as-

[33] Athenæus, l. xii. p. 550.

[34] This prince must not be confounded with the son of Antigonus, who bore the same name.

[35] This transaction is alluded to in Catullus's translation of Callimachus de Coma Berenices,

Anne bonum oblita es facinus quo regium adepta es
Conjugium? V. 27. et seq.

words ill explained by all commentators.

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sassins: Demetrius was slain in the bed of incestuous adultery; the infamous Apama was spared, and allowed to escape to her brother in Syria, while her injured and now triumphant daughter hastened into Egypt, bringing, as her dower to the Ptolemies, the restored allegiance of her province. [36]

Transition from foreign wars to the internal state of Egypt.

From the wars of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which were carried on chiefly by his lieutenants, we turn to a more interesting subject, the internal prosperity of his kingdom. If we credit the general testimony of antiquity, Egypt, during his long and enlightened reign, attained a degree of wealth and splendour unexampled in any kingdom before or afterwards. To avoid confusion in this copious subject, I shall first briefly state the wonderful reports delivered down to us. I shall then endeavour to bring together the circumstances hinted at, rather than explained, from which Ptolemy's real prosperity flowed.

Reports of ancient authors—of Theocritus.

The first testimony to be adduced is that of a poet, contemporary with Ptolemy, and writing in the learned capital of that prince. Theocritus will tell us that, in his own happy age, Egypt was governed by equal laws [37], defended by invincible armies, and at once the best cultivated, and the most commercial kingdom on earth; that the sway of his king and patron extended over more than thirty thousand cities or towns,

[36] Justin, l. xxvi. c. 3.

[37] The best proof of this was the cheerful industry of the people, Λαοι δ' εργα περιστελλουσι εκηλοι. Theocrit. Idyll. xvii. v. 95.

flourishing in useful arts[38]; that his fleets, on the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, carried on a most extensive traffic; and that a country, which had long languished under the barbarous yoke of Persia in the humiliation of a province, again resumed more than her pristine splendour, exercising a secure and salutary dominion over the islands of Greece, the seaports of Asia, and even the outlying and almost inaccessible regions of Libya, Arabia, and Ethiopia.[39] For the dazzling rays of poetry and panegyric, should we desire to substitute the more sober light of history, we must have recourse to Appian, a native of Alexandria, who governed Egypt early in the first century after Christ. Appian is an historian eminent for fidelity; he was in possession of the archives of Egypt, to which he appeals as his authority; and he could have no reasonable motive for exaggerating the wealth and power of a country over which he was præfect, and for the employment and improvement of whose resources, he was accountable to his masters, Trajan and Hadrian, the Roman emperors. According to Appian, Philadelphus's army consisted of two hundred thousand foot, forty thousand horse, three hundred elephants, and two thousand

Of Appian.

Military establishment of Egypt.

[38] Ουδε τις αστα τοσσα βροτων εχει εργα δαιτων, v. 81. et seqq. The latter words should seem to imply, that his cities were what we should call manufacturing towns: but in whatever sense the word is taken, the number is prodigious. Ancient Italy, in the most flourishing times, boasted only eleven hundred and ninety-seven cities. Ælian, Var. Hist. l. ix. c. 16. and Gaul contained nearly the same number of villages. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. iii. c. 5.

[39] Ibid. v. 86. et seq.

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armed chariots.[40] His arsenals were copiously stored with all sorts of military engines, and with armour for three hundred thousand men, in addition to those which he actually kept on foot.

Navy.

His navy was not less magnificent, consisting of a hundred and twelve ships of an uncommon size, from galleys of five to others of thirty-five tier of oars: his trireme and quadrireme galleys amounted to fifteen hundred; he had two thousand armed vessels of a smaller size: above four thousand Egyptian merchantmen navigated the Mediterranean; and the Nile gloried in the pompous weight of eight hundred resplendent barges, adorned with idols of gold on their prows and sterns. The naval magazines of Ptolemy were still better stored than the military; since in the former he had every thing necessary for the equipment of double the number of galleys[41]

Treasury.

actually fitted out. Yet those mighty fleets and armies did not exhaust his more stupendous treasury: which, at the time of his death, amounted to seven hundred and forty thousand Egyptian talents[42], exceeding in value a hundred and ninety millions sterling; a sum, of which not indeed modern accumulation but mo-

[40] Vid. Appian, Hist. Roman. in Procem.

[41] It should seem that the numerous swarms of pirates (of which more hereafter) obliged the Egyptians to carry on commerce in armed vessels. This I infer from the small proportion of round ships, or merchantmen, in the enumeration above given. Conf. Athenæus, l. v. p. 203. In England, I believe, we have not more than a thousand ships of war; while our ships of commerce exceed twenty thousand.—The above note was written, flagrante bello.

[42] Appian, in Procem. c. x.

dern profusion only, can help to reconcile our ears. In the zenith of Roman greatness, the magnificence of the second Ptolemy still continued proverbial, and the epithet of Philadelphian was employed to characterise those works pre-eminent in preciousness of material, or in nobleness of design.[43] Without accumulating authorities leading to the same conclusion, I shall briefly explain the peculiarities in Ptolemy's reign, which have a tendency to confirm the general evidence of antiquity; an evidence which will always be of easiest reception, among men of candid minds and enlarged experience.

Circumstances which have a tendency to confirm those reports.

In the preceding pages of this work, we have seen the fleets of his father and himself gradually attain an unrivalled superiority. This advantage was heightened by the acquisition of Cilicia, Lycia, Caria, in a word, the whole southern coast of Lesser Asia, in addition to Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and the isle of Cyprus, which had been long appendages to Egypt. Without taking into the account Cyrené, the Cyclades, and the seaports on the coast of Thrace, we know from the description formerly given of all those countries, that their timber and iron, their harbours and sailors, contained the materials of a vast naval force; which were improved by the Ptolemies, with equal activity and judgment. But while the conquests of these princes supplied them with this great instrument of opu-

Ptolemy's extensive dominions.

Troubles in other countries

[43] Ὁυ (πτολεμαιε) και μεχρι νυν αδεται το κλεος—ὡς ηδη και εν παροιμιας ειδει τας υπερογκες φιλοτιμιας και μεγαλας κατασκευας φιλαδελφειας καλεισθαι. Philo Judæus de Vita Mosis.

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brought great accessions of wealth and population to Egypt.

peace and power, the unceasing wars in Greece, the ravages of the Gauls in Lower Asia, and the tumults excited by the Parthians, in the upper provinces, continually brought new accessions of industrious and peaceful subjects to Egypt, in which country alone men enjoyed security, fearing no enemies from abroad, and being governed at home by well-maintained laws of justice.[44] To these advantages, the magnitude of which it is not easy to limit, Ptolemy added a benefit accruing from the peculiar habits and character of his Egyptian subjects, who, notwithstanding many pernicious prejudices, which he was careful to correct or mitigate, had appeared from the earliest times, an ingenious and courteous people, of great temperance and sobriety, capable of unwearied application to the useful arts, and abundantly supplying by their agriculture and manufactures, the necessities and accommodations of themselves and neighbours.

Industrious habits of the Egyptians.

Advantages accruing to Egypt from Ethiopia and Arabia.

To the southern neighbours of Egypt, the Arabians and Ethiopians, Ptolemy directed the most vigilant attention. These nations, as we have seen, had immemorially traded with India for spice; and were themselves peculiarly rich, Arabia in perfumes, Ethiopia in gold. By his admiral, Timosthenes the Rhodian, Ptolemy early navigated the Red Sea, examined the harbours of Adel, beyond the straits of Babelmandeb[45], and explored the coast of Africa to

[44] Ου γαρ τις δηων, &c. See the beautiful lines, Theocrit. Idyll xvii. v. 100. et seq.

[45] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 773.

Ophir, or Sofala, the land of gold, opposite to the coast of Madagascar. The boldness of such an undertaking will not allow us to suppose that he neglected treasures more within his reach. Ethiopia above Egypt united the greatest wealth with the greatest wretchedness, and comprehended a variety of nations, with peculiarities so discordant, that according to an ancient writer, the true description of any one people must have appeared incredible, not only to remote strangers, but to its immediate neighbours.[46] The singular view of these contrasting nations was opened to the curiosity of the Greeks in the reign of the two first Ptolemies, particularly Philadelphus, who founded a city near the Red Sea, called Ptolemais Ferarum[47], nearly as far to the south of Syené, the extremity of Egypt, as Syené itself is distant from the mouths of the Nile. The purpose of this settlement, it is said, was to hunt the elephant, and to catch him alive for the service of war, and the pomp of processions. But this design was at first opposed by the natives, worthy ancestors of the modern Shangalla, who delighted in hamstringing this huge and innocent tenant of their plains, in dissecting his brawny members, and in greedily devouring his live flesh; a kind of food to them so delicious, that they assured Ptolemy, they would not barter its enjoyment for all the treasures of Egypt.[48] The king, however, partly

[46] Agatharchides de Mari Rubro apud Photium, p. 1362.

[47] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 769.

[48] Agatharchides, ibid. p. 1356.

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succeeded in reforming this horrid usage of those woolly-headed Barbarians, as appears from the vast number of elephants which he drew from their country.

Gold mines of Berenicé Panchrysos.

In the intermediate space of about four hundred miles beween Syené and the hunting-seat for wild beasts, Ptolemy built many cities, particularly Berenicé, distinguished by the epithet of "golden" among the various places named after his beloved mother. The neighbourhood of this southern Berenicé contained rich mines of gold, which had been wrought with much profit by the ancient Egyptian kings, but in which all labour had been suspended during the desolating dominion of the Persians. In these mines the Greeks still found copper tools, employed of old by the original workmen, but substituted, in their stead, more efficacious tools of iron. A description of their operations is given under the sixth Ptolemy, entitled Philometor, when the mines were much exhausted, and when the painful labour was confined to criminals or slaves.[49] Their produce, it may be presumed, was in former reigns much greater, and particularly when they were managed by the agents of Philadelphus, who, as of all men he had the most liberality and taste in employing wealth, is said also to have been of all the most skilful and most fortunate in acquiring it.[50]

Indian trade.

There is historical evidence that Ptolemy

[49] Diodorus Siculus, l. iii. s. 12. et seq. Conf. Agatharchides apud Phot. p. 1339. et seq.

[50] Appian, Hist. Rom. in Procem.

traded directly to India, though this trade was carried on by a small number of vessels.[51] Such however as it was, it prevented the monopoly which might otherwise have been enjoyed by the Sabæans in the great articles of spices and perfumes. By his ships on the Red Sea, Ptolemy carried on a lucrative commerce with Yemen and Adel, respectively the finest districts in Arabia and Ethiopia; and the traffic of pepper, aromatics, pearls, and gold, whose caravans anciently raised the stupendous inland capitals of Thebes and Memphis, now enriched by numerous fleets the maritime emporium of Alexandria.[52] By his judicious arrangements in this city, and the help of his obsequious allies in Rhodes, Ptolemy introduced an easier communication than had formerly subsisted between the east and west; and, by commanding the Mediterranean on one side, and the Red Sea on the other, finished, as it were, two arms of the vast commercial colossus which Alexander had rough-hewn or projected, and which, had that conqueror lived a few years longer, he would have reared entire to the unspeakable benefit of posterity.

Ptolemy's canal of little benefit to trade.

From his predilection for maritime traffic, Ptolemy undertook several projects of a doubtful nature; of more ostentation, at least, than use. Among these I should be inclined to number his boasted canal by which the Red Sea was

[51] Strabo, l. ii. p. 118.

[52] Conf. Appian in Procem. & Schol. in Theocrit.

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made to communicate with the Mediterranean; a canal begun by Sesostris, carried on but left imperfect by Darius, and which Ptolemy alone is said to have had the skill to finish.[53] This was effected by means of locks or sluices, without infecting the fresh waters of the Nile with saltness, or exposing the low land of Egypt to inundation: both which consequences were dreaded from the superior elevation of the Red Sea. According to Herodotus[54], who says that Darius really completed the work, this canal was drawn, from Bubastis on the Nile, fifty-six miles in a south-west direction to Arsinoé, the modern Suez, at which place it entered the Red Sea. After being choaked up as at present, it was successively repaired by the Emperor Trajan, and by the Caliph Omar, but there is not any proof that it ever remained open for any considerable time[55]; and the navigation of it seems to have been speedily abandoned by Ptolemy himself, since he was at great expence in establishing caravan communications between the Red Sea and the Nile, first from Berenicé in the parallel of Syené, and next from the more northerly and more convenient harbour of Myos Hormos.[56] From both these harbours roads led to Coptos on the Nile; the road from Myos Hormos to Coptos was provided with caravan-

Harbours on the Red Sea.

[53] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 804. Conf. Diodorus, l. i. s. 3. & Plin. N. H. l. vi. c. 29.

[54] L. ii. c. 158.

[55] See Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 478.

[56] Myos Hormos is 250 miles north of the Berenicé here meant.

series at each station, and with a canal for supplying the travelling merchants and their camels with fresh water. As the distance was inconsiderable, and the commodities transported of great value, this route was deemed preferable to a dangerous and circuitous navigation to Alexandria.[57]

Ptolemy's design of changing into a maritime commerce the caravan trade between Egypt and Ethiopia.

From the earliest ages the natives of Egypt had carried on a great inland commerce with Ethiopia and Arabia. But their religious horror of the sea, and especially for a sea-faring life, prevented them from availing themselves to the utmost of this traffic. Egypt was in some measure the China of antiquity, in whose harbours the Phœnicians and Greeks successively gained great riches, while the inhabitants of the country, declining all maritime concerns, neither sold their own commodities to the best advantage, nor purchased foreign articles at the cheapest rate. The Ptolemies completely changed this pernicious system; they traded with their own ships to all the ports of the Mediterranean: Tyre had already fallen, and Carthage soon fell with the rise of Alexandria, whose central situation co-operated with other circumstances in giving to it a decided pre-eminence as a great maritime emporium. Sensible of this advantage, the second Ptolemy should seem to have determined, towards the end of his reign, to carry on entirely by the Red Sea the caravan trade which had formerly subsisted between the cities

[57] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 815.

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of Egypt on one hand, and those of Ethiopia on the other.

Picture of the nations between the Red Sea and the Nile.

In a former part of this work [58], we explained how that rich traffic was managed by the intervention of the Agazi or shepherds, Nomadic inhabitants of the intermediate desert of Nubia. The intercourse at different periods had been disturbed by revolutionary wars in Egypt, and nearly destroyed by the outrageous tyranny of Cambyses, and the sanguinary persecution of the Egyptian priests, commenced by him, and continued by his successors. The shepherds, who had been peaceful auxiliaries to the priestly merchants of Thebes and Meroé, ceasing to be employed as carriers in trade, had betaken themselves to petty warfare and robbery. Philadelphus and his immediate successor restrained their ravages, invaded and examined their country; and in order to wean them from their predatory and wandering life, formed settlements and built towns in the territory between Syené, the extremity of Egypt, and Meroé, the first city of Ethiopia. The learned men who lived at this period, and from whose works the names of otherwise unknown places are copied by Strabo [59] and Pliny [60], probably first examined with a philosophic eye the strange nations afterwards described by Agatharchides between the Red Sea and the Nile; those called Ichthyophagi and Acridophagi from the fishes and the locusts on which

[58] See Vol. I. p. 113. & seq.
[59] Strabo, l. xvii. pp. 820, 821.
[60] Plin. N. H. l. vi, c. 39.

they respectively fed; other tribes contented with the juncs growing in their marshes, and often browsing on tender twigs; the fiercer Shangalla hunting the elephant and rhinoceros; the Troglodites burrowing in the elevated rocky chain that runs parallel with the Red Sea, divided into many tribes mostly pastoral, who are compelled to perpetual changes of abode in consequence of the periodic rains which fall at different seasons on the opposite sides of their mountains.[61] Could they withstand these desolating floods, another mischief would force them to wander. This is the zimb or fly, improperly described by Agatharchides, though its effects are recognized by him. It is larger than a bee, and its upper and lower jaws are armed with stings, or piercers which, being joined together, form a weapon equal in resistance to a hedgehog's bristle. As soon as the tropical rains begin to fall, this buzzing plague infests all the animals pasturing on the black loamy soil. The cattle forsake their food, and run about wildly, till entirely overcome by fear, fatigue, and famine. No expedient is of use but an immediate removal from their rich pastures, to the sands of Atbara, which the river Astaboras separates from the isle of Meroé. The camel greatly facilitates these journeys which are necessary to its own safety; for neither the camel, the elephant, nor

[61] Vid. Agatharchid. apud Phot. p. 1345—1359. Compare throughout Bruce's Travels to discover the source of the Nile.

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even the scaly rhinoceros can resist the incessant assaults of this winged assassin.[62]

Abortive project of the Ptolemies to reduce the Nomades in those countries to an agricultural life.

In this great tract of territory the inhabitants are thus compelled by physical causes to perpetual migration; their country itself is also generally unfit for agriculture, being alternately deluged by rains and scorched by the sun. Between these extremes there is, in many places, no remission, for the rains have scarcely ceased, when the soil is so hardened and cracked by the heat, that it refuses nourishment to the fading grass.[63] It may be presumed, therefore, that the Ptolemies, in assigning fixed habitations to Nomades so circumstanced, too little respected the immutable ordinances of nature. Accordingly we are told by Pliny, that not a vestige of any of the cities, which they built in the country between Egypt and Abyssinia, subsisted in the reign of the Emperor Nero.[64]

Their views in that project.

Their endeavour to enure the Nomades to agriculture or sedentary arts, appears, however, to have been part of a plan for drawing to themselves by the way of the Red Sea the commerce immemorially carried on by land between the priests of Egypt and those of Ethiopia. In the reign of Philadelphus, Ergamenes king of Meroé, being instructed in Greek philosophy, derided the superstition of his country, and destroyed, in their golden temple, those wealthy and powerful priests, who had hitherto kept in subjection both prince and peo-

[62] Bruce's Travels to discover the source of the Nile.
[63] Id. ibid. and Agatharchides, p. 1357.
[64] A. D. 54. Plin. ubi supra.

ple.[65] We are not told that Philadelphus had any share in this wicked transaction; yet the ruin of the priests, who were the main adventurers in this Ethiopian traffic, at the same time that the Nomades, its carriers, were reduced to fixed seats, should seem to indicate that these were correlative parts of one great design for bringing the trade into a new channel.

Great accession of inhabitants to Egypt in the reign of the two first Ptolemies.

It has already been observed, that a great benefit accruing to Egypt, during the reign of the first two Ptolemies, consisted in the accession of wealthy and industrious inhabitants to that kingdom from all the other most considerable divisions of the empire. It will give us some notion of the multitudes of useful labourers in the coarser occupations of life, who flocked to a country affording to them encouragement and security, if we reflect on the great number of men of letters; philosophers, historians, and poets; and of the still more numerous professors or cultivators of the arts of imitation or design, which rendered Alexandria, in the space of half a century, the first city in the world in point of show and elegance as well as of wealth and learning.

Three poetical constellations.

In the reign of Philadelphus, poets of great merit in the eyes at least of their contemporaries, flourished in such abundance, that they were fancifully grouped into constellations. There was a constellation of comic[66] writers, whose light has been long extinct; there was another

[65] Diodor. l. iii. s. 6.

[66] Athenæus, l. xiv. p. 654.

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of tragedians[67], which has experienced the same fate, unless we ascribe to this class the Cassandra of Lycophron, which, consisting in the narrative of a single person, introduced and concluded by a few verses in dialogue, can only be regarded as a tragic monody. Lycophron, therefore, more fitly holds place in the constellation of miscellaneous poets, the famous Pleiades, whose names and countries are thus enumerated[68]: Aratus of Soli in Cilicia; Callimachus of Cyrené; Theocritus the Sicilian; Apollonius, called the Rhodian, though really born in Egypt; Lycophron of Chalcis in Eubæa; Nicander of Colophon; and the younger Homer, whose birth-place is said to have been Hieropolis, but which of the various cities of that name, as none of his productions remain, it would be now idle to investigate. The six first-named stars in the Pleiades, on the contrary, still emit a light more or less feeble, and which, through the happy invention of printing, will continue henceforward to shine undiminished to the latest posterity.

Aratus.

Aratus is the author of a poem in two parts, the former describing the celestial phænomena, and the latter explaining the useful signs or prognostics that may be deduced from them. The work is didactic, allowing little scope for the beauties of poetry; yet the positions and configurations of the Great and Little Bear, of the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and of other re-

[67] Hephæstion Encheirid.

[68] Isaac Tzetzes in Lycophron. Prolegom. Conf. Vossius de Hist. Græc. l. i. c. 12.

markable constellations, are represented and adorned with harmonious heroic numbers; and the opening of Aratus's Phænomena is more sublime than that of Virgil's Georgic; with less variety, perhaps, and fancy, but breathing a strain of far more rational piety.[69] His own proficiency in geometry and astronomy is said to have been inconsiderable[70]; but he had before him Eudoxus's "Mirror of the Heavens," abovementioned; and was assisted by men of science, his contemporaries and friends[71] at Alexandria. That his work was highly prized by the ancients, is evinced in its illustrious translators; Cicero, Ovid, and Cæsar Germanicus[72]: it was soon commented on by upwards of forty scholiasts.[73] The subject, indeed, so interesting to mariners, was peculiarly well adapted to the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, with whom the extension of maritime commerce was a favourite object. But sailors have long enjoyed better helps in directing their course; and the dry poem of Aratus has lost its popularity with its usefulness. By his contemporaries, the author was highly respected in life; and honoured in death with pompous obsequies, and a noble mausoleum[74] at

[69] It is cited by St. Paul, Acts, c. xvii. v. 28.

[70] Constat inter doctos, hominem ignarum astrologiæ ornatissimis atque optimis versibus Aratum de cælo et stellis scripsisse. Cicero de Orator.

[71] Thus assisted, Thomson wrote his poem to the memory of Newton.

[72] Virgil's imitation of the "Prognostics" in Georg. 1. is so close, that it also may be called a translation.

[73] Fabricius, Bib. Græc. l. iii. c. 18.

[74] Pompon. Mela, l. i. c. 13.

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Callimachus.

Soli, afterwards named Pompeiopolis, his birthplace.[75]

Callimachus is praised by one of the most discerning of critics[76] as the prince of elegiac poets. He is now known by six hymns (one only in elegiac verse), and sixty-two epigrams. He was a very miscellaneous writer in prose as well as verse, and is said to have composed eight hundred pieces.[77] He treated subjects of history, geography, antiquities, philosophy natural and moral; above all, philology and criticism. But though his productions were wondrous for their number, his whole works were not considerable in magnitude.[78] This was matter of reproach among his more ponderous rivals, to whom his reply became proverbial, that "a great book is a great evil." His most celebrated treatise in prose was his "Table of Authors," in one hundred and twenty books. In this table or catalogue, authors were divided into their different classes; poets, orators, historians, philosophers, critics; the poets, for example, were again divided into epic, tragic, and various other kinds. A short biography was given of each writer, with a summary account of his works, carefully separating the spurious from those undoubtedly genuine.[79] An undertaking of such an extensive nature, how judiciously soever it

[75] Ovid supplies the best inscription:

Cum Sole et Luna semper Aratus erit.

Amor. l. i. Eleg. 15.

[76] Quintilian, l. x. c. 1.

[77] Suidas.

[78] Athenæus, l. i. sub. init.

[79] Suidas.

might be executed, could scarcely fail to be, in many parts, liable to objection. We find accordingly that Aristophanes, an Alexandrian philologer of the succeeding age, composed a new literary table, with many sharp animadversions on that of Callimachus.[80] Of the remains of this author, which have come down to us, the epigrams, whether dedicated to the purposes of satire or eulogy, are too slight performances to support much weight of fame; and his hymns, terse and elegant[81] as they are, and highly popular as they once were, necessarily lost interest and fame, after Christianity had put to rout the rabble of imaginary gods to whom they are addressed.

Theocritus, the friend of Aratus[82], enjoys an advantage above his poetical contemporaries, in having chosen, in his pastorals, subjects alike adapted to all ages and countries. Though he lived and wrote in Egypt, his mind continued to be warmly impressed with the more picturesque scenery of his native Sicily. He sounds his Doric reed with an art that adorns, without altering, the simplicity of nature. If we except a few coarse expressions, growing out of the depraved manners of the times, his Idyls are the happiest productions in their way; and succeed-

Theocritus.

[80] Athenæus, l. ix. p. 408.

[81] Battiades toto semper cantabitur orbe:
Quamvis ingenio non valet, arte valet.
Ovid. ubi supra.

[82] Theocritus's sixth Idyl is addressed to Aratus; whose loves also are spoken of in the seventh.

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ing poets, not excepting Virgil himself, have failed in their attempts to improve on and embellish them.

Apollonius.

Apollonius, surnamed the Rhodian because adopted into that state, had been the friend and favourite scholar of Callimachus. But offended friendship was converted into the bitterest enmity. Callimachus boasted his descent from the royal house of Cyrené[83]; and his kingly pride taking umbrage at some disrespectful proceeding in his pupil, lashed him in a poem entitled Ibis[84], with the utmost severity of satire. To avoid literary persecution in Alexandria, Apollonius sailed to Rhodes, a republic then intimately allied with Egypt. In this island, he polished and elaborated his poem on the Argonautic expedition, of which various parts had previously been recited at Alexandria, and heard with more censure than applause. Having finished the work to his own satisfaction, Apollonius submitted it to the umpires of taste among the Rhodians, by whom it was so highly approved, that the author was associated to the immunities and honours of their city, then, next to Athens and Alexandria, the most learned in the world. Elated with this testimony in his favour, he returned to the place of his birth; gradually sur-

[83] Thence called Battiades from king Battus. See above, Vol. I. p. 379.

[84] The name of an Egyptian bird, resembling the stork. Ovid's Ibis is well known. He imitates throughout Callimachus; and his redundancy of learning gives, in this particular, a just notion of many lost works of Alexandrian poets.

mounted the difficulties to which he had before yielded; and finally attained, in advanced age, the highest object of his ambition, having succeeded to the celebrated Eratosthenes, of whom we shall speak presently, in the superintendence of the museum and library.[85] To this distinction, his sole title, that can now be appreciated, was derived from the poem above-mentioned. It consists of four books in hexameter verse, and recounts the voyages and transactions of the Argonauts in numbers never creeping on the ground, and never soaring to the skies. Its principal fault is that of flowing with too unvaried a mediocrity.[86] It has more description than passion, more refinement than real grace, and more art than nature. Yet the pangs and struggles of Apollonius's love-sick Medea, are imitated by Virgil in the melancholy grandeur and dignified weakness of Dido; and the solemn picture of night, contrasting the tumults in the queen's breast with the still and motionless silence of all around her, is faithfully copied from the Alexandrian poet; who, though Virgil be always the more majestic, is sometimes the more affecting.[87]

The dimmest star in the poetic Pleiades is the Lycophron.

[85] Suidas.

[86] Quintilian, l. x. c. 1. agreeing with Longinus, s. 33.

[87] His sentiments appear to me also sometimes more delicate, and his notions more refined, than those of either Homer or Virgil. Thus Hercules prefers Jason to himself, and Jason grieves for the woes of others more than for his own. Argonaut. l. ii. v. 637. For the second point, witness what blind Phenias says of a future state, "that he will then be delighted with splendour," &c. l. ii. v. 448.

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muddy [88] and mysterious Lycophron. Neither the oracular responses of Delphi, nor the Sibylline [89] verses, nor other parallel productions of priest-craft and superstition, had yet been combined among the Greeks into any long-continued texture of prophetical poetry. At length the Cassandra of Lycophron made its appearance, in the same age when the Hebrew volumes being first unrolled to prophane view, might be expected to excite this unequal competition and feeble rivalry of the Muses. But the hallowed strains of Sion, defying imitation in their awful sublimity, are surpassed by Lycophron in elaborate darkness. In the ravings of Cassandra or Alexandra, for his prophetess had both names, heroes and gods are denoted by their emblems or achievements; a legendary tale is substituted for the description of a country; events are crowded in endless succession; the bounds of space and time are enlarged or contracted at pleasure; and even the distinct provinces of our senses, of all things the most clearly separate in themselves, are amalgamated and confounded [90] in the melting furnace of an over-heated fancy. Amidst all this wildness of disorder, Cassandra,

[88] Carmina Battiadæ, tenebræque Lycophronis *atri*. Statius.

[89] The Sibylla was an Eolian: her name, derived from two Greek words in the Eolian dialect, σιος and βυλη, denoted her character of prophetess. Her supposed verses, it is well known, became a state engine among the Romans, descended, as will be shewn, from the Eolians.

[90] Flashes are heard and shrieks are seen.

Οιμωγη δε μοι
Εν ωσι πυργων εξ ακρων ινδαλλεται.
Alexand. v. 254.

commencing with the ill-fated voyage of Paris to Lacedæmon, sketches out, however, the general history of the Trojan war, expatiating on the disasters which followed it, and the adventures of the Grecian chiefs, particularly those of Ulysses. She next adverts, in the darkest imagery, to the two great original causes of hostility between the eastern and western continents; the rape of Europa and the expedition of the Argonauts: and then traces these original land-marks, and exuberant fountains of fable, through all the occurrences connected with them, down to the Ptolemæan age. Xerxes's expedition into Greece is a bright and prominent object, and many passages in it excite the mixed emotions of pity and terror. After repeated perusals, Lycophron, according to associations created by differences of studies and pursuits, will appear to some readers altogether unworthy of the pains necessary to be bestowed on him; by others, when verbal difficulties are surmounted, the Cassandra will be prized as a rich mythological epitome, in the richest and most beautiful of all languages.

Nicander of Colophon is commonly numbered as the seventh and last of the Pleiades. He wrote Georgics[91] and Metamorphoses[92]; but his remains are now reduced to two compositions in heroic verse, to which Plutarch denies[93] the rank of poems, because they are altogether des-

Nicander.

[91] Cicero de Orator. De rebus rusticis Nicander scripsit præclare.
[92] Schol. in Apollon. l. i. et Athenæus, l. iii. p. 82.
[93] De audiend. poetis.

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titute of poetical invention. Both treat of poisons; the first, of those communicated externally by the bite or sting of animals: the second, of those applied internally, or received into the stomach. Such subjects were interesting in Egypt, a country abounding in venomous reptiles: they were important in other parts of the empire, disgraced by too much practice, as well as theory, in the art of preparing poisons.

The four schools.

In the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the four new schools of Alexandria, owing their establishment to the preceding reign, continued to flourish in great vigour: namely, those of grammar, geometry, astronomy, and medicine. In the last-named of these departments, the physicians Erasistratus and Herophilus were succeeded by Philinus and Serapion. Philinus carried on the labours of his predecessors with so much success, that he is deemed the founder of the empiric or experimental sect.[94] Serapion, his contemporary, and a native of Alexandria, enjoyed high celebrity; and from this time forward, the science of medicine struck such deep root in that city, and received so many improvements from the professors or practitioners there, that a physician was much recommended in all succeeding ages of antiquity, by the circumstance of having prosecuted his studies in the Egyptian capital.

Of medicine.

Concerning the geometers, who immediately followed Euclid[95], there is much obscurity, till the light breaks forth in Apollonius and Archimedes,

Of geometry and astronomy.

[94] Galen, tom. iv. p. 372.

[95] See above, p. 150.

of whom, as belonging to a later period, we shall afterwards have occasion to speak. The astronomers Aristillus and Timocharis found a worthy successor in Aristarchus of Samos. An observation of Aristarchus at Alexandria applies to the year[96] two hundred and eighty-one before the Christian æra, that is, to the fourth year of Philadelphus's reign. He is the author of a work concerning the distances and magnitude of the sun and moon[97], in which, he enlarged the boundaries of the solar system; and though his conclusions on this subject remained far short of the truth, they yet convinced him of the stability of the sun, and of the diurnal and annual motions of the earth.[98] It was objected to him, that upon the supposition of the earth's motion, the fixed stars, as viewed from this wandering world, must be continually changing their position with regard to each other. He answered by saying, that the whole of the earth's orbit round the sun was little better than a point in comparison of the heavens. Such doctrines exposed Aristarchus to the censure of men who assumed the name of philosophers, but who, as we have seen, were mere sectaries. Cleanthes, deemed the prince of the stoics in that age, accused[99] him of shaking with rude impiety the throne of Vesta, an ancient and venerable goddess, since daughter

Aristarchus of Samos.

[96] Ptolem. Mathem. Syntax.

[97] Aristarch. de Magnitud. et Distant. Solis et Lunæ in Oper. Wallisii, Oxon. 1699.

[98] Archimed. in Ψαμμιτης, p. 120. et seq. Conf. Vitruvius, l. i. c. 1.

[99] Plutarch. de Facie in Orb. Lun. p. 923.

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to Saturn and Rhea.[100] To Vesta, besides, an important function was assigned. She was the patroness of fixed habitations, of settled or civilized life. Her domain was near the earth's centre; and her sacred seat was always represented firm and immoveable.[101] By this and other objections, scarcely more weighty, the philosophy of Aristarchus was repressed through many succeeding centuries. At length, however, it emerged by its native merit. Tables more perfect than those of which he had set the example, were constructed of the distances and motions of the planets, from the contemplation of which Kepler in 1680, discovered that the squares of their periodic times are proportional to the cubes of their mean distances. This law, together with that of falling bodies previously ascertained by Galileo, prepared the way for the astronomy of the great Newton, which the labours of the Alexandrian school, particularly of Apollonius and Archimedes, perfected by his own admirable sagacity, enabled that incomparable geometer to establish on strict mathematical demonstration.

Mixed mathematics.

Before the establishment of that school, philosophers were acquainted[102] with the rectilinear propagation of light, the equality between the angles of incidence and reflection, and that great principle of moving force, according to which weight is balanced by velocity; a principle expanded or ramified in what are called the five

[100] Hesiod, Theogon. [101] Ovid. Fast. l. vi.
[102] See my New Analysis of Aristotle's Speculative Philosophy.

mechanic powers. On the basis of these observations or facts, they began to rear the fabric of mixed mathematics; light, matter, and motion were subjected to the search of their own severe geometry: and great proficiency was attained in all those ingenious arts, which, either in peace or war, form the most unequivocal distinction between civilized and barbarous nations; and whose highest reaches of improvement were conspicuous in their military works and engines, as well as in their great civil monuments. In the latter years of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the most distinguished engineer was Ctesibius[103], a native of Ascra in Bœotia, the birth-place of old Hesiod. His scholars were Beto and Hero, whose treatises on the construction of missile weapons have come down to modern times. Hero's books on pneumatic and hydraulic machines are also preserved, and highly deserving of attention, although, in that work, the moving powers of water and air are employed in producing effects rather surprising than useful. Fragments also remain of his treatise on Automata, or self-moving figures. In the hands of Hero, and still more of his successors, science thus came to be directed to the purposes of recreation and pastime; and on this score chiefly was patronised, as we shall see, by the latter Egyptian and Syrian kings; princes unfit for

The engineers Ctesibius and Hero.

[103] Athenæus, l. xi. p. 497. Conf. Vitruvius Architect. in Præfat. l. vii. & Plin. l. vii. c. 37.

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business, and often addicted to the most childish amusements.

Grammarians.—Eratosthenes.

At the head of the grammarians in this reign, it is fit to place Eratosthenes, though he flourished towards the latter part of it, and was first appointed to preside over the museum and library under the third Ptolemy, surnamed Euergetes. Though he is called a grammarian, a word then synonymous with a philologer or critic, he attained great eminence as a philosopher and mathematician; and if not an admired poet, was at least a writer of correct and elegant verses.[104] His chronological canons are praised by one of the most accurate of historians.[105] He was an improver of geography as well as of chronology. He was the first who traced a parallel of latitude, regulated by the day's greatest length; namely 14.5 hours. This parallel passed from the pillars of Hercules through the southern extremity of Peloponnesus, the island of Rhodes, and then forward through the great eastern regions of Assyria and Ariana to the mountains of India.[106] Eratosthenes measured the obliquity of the ecliptic, and ascertained with a considerable degree of accuracy the circumference of the earth at 250,000 stadia[107]; about 25,000 miles. He also invented

[104] Longin. de Sublim. s. 33.

[105] Dionys. Halicarn. Histor. Roman. l. i. p. 60.

[106] Strabo, l. ii. p. 67. et seq.

[107] The segment of the meridian chosen for this purpose was that between Alexandria and Syené, places distant from each other 5000 stadia. Having obtained this measure from Ptolemy's surveyors,

the armillæ, a combination of circles representing the celestial sphere. This valuable instrument of science he erected in the great portico of Alexandria, where it was used by succeeding astronomers in observing the equinoxes, and in determining, without the aid of trigonometry, the longitude and latitude of stars.[108] Notwithstanding these important pursuits, philology[109] and antiquities formed the favourite province of Eratosthenes. He was a copious writer on both these subjects; but of all his compositions nothing has come down to us, except his short tract on the constellations, with an abstract of the fables which gave rise to their names; his account of the mesolabe, or instrument for finding between two lines two mean proportionals; and his measure of the earth, reported by Cleomedes, who lived many centuries after him.[110] His distinguished merit could not exempt him from the malice of detractors. Even his wonderful variety of talents,

(per mensores regios Ptolemæi. Martian. Capella, l. vi. p. 194.) and knowing that Syené lay directly under the northern tropic, he waited the time when the sun was vertical at Syené to observe a style raised from the bottom of a concave sphere at Alexandria, and finding the shadow projected on the spherical concavity to be a fiftieth part of the whole circumference, he concluded the 5000 stadia between Syené and Alexandria to be a fiftieth part of the circumference of a great circle of the earth. Cleomedes de Globi Terrestris Mensura.

[108] Ptolem. Mathem. Syntax. l. iii. c. 2.

[109] Sueton. de Grammaticis et Rhetoribus, c. 10.

[110] They are published with the Oxford Edition of Aratus. An. 1702.

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so assiduously and so successfully employed, were seized as the handle for contemptuous obloquy. He was entitled *Beta*, as a man who had not attained the first rank in any one of the numerous objects of his pursuits.[111] His friends, with less blameable injustice, called him the pentathlete, as carrying off the palm of victory in various and heterogeneous attainments.[112]

The four sects. — Strato the Peripatetic.

The philosophers of the four different sects were as numerous at Alexandria in the reign of Philadelphus as in that of his predecessor: and those of the Peripatetic school should seem to have been distinguished with the same preference in point of royal favour and royal munificence. The respect which Demetrius Phalereus enjoyed under the first of those princes, was shown by the second to Strato, also the scholar of Theophrastus. The virtuous moral instructions of that philosopher were[113] rewarded by the king with a present of eighty Alexandrian talents, equivalent to twenty-four thousand pounds.

Sotades, the satirist.

The greatest discouragement to letters is the encouragement of vile and invidious pretenders. Philadelphus was not guilty of this error, too common with well-meaning, perhaps, but injudicious patrons. He rejected with scorn those who courted, and sometimes obtained, popular fame, by either offending decency, or by vilifying merit. Among the former, the ob-

[111] Suidas et Marcian. Heraclest. in Peripl. p. 63.
[112] Plin. l. ii. c. 108. et Lucian in Macrob.
[113] Diogen. Laert. l. v. segm. 60.

scene poet Sotades of Crete held the most conspicuous place; but was treated so neglectfully by the king, that the lewd venom of his mind was most intemperately poured forth against the prince, by whose coldness he was affronted. Unfortunately, some proceedings of Ptolemy made him too fair a mark for this shameless virulence. His sister Arsinoé, formerly wife to Lysimachus of Thrace, had sufficiently displayed her character in transactions above recorded in the history of that prince. The infamy of her behaviour did not prevent Philadelphus from receiving her kindly in Egypt, and, in the eighth year of his reign, from sharing with her his throne.[114] Being too old to bear children of her own, she adopted those of his former wife[115], the daughter of Lysimachus, whose imprisonment at Coptos, in consequence of a real or pretended conspiracy, made way for the advancement of his sister, who varnished her vices with such artifice, or redeemed them by such abilities, that Ptolemy consulted her in all his affairs, and continued to doat on this profligate woman through life, with an extravagant fondness.[116] Her baneful ascendency could not fail to taint the manners of her husband. Ptolemy, with many praiseworthy quali-

[114] Schol. in Theocrit. Idyll. xvii. and Pausanias, Attic.

[115] Marm. Adulitan. In that inscription, Ptolemy Euergetes is called the son "Deorum fratrum," to mark the distinction between his adoptive and real mother; for the latter also had for name Arsinoé.

[116] Pausanias, Attic.

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want of elegance, and Aristotle for dulness in discernment.[124] The poets were the great butts of his buffoonery, especially Homer, in whom all poetical excellence is summed up. "The reprimand of Homer" was his principal and most favourite performance. We know it only by a few low sarcasms, equally impudent and contemptible. Homer, he says, is ridiculous in the beginning of the Iliad, when he employs so great a god as Apollo in killing lazy curs. He is equally absurd in the progress of it, when he describes Diomed's helmet as blazing with fire, for then the hero must have been burnt alive by his own armour.[125] The companions of Ulysses turned by Circé into swine, Zoilus humorously called Homer's poor little blubbering gruntlings.[126] The poet, he says, knew nothing of good breeding, when he rudely thrust old Priam from Achilles's tent: and he is an absolute fool, in making Idæus quit his nimble chariot, in which, to save his life, he ought to have driven away at full speed.[127] By such impudent scurrility, this snarling growler, this cur of criticism, as he was called[128], might gratify the malignant vulgar: but he was an object of aversion to the good and great; and

[124] Ælian, ubi supra.
[125] Schol. Anonym. in Iliad v.
[126] Longin. de Sublim. s. ix.
[127] Schol. ibid.
[128] Κυων ρητορικος. Ælian, ubi supra. Strabo scoffs at him more pleasantly. "In speaking of the isle of Tenedos, Zoilus says absurdly, that the river Alpheus, in Peloponnesus, has its source in that island. Such is the fabulosity of the man who finds fault with the fables of Homer!" Strabo, l. vi. p. 271.

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when he had the presumption to solicit a share in the king's bounties, Ptolemy coldly observed to him, that it was strange so great a genius, towering even above Homer, should stand in need of assistance, since the poems of Homer still furnish bread to thousands, a thousand years after the death of their author.[129] The end of Zoilus is variously related; all agree that he died in poverty and disgrace.

Characteristics of the Ptolemæan age.

The Ptolemæan age of literature, for thus the reign of Philadelphus has sometimes been distinguished, was remarkable not only for the vast number of its productions, but for the wide diversity in their subjects: history, natural and civil; poetry in all its branches; moral philosophy and criticism; geometry, astronomy, music, and medicine.[130] With much ardour for real learning, the writers of that age pursued, however, with equal eagerness, all the wildest illusions of the false. Thence, their fabulous history and visionary philosophy; their fanciful discussions concerning mysterious powers in plants and minerals; their innumerable treatises on judicial astrology; their books of travels, and voyages of discovery[131] without end, in which the most monstrous fictions are related; and thence many huge collections, on the express subject of wonders and prodigies.[132] Vari-

[129] Vitruvius, Architect. l. vii. in Præfat.

[130] See the titles of lost works of that age in Fabricius, Greek Library, b. iii. throughout.

[131] I thus translate the περιπλους.

[132] Ιστοριων παραδοξων συναγωγαι.

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ous causes concurred to mark the learning of Alexandria with a character, altogether different from that which had distinguished the learning of Athens. The fraternities devoted to arts and sciences, lodged and fed in the museum, are compared to fowls fatted in coops[133], who gain a superabundance of flesh, at the expence of raciness and flavour. If we may judge, indeed, by the remains which have come down to us, the works of the Alexandrians displayed more erudition than taste, and more art than genius.[134] Their compositions of the popular kind were calculated for the gratification of a pompous and effeminate court, of a wealthy and luxurious capital; eager for amusement, but careless of correct information. The multiplicity of pursuits distracted; the number of helps encumbered: and society, too crowded and continuous, is less favourable than solitude, to high intellectual improvement. In consequence of the change to monarchy from republicanism, Grecian eloquence declined, and carried down with it all other kinds of literary composition; sweet sometimes and artful, but greatly deficient in pith and persuasion.[135] The orator now addressed himself to individuals whose minds he was either to soothe, or at best gently to agitate, not to national assemblies, whose passions he was to rouse, whose resolutions he was to controul,

Oratory.

[133] Ταλαρων. Athenæus, l. i. p. 22.

[134] Such is Lucian's judgment. Vid. de conscribend. Historia, p. 637. Edit. Amstel.

[135] Quintilian, l. x. c. 1. & Dialog. de Orator.

and whose decrees he was, at will, either to abrogate or confirm. Thence, neither writers nor speakers assumed the same commanding attitude as formerly; and thinking less highly of themselves, reached not that majesty which overawes, and that vehemence which overwhelms. For history, the sober companion of eloquence, the exploits of Alexander offered the noblest of all subjects. Yet Hegesias and Onesecritus, with many authors of the same stamp, strangely deformed that august theme; the marvellous or puerile in their matter [136] being accompanied by new and harsh turns of expression, by periods broken and transversed, by cadences uncouth and unexpected, by sounds that wounded the ear, and phrases that perplexed the understanding. [137]

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In human affairs there is commonly a balance of good and evil. The ages of Alexander and the Ptolemies laid the foundation, as we have seen, of many noble improvements; yet the romantic events of the times, and the conflux into new and vast cities of heterogeneous crowds prone to deceive each other, had a tendency to corrupt the purity of philosophy as well as history. Adopting the language of eastern despotism, the sophist Anaxarchus had not blushed to tell Alexander himself, that Justice sat at the right hand of kings ready to sanction their most lawless proceedings. [138] Clearchus and other histo-

History.

[136] Polybius and Strabo, passim.

[137] Dionys. De Structur. Orat. s. 18.

[138] Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. iv. c. 10.

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rians accompanying that conqueror, were imposed on themselves, and are accused of wilfully imposing on their readers.[139] The delusion thickened under his immediate successors. Megasthenes and Daimachus, who, as ambassadors from Seleucus Nicator, resided successively at Palibothra, or Patna, then the great Indian capital, although they communicated much new information concerning the eastern world, yet disgraced their reports by the most ridiculous fictions: of ants, for example, large as foxes, that dug up gold; of men only three spans high; and of whole nations disfigured by ears so monstrous in magnitude, that they served the wearers for beds or coverings.[140] Timæus of Tauromenium, who wrote history at Alexandria, under the first Ptolemies, though by a pun nick-named Epitimæus from his calumny, was afterwards, from his credulity, stigmatised in a single Greek word, denoting the collector of old women's stories.[141] A contemporary and far more daring romancer was Evhemerus of Messené, the agent and confidential friend of Cassander, who, in the partition of Alexander's empire, obtained the kingdom of Macedon. By that inquisitive and politic prince, Evhemerus was often employed in remote eastern embassies. In one of these missions, he embarked, according to his own narrative, at a harbour on the coast of Arabia Felix, and thence entering the

Megasthenes and Daimachus.

Timæus.

Evhemerus.

[139] Strabo, l. xv. p. 693. [140] Strabo, ibid. p. 706, 707.
[141] Γραοσυλλεκτρια. Suidas et Hesychius.

ocean, discovered far distant from the continent of Asia, several valuable islands, of which the principal was Panchaia. This place he chose for the scene of wonders greater and bolder than any that his rivals had invented, since the lies of other Greek travellers were often a sort of pious frauds, whereas the tale of Evhemerus was told with a view to discredit and subvert the whole system of idolatry. I will not enter into his description of the unrivalled felicity of Panchaia, a country far surpassing the Happy Arabia itself. Let it suffice to observe that six miles from its capital, Panara, there was a lofty mountain called the throne of heaven, adorned by a magnificent temple of white marble, which, among other monuments of inestimable value, contained a golden pillar, inscribed with hieroglyphics. In decyphering this inscription, Evhemerus unmasked the whole delusion of pagan worship: Uranus, Saturn, and Jupiter, with the whole tribe of Grecian gods, he found to have been mere mortals, several of them great conquerors, and all of them illustriously distinguished in arts or arms.[142] Such is the *sacred history*, interpreted by Evheremus from hieroglyphics into Greek, and translated a century afterwards from Greek into Latin, by the poet Ennius. Though all critics of discernment, with Eratosthenes at their head, the credulous Plutarch, and the incredulous Strabo and Polybius, reject with

[142] Diodorus Siculus, l. v. s. 42. et seq. Conf. Fragment. l. vi. p. 653.

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scorn the description, and even the existence of Panchaia, yet the name became current at Rome through the verses of Ennius, and was made familiar to the world, by the poetry of Lucretius[143] and Virgil[144]; both of them Epicureans in philosophy, and as such, not unwilling to abet what was deemed by the vulgar, the atheism of Evhemerus.

Berosus and Manetho.

The wildest fables of the Greeks were countenanced and surpassed by those of the Barbarians, who adopted their language, and abused their credulity. Soon after the building of Alexandria, this new capital of Egypt was filled, as we have seen, by a mixed assemblage of nations, and particularly by a large colony of Jews, who, in the reign of the first Ptolemy, translated into Greek the five books of Moses, which they called collectively the Law.[145] The appearance of a work which reflected such unparalleled honour on a diminutive province, and at that time an obscure people, seems to have piqued the national pride of the Babylonians and Egyptians. These once illustrious cultivators of arts and sciences, found ready champions in the priests Berosus and Manetho, who, in the reign of the second Ptolemy, also translated into the Greek language, the history and antiquities of their respective countries. Berosus dedicated his work, which, under the

[143] Lucret. l. ii. v. 407. [144] Georg. l. ii. v. 139.

[145] See this subject ably treated in Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Testament, Part ii. Book 1.

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title of history, comprehended a strange admixture of mythology and astrology[146], to Antiochus Soter, then master of Babylon, or rather Seleucia-Babylonia, and all the dependent provinces in Upper Asia. At whatever period this work was composed, it must have been presented by its author in the extremity of old age, since the accession of Antiochus did not happen till forty-three years after Alexander's death: and before that event, Berosus had flourished at Babylon, as a priest of Belus.[147] Having learned the Greek tongue, he travelled through different countries and islands inhabited by Greeks[148]; taught astronomy and astrology at Cos, the famed birth-place of Hippocrates; and carrying with him the same sciences to Athens, gained such renown in that superstitious city, by the authenticity of his predictions, that he was honoured with a statue in the principal place of public exercise.[149]

Berosus's Babylonian history.

In the history inscribed to Antiochus, the priest of Babylon still further insulted Grecian credulity, by tracing back the antiquity of that city to a period of four hundred and seventy-three thousand years before the Macedonian conquest.[150] With regard to the flood, as well as the transactions of Noah, Nebuchadnezzar, and Cyrus, his narrative nearly coincided with

[146] Των παρ' Χαλδαιοις φιλοσοφεμενων. Joseph. cont. Apion, l. i. s. 19.

[147] Tatian. advers. Gent. [148] Vitruvius, Architect. l. ix. c. 7.

[149] Plin. l. vii. c. 37.

[150] Syncell. Chronol. p. 17. et seq. Conf. Diodorus, l. ii. s. 31.

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the Hebrew annals.[151] But whenever forsaken by this aid, all was impenetrable obscurity or wild inconsistency. The dark chasm of fathomless ages was partly filled up by barren lists of fabulous kings; while the palpable defect of satisfactory information was excused by a fiction still more palpable, namely, that Nabonassar, who is said to have reigned at Babylon only 747 years before Christ, desirous of passing with posterity for the founder of the Assyrian empire, had destroyed all the historical monuments of his numberless predecessors.[152] Should this assertion be admitted, what are we to think of the records long anterior to Nabonassar, which Berosus with strange impudence professes to have carefully copied?

Manetho's Egyptian history

Manetho, a priest of Heliopolis in Egypt, endeavoured to convince his patron Ptolemy Philadelphus, that this magnificent prince governed a people not less venerable than the Babylonians, subject to his rival, the king of Syria. To Ptolemy, Manetho dedicated his translation into Greek of the antiquities of Egypt; according to which work, that country had been long governed by the gods. The reigns of these beneficent sovereigns were described in orderly succession, many of them exceeding the period of a thousand years: Vulcan's administration alone amounted to nine times that number.[153] In some collateral points

[151] Josephus, ubi supra. [152] Syncell. Chronol. p. 207.
[153] Syncell. p. 270. Conf. Diodor. l. i. s. 44.

of history, the Egyptian priest accords with the writings of Moses, but, except where guided by this sacred light, his narrative, as Josephus convincingly argues, is fraught with the wildest absurdity, and sometimes poisoned by the grossest calumny.[154]

The Jews adopt the Greek learning and arts of imposture.

The divine oracles, long carefully preserved by them, raised the Jews above such extravagant fictions and such monstrous chronology. But after their captivity in Babylon, and especially after their acquaintance with the Greek language, even this people, who ought to have disdained such unnecessary artifices, did not remain exempt from the contagion of literary imposture, as those religious romances called the Apochrypha still testify; and Aristeas's well known story of the seventy-two interpreters[155], with all the marvellous circumstances belonging to it, should seem to have been invented shortly after the Egyptian and Chaldæan forgeries abovementioned. It is treated as an authentic work by Aristobulus, an Hellenistic Jew, like Aristeas himself, under the disguise of a Greek philosopher. In the extreme of national partiality, Aristobulus maintained that Pythagoras, Plato, and other learned luminaries of Greece, had borrowed all their science and knowledge from the Old Testament.[156]

[154] Joseph. cont. Apion, l. i. c. 25. et seq.

[155] Vid. Arist. de S. Script. Interpret. Oxford, An. 1692. & Prideaux Old and New Testament connected, p. ii. b. 1. p. 44, &c.

[156] Clement. Alexand. Strom. i. et v. et Euseb. Præparat. Evang. l. xiii. c. 12.

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Circumstances which occasioned this.

Strange as this opinion must appear to those conversant with the history and genius of the two nations, circumstances were not wanting to give it in that age an air of plausibility. From their classic compositions preceding the Macedonian conquest, the Greeks could not discover any indication of their early intercourse with the Jews either as teachers or disciples: much less could the natives of Palæstine find any notices of such connection in the sacred records entrusted to their care, and religiously transmitted by them to their posterity. But as the Greeks, shortly after Alexander's expedition, began to blend and amalgamate, as it were, their traditionary or written knowledge with oriental allegories and fables, so the Jews, at a still earlier period, had made such blameable additions to their divine Scriptures, as fitted them to mix, in some measure, and harmonize, either with the follies of superstition, or the absurdities of false philosophy. We shall briefly explain how these corruptions were introduced and rendered general, first among the Jews, and afterwards among the Greeks.

The oral law taught by the Masorites and Cabbalists.

It is a well-known doctrine, of the former, at least as ancient as Ezra, by whom the sacred text was revised and solemnly published four centuries and a half before the Christian æra, that God, when he gave the law to Moses on mount Sinai, also taught him its true reading called Masorah, and its true interpretation called Cabbala. The former of these uncouth words literally signifies "delivery," and the

latter, "reception;" and both collectively refer to the same complex notion of a knowledge handed down from antiquity, and uniformly received through successive generations.[157] The Masorites and Cabbalists, who were the guardians and teachers of these traditions, greatly multiplied after the age of Ezra, and particularly in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, when the spirit of fiction exerted its greatest vigour. From this time forward, the Masorites and Cabbalists maintained a boundless authority, and the fables on which it was founded increasing like snowballs as they devolved from one age to another, were finally collected in the reign of Antoninus Pius into a work called the Mishnah, that is, the second or oral law by Rabbi Judah, then master of the Jewish school at Tiberias in Galilee. The Mishnah was received with the utmost veneration by the Hebrews at home and abroad, and became the principal study of their learned men, particularly in Babylonia and Palæstine. The Rabbis of both those countries commented the Mishnah in what is called the Gemara, or complement, because in it their whole traditionary knowledge is supposed to be summed up. The Mishnah is the text, the Gemara the comment; and both collectively form the Talmuds, one of Jerusalem, published about the beginning of the fourth century, and the other the Babylonian, published two hundred years afterwards. The Babylonish Talmud is far the

The Mishnah.

The Gemara.

The Talmuds.

[157] See on this subject, Prideaux, p. i. b. v. throughout.

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bulkier of the two, the proper Alcoran of the Jews, though the imposture originated at a far earlier period in those vile fictions which made our Saviour declare to the Scribes and Pharisees, that "they made the word of God of none effect through their traditions."[158] In consequence of these fabulous traditions, and particularly of the prevalent fashion of allegorical interpretation in the age of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the Jews, gradually adapted their religious opinions to the taste of their conquerors, while some of their learned men imbibed so completely the philosophy, which, as we shall see presently, began to be taught in Alexandria in that reign under the usurped names of Pythagoras and Plato, that it might be difficult, for an ordinary reader, to distinguish which were the copies, and which the originals.[159]

The corrupters of Greek philosophy.—Diodorus of Aspendus, and other pretended Pythagoreans.

At the time when the Jews were most busy in polluting their religion by a spurious philosophy, the Greeks were not less perversely employed in corrupting their philosophy, so as to make it blend with the vilest superstition. This was effected under the first Ptolemies by Diodorus of Aspendus, and other pretended followers of Pythagoras, who laboured to adapt the tenets of that wise and great man, to the

[158] Mark, c. vii. v. 13.

[159] Philo Judæus cited by Photius, Cod. c. v. p. 278. But long before Philo, who flourished An. Dom. 40, we find in the Jewish writers under the Ptolemies the doctrines and even the technical expressions of the Platonic school of Alexandria. See particularly the apochryphal book, entitled the Wisdom of Solomon.

dark imaginations and childish credulity of the Egyptians.[160] The coadjutors of these pretended Pythagoreans, who acted the same part under the Ptolemies that the new Platonicians did under the Roman emperors, were the lying voyagers Diogenes Antonius, Hermippus of Smyrna, and others shortly before and after them, who, in their travels through different countries of the East, had learned to give such an account of the sages of ancient Greece as suited oriental prejudice and oriental credulity.[161] As the extravagant work of Diogenes can, as far as I know, be read only in the Greek library of Photius, I shall subjoin a brief account of it for the purpose of illustrating my present subject.

Diogenes Antonius.

This Diogenes is placed by Photius above four centuries before Diogenes Laertius, that is, in the reign of Ptolemy Soter in Egypt. "His voyage to Thulé" is written in the dramatic form[162], a mode of composition highly fashionable with the Greeks since the celebrity acquired by the dialogues of Xenophon and Plato. The story is told by Deinias an Arcadian to a party of his countrymen sent to solicit his return from Tyre to the place of his birth. Deinias, who was far advanced in life, refused to listen to this honourable invitation from the public assembly of his commonwealth, but endeavoured to com-

[160] Conf. Diogen. Laert. in Pythagor. Athen. Deipn. l. iv. p. 165. et Jamblich. in Vit. Pythagor. c. ult.

[161] Plin. N. H. l. xxx. c. 1. et Diogen. Laert. l. viii. seqm. 40. et seq.

[162] Vid. Phot. Cod. clxvi. p. 355. et seq.

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pensate to his fellow-citizens for their fruitless voyage to Phœnicia, by entertaining them with the curious history of his own travels by sea and land. With three other Arcadians, as he related, and his son Demochares, he left Greece in quest of knowledge, passed through Asia Minor, crossed the Caspian sea, climbed the Riphæan mountains, and traversing regions of eternal winter, entered the ocean surrounding the globe, and encircled it from the rising sun to the western island of Thulé. In this island he found a hospitable resting-place after his long and various navigation, and here too he found Dercyllis, a Tyrian damsel of great beauty and accomplishments, who, like himself, was distinguished by the amazing series of her adventures. Confidence and affection naturally grew up between congenial minds. Dercyllis entertained the Arcadian by telling how, in company with her brother Mantinias, she had been obliged to fly from Tyre through the machinations of Paapis an Egyptian priest. This priest, they had received and kindly entertained as an unfortunate exile, but, upon further acquaintance, had discovered him, to their infinite sorrow, to be a deep and detestable magician. Through the suggestions of this villanous impostor, the unhappy children administered by way of remedy to their drooping parents, preparations that suspended their vital powers, and enchanted them into a state of death-like slumber. Afflicted at this involuntary parricide, they had sailed from their native land, visited many countries, and beheld

many wonders. Having touched at Sicily, they had the mortification to meet there the accursed Paapis; but, to punish his cruelty and perfidy, contrived to steal the scrip inclosing his books, and the casket containing his medicated herbs. With these instruments of his magic, they escaped into Italy. At Metapontum they learned that the traitor was in pursuit of them. Their informer was the philosopher Astraeus whom in the course of their travels, they had formerly met with; Astraeus, companion to the famed Zamolxis, himself a disciple of Pythagoras, and legislator among his countrymen the Getæ, by whom he was successively revered as a prophet, and worshipped as a god. To avoid the encounter of Paapis, the young Tyrians accompanied Astraeus to the country of the Getæ. The tedious part of the journey was beguiled by many wonderful stories concerning Pythagoras; his travels and discoveries, family and disciples. From Astraeus, or rather from Zamolxis at his desire, the travellers also learned the extraordinary events that were speedily to befal themselves. According to his prediction, they sailed to Thulé; and being followed even to that extremity of the world, by the vengeful Paapis, were reduced by him through a seemingly very inadequate spell into the state of dead persons in the day-time, though they regularly revived in the night. Their cause was espoused by an amorous native of Thulé, who, at the sight of Dercyllis whom he supposed dead, slew first the magician, and then himself. The means of dis-

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enchanting the young Tyrians, as well as their aged parents, were finally discovered in examining the purloined books of Paapis. Such are the wild fictions, which Diogenes endeavoured to sanction by a forged letter from Balachrus, one of the least conspicuous among Alexander's captains. In this strange epistle, written by Balachrus to his wife residing in Macedon, he relates, that Alexander, upon the taking and burning of Tyre, was accosted by a soldier, who intimated his having an extraordinary communication to make to him: that, accompanied by Parmenio and Hephæstion, Alexander followed the soldier to a place at a little distance from the demolished city, and was there shown by him certain sepulchral urns under ground, composed of stone, and containing several legible inscriptions; particularly those relating to the heroes of the above story, "as Deinias the Arcadian lived a hundred and twenty-five years, Dercyllis and Mantinias lived respectively thirty-nine and forty-two years, but both of them, in addition to these different periods of time, lived a certain, and that the same precise number of nights." This ænigma was explained by discovering on the wall of the cavern, a cypress casket, on which Alexander and his companions read the following words: Whoever thou art, O Stranger! open this casket, and learn things worthy of admiration. They opened, and read on cypress tablets the adventures of Deinias and Dercyllis; adventures entirely controuled by the same kind of machinery which prevails in the Arabian Nights

Entertainments, and in the oldest romances of chivalry. If Diogenes lived under Ptolemy Soter, he should appear to have been the first Grecian who disgraced his composition with such vile unclassical fictions: and Hermippus of Smyrna, the scholar of Callimachus, is the first writer of that nation who treated *circumstantially* concerning magic; that immemorial folly of the East, enslaving the credulous mind by the triple chain of superstition, astrology, and medicine. [163] CHAP. XI.

From this time forward, and in consequence of such writings as those of Diogenes, Hermippus, and Timæus, who interwove in his history a romantic account of Pythagoras and the Italic school, it came to be a prevailing opinion that the greatest philosophers in Greece were only the greatest of magicians. Pliny assures us of the fact; and inconsistently with his pretended contempt for magic, treats Democritus and Plato as abettors of that futile art, in which he believes them to have made great proficiency. [164] But the copious writings of Plato convincingly refute such an extravagant imputation.

In this manner, the corruption of philosophy early began at Alexandria with the falsification of history. The evil was perpetuated by those pretended lovers of wisdom, who, travelling over the Macedonian conquests in the East, collected every rite of sanctity and every tale The Platonicians.

[163] Plin. N. H. l. xxx. c. 1.

[164] Id. ibid

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of wonder; and who, in contempt of the judicious maxim, "never to intermix the concerns of philosophy with those of the popular superstition[165]," made it their great endeavour to combine philosophy and mythology into one system, to defend as well as embellish truth by fiction, and whether they laboured, as was usual, to fortify the established belief, or aimed, like Evhemerus, at discrediting the gods of their ancestors, to effect either purpose by new-invented fables and lying prodigies. Their falsehoods and absurdities devolved with continual accumulation from age to age, until towards the commencement of the third century of the Christian æra, the philosophers of Alexandria, under the name of Eclectics or Platonicians, corrupted or confounded the tenets, abolished the authority, and almost the name, of all the more ancient and less visionary sects.[166]

Arts of imitation or design.

The unclouded renown of Philadelphus's reign consisted in the splendour of the arts. Of all Greek kings (Alexander only excepted) he kept the greatest number of eminent artists in his pay. In this particular, his predecessor Ptolemy Soter had been rivalled by Seleucus Nicator, contemporary with that prince; but though Seleucia-Babylonia was a far greater city than Alexandria, the arts of imitation or design, if we except only the Syrian coins above men-

[165] Περι των μυθικως σοφιζομενων, εκ αξιον μετα σπουδης σκοπειν. Aristot. Metaphys. l. ii. c. 4.

[166] See the supplement to my New Analysis of Aristotle's Speculative Philosophy, p. 197. 3d edit.

tioned, never struck such deep root there, or reached such a flourishing height. Alexandria had an easy maritime communication with Greece from which all refined arts flowed; whereas Seleucia was only a great inland emporium, at an immense distance from the mother-country, and cut off from the Greek colonies in Lesser Asia by mountains and deserts. Egypt, besides, was peculiarly productive in materials for ornamental architecture and for statuary. Its finest marbles, which had long been disfigured by an uncouth superstition, were fashioned by Greek artists into the perfect forms of ideal beauty. The Grecian gods and heroes claimed the first care both of the king and of those who were patronised by him; but among the innumerable statues erected in Egypt in that reign, contemporary merit met with its due reward, nor could such honours be withheld from the Olympic victors, sometimes Ptolemy's subjects, natives of Alexandria. The epithet Philadelphian became proverbial to express expence employed with taste; and this taste appeared alike in the greatest and the smallest productions, from the lofty column and magnificent temple to the elegant medal or polished gem; particularly the miniature portraits of Arsinoé in chrystal, cut by Satyrius.[167] Such minute labours are deserving of notice, because by them only we can now estimate the reports delivered down to us concerning the

[167] Antholog. l. iv. c. 18.

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wonderful splendour of public buildings, either in the cities embellished by Ptolemy, or in those which he founded. From motives of vanity or superstition, he was careful, like other princes his contemporaries, to perpetuate, in works of architecture, his name and surname. Acco, at the northern extremity of the Holy Land, being repaired and strengthened by him, was called Ptolemais: and Rabba Ammon, on the other side Jordan, obtained in like manner the name of Philadelphia[168]; a name which continued to prevail; whereas the old appellation of Acco again revived, and, being corrupted into Acre, was destined in that harsh word to convey a sound pleasing to Christians, who there triumphed over Mahometans; and more recently to Englishmen, a handful of whom in Acre foiled an army of French.

Improvement of Alexandria.

Philadelphus was industrious in improving the commercial advantages of his capital, and in adorning it with temples, palaces, theatres, hippodromes, and gymnasia. Alexandria, under his predecessor, already displayed its spacious and well-ventilated streets; its copious supplies of fresh water; its double harbour, separated by the Heptastadium; its light-house on the isle of Pharos; and its magnificent temple to Serapis. But numerous benefits still remained to be conferred on it. Of these, history does not enable us to ascertain the date; though the principal of them may warrantably be ascribed

[168] Vid. Reland. Palæstin. Illustrat.

to Philadelphus.[169] The ports open to the sea (we shall speak presently of those on the lake Mareotis) were constructed to afford the utmost safety; the inner part of Eunostus, above-mentioned, was emphatically styled the ark or coffer[170]; and so deep were both harbours at the water's edge, that the largest vessels laid their sides on the graduated keys, called ladders[171], on which their cargoes were unloaded. The southern walls of the city were washed by the lake Mareotis. This lake, now much shrunk in dimensions, was thirty miles long and fifteen broad. It was diversified by eight islands: its banks teemed with inhabitants: by one canal it communicated with the harbour Eunostus, and by another with the Canopic branch of the Nile. The harbours on the lake were not less busy than those on the sea-coast; beautiful villages rose on both sides of them. The eastern suburb was distinguished by the vast hippodrome; the scene, as we shall see, of many extraordinary occurrences. On this side, chiefly, innumerable canals strayed through rich fields sheltered from the sun's rays by the green luxuriance of their produce. A kind of bean, in particular, was so lofty, and had leaves so large and thick, that parties of pleasure frequented these cool plantations in barges or

[169] Pausan. Attic. & Philo Judæus de Vit. Mosis.

[170] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 795.

[171] Ὥστε την μεγιστην ναυν επι κλιμακος ἑρμειν. Strabo. Conf. Joseph de Bell. Jud. l. v. Thence the origin of the French expression "Les Echelles de Levant."

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banquetting vessels.[172] The whole country round, (now deformed by barrenness and dreary solitude,) breathed activity, life, and pleasure. Even the little island Pharos, in addition to its far-famed tower, came to be adorned with many other superb edifices, and was copiously provided with fresh water, poured into it from the Nile by hydraulic engines.

Its inhabitants—their employments.

The general population of this great city, (of the learned inhabitants of the museum we have above spoken,) though formed from an assemblage of different nations, was gradually moulded into much sameness of character. The most praise-worthy qualities belonging to the Alexandrians, were industry and ingenuity. Throughout the whole place, none lived in idleness; and here many occupations were skilfully exercised, unknown or disregarded in other Greek cities. Many Alexandrians laboured in blowing glass: others were employed in softening and smoothing the papyrus: weaving linen and brewing beer were very ordinary trades: the blind and lame, even those lame in their hands, had tasks assigned to them, not incompatible with their several infirmities.[173] The rich were, in a different way, not less diligent; some superintending their large manufactures; others augmenting their fortunes by commercial enterprise: and if

[172] Strabo, ubi supra.

[173] Saturninus apud Flav. Vopisc. in Histor. August. p. 297. Edit. Franc. An. 1788. Conf. Hirtius de Bell. Alexand. c. iii. This character of them remounts to the earliest times of the city. Plutarch, Strabo, Polybius.

the Ptolemies shared amply in both sources of profit, their gains were laudably expended in great public undertakings.

Royal palace—its vastness.

The vastness of the royal palace excites, indeed, an idea of idle superfluity of grandeur. It is said to have equalled a fourth-part of the city.[174] But this observation can apply only to the times of the latter kings, for the most part weak princes, who vied in surpassing each other in works of extravagance and vanity.[175] They should seem to have continually enlarged the ancient royal residence in Bruchion, by edifices communicating through covered galleries with

[174] Και τα βασιλεια, τεταρτον η και τριτον τϐ παντος περιβολϐ μερος. Strabo. "That the palaces were a fourth or even a third part of the whole enclosure." The vastness of the palace, or rather the palaces of Alexandria, need not surprise us, if we admit that the imperial palace at Rome was larger than all the rest of that capital. Hume, in his Essay on the populousness of ancient nations, p. 473. is justly incredulous with regard to this point; and Gibbon endeavours to remove the difficulty by saying, that the emperors had confiscated the houses and gardens of opulent senators, therefore, included under the name of the imperial palace. Decline and Fall, c. vi. p. 161. But upon turning to the passage in Herodian, l. iv. c. 1. on which this incredible account of the magnitude of the imperial palace wholly rests, the words convey to me a different meaning from that in which they are taken by all Latin translators, not excepting the learned Politian. The historian relates, that the sons of Severus, upon their father's death at York, hastened by the shortest road to Rome, never eating at the same table, nor sleeping in the same house. The rapidity of their journey was urged by their desire of taking up separate quarters in the amplitude of the royal palace, greater than *any* city, παση πολεως μειζονι. Herodian institutes not a comparison between the magnitude of Rome and that of its imperial palace. He only intimates generally and indefinitely the magnitude of the palace, in distinct wings of which Caracalla and Geta thought they would be safer from each other's machinations than in the cities of Gaul and Italy through which they had to pass.

[175] Polybius, l. xv. c. 30. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 793.

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each other, and therefore included under one name. Even under the first Ptolemies, the palace was connected, in this way, with the museum, the library, and the theatre of Bacchus; on which account very extraordinary dimensions might without impropriety be assigned to it.

Foreign embassies — and transition to the growth and aggrandizement of Rome.

After Philadelphus's glorious reign of thirty-eight years, the prosperity of Egypt was but imperfectly upheld, during the following twenty-five years under his son Ptolemy Euergetes. Thenceforward there was a perpetual decline, in consequence of bad policy at home and abroad, and of the general unworthiness of the Ptolemies, with one only exception in favour of the unfortunate Ptolemy VI. Philometor. Yet, after the worst of times, and when Egypt had sunk into a province of the Roman empire, its populousness amounted to 8,000,000[176]: it was doubtless much greater in the time of Philadelphus: and his foreign dominions collectively, could not, in this respect, fall short of Egypt. With such a population, and with the commerce, revenues, fleets, and armies above detailed, Ptolemy had nothing to fear from any other Greek king; much less, as it might seem, from any power beyond the pale of the Macedonian empire. The first war between Carthage and Rome, which lasted twenty-four years, began nineteen, before Philadelphus's demise. Of the two parties engaged in that obstinate conflict, Carthage was naturally the object of most

[176] Josephus de Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 4.

jealousy, from her vicinity to Cyrené, and her long rivalship with that Egyptian dependency. Accordingly, when in the middle of the war, the Carthaginians applied to Ptolemy for assistance, he declined compliance with their request; and even denied to them the loan of 2000 talents.[177] In excuse of this last refusal, he told them that the money, which they demanded, was incompatible with an amity of twenty years subsisting between Egypt and Rome: For Ptolemy, with a due attention to foreign affairs, had, upon the repulse of Pyrrhus, which left the Romans masters of the southern coasts of Italy, sent an embassy of congratulation to Rome, and received from that republic another embassy in return.[178] The transaction was on both sides marked with much dignity; and first brought into notice with the Greek kings of the East, a commonwealth which was speedily to interfere with decisive preponderancy in all their concerns.

[177] Appian, Excerpt. de Rebus Siculis, vol. i. p. 92. Edit. Schweigh.
[178] Valerius Maxim. l. iv. c. 3.

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Distinctions between the Greek Colonies in Latium, and those in Magna Græcia. — Foundation of Rome. — Views and Institutions of Romulus. — Parallel between Rome and Athens. — Wars of the Romans under the Kings. — Improvements of Rome, in point of Strength, Beauty, and Salubrity. — Wars with the Tarquins. — Italian Wars under the Consuls. — How the Æqui and Volsci were enabled to resist two Centuries. — Siege of Veii. — Legionary order of Battle. — Rome taken by the Gauls. — Destruction of these Invaders. — War with the Samnites. — Rebellion of the Latins and Campanians. — Settlement of the Roman Conquests. — War with Palæpolis. — Jealousy of Tarentum. — Her Artifices for embroiling Rome with the Lucanians and Samnites. — Caudine Forks. — The Romans protect Thurii. — Survey the Coast of Magna Græcia. — Pyrrhus chosen General of Tarentum. — His Expeditions into Italy and Sicily. — The Romans subdue the continental Part of Magna Græcia. — Causes of the first Punic War. — Its History. — Sicily divided between the Romans and King Hiero.

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Connection of this history.

THE Greeks, at once a commercial and warlike people, connected, by their colonies and conquests, the transactions of the ancient world. In the reign of Ptolemy Soter, the affairs of the East were brought into contact with those of the West, through the bold ambition of Agathocles, tyrant of Sicily. In the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the connection was renewed through

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the adventurous spirit of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. But before the expedition of the former of these kings into Africa, and of the latter into Italy, and precisely in the same year that Alexander died at Babylon, the Romans having extended their dominion or their ascendancy to the confines of Magna Græcia, first began to make war on the Greek city Palæpolis, and to be viewed with fear or jealousy by Tarentum, Sybaris, Rhegium, and other maritime emporiums belonging to the same nation in Italy.[1]

Makes it necessary to explain the maxims and proceedings of the Romans, before they engaged in war with Magna Græcia. Olymp. cxiv. 1. B. C. 324. U. C. 430.

These once flourishing seaports had suffered a sad reverse of fortune, since the abolition of their Pythagorean laws, and the destruction of their Pythagorean magistrates. From that time forward, the Greeks of Italy and Sicily, whose territories collectively boasted the name of Magna Græcia, had been distressed by foreign invaders, and by domestic tyrants, but more uniformly afflicted under the ignominious yoke of unbridled democracy.[2] In such a wretched situation of affairs, without vigour or union among themselves, Pyrrhus was summoned to their succour. Alexander, king of Epirus, had perished by treachery in Italy, forty-three years before this crisis, after successfully defending the Greek colonies there, against the barbarous natives in their neighbourhood.[3] Pyrrhus inherited all the boldness of his ancestors: in virtue of his marriage with Agathocles's daughter, Lanassa, he had strong claims in both divisions of Magna

[1] Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 22. et seq.

[2] Diodor. Eclog. xxii.

[3] See above, p. 153.

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Græcia: with apparent generosity, and much real ambition, he therefore undertook the defence of the Greeks in Italy against the Romans, and the defence of the Greeks in Sicily against the Carthaginians. Through the invasion of Africa, by his father-in-law Agathocles, my readers were made acquainted with the history, resources, and internal state of Carthage; but the expeditions of Pyrrhus into Italy, exhibiting the first important warfare between the Greeks and Romans, it will be necessary here to examine, with a view to many subsequent parts of this work, the character and genius of a people, who after first measuring their strength with the Epirots, persevered in successive conflicts, with other Greek commonwealths or kingdoms, till in the space of two hundred and forty-four years, they reduced the whole of them into provinces.

Distinctions between the Greek colonies there and those in Latium.

Under the necessity of treating a subject, which, by being familiar to the reader, is thereby rendered more difficult to the writer, I am happy that the information which it was incumbent on me to communicate in a preceding work, will enable me to reduce the present narrative, within a narrow compass. The Romans, were indeed Greeks, only of an earlier age[3]: with their blood and primeval habits, they inherited that combination of craft and courage, which, having carried their arms in victory over twenty

[3] Vid. Dionys. Halicarn. Histor. Roman. l. i. p. 10. et seq. edit. Sylburg. Conf. Plutarch in Flamin. p. 375. edit. Xyland.

barbarous nations in Italy, at length exposed them, four hundred and thirty years after the building of Rome, to the envy and hatred of the degenerate and feeble inhabitants of Magna Græcia. The Greeks who colonized the part of Italy, bearing that name, chiefly in the eighth century before Christ, are carefully to be distinguished from those Elians and Arcadians, who, at a far earlier period occupied the district called Latium, towards the middle of the western coast. The settlers in Magna Græcia left their native country, at a time when its arts and institutions had acquired a considerable degree of maturity. They possessed themselves of the projecting head-lands looking towards Greece and Sicily; and maintained a frequent and animated intercourse with their ancestors in the former, and with their brethren in the latter.[4] But the Greek colonists in Latium migrated during a ruder state of the arts, and an earlier period of society. They intermixed with the natives of the conquered territory, whom their humanity or policy had spared. After the taking of Troy, they are said to have been joined by Phrygians, a people naturally hostile to their mother-country; and their settlement on the remote[5] western coast of Italy debarred rude mariners, as they were, from frequent commu-

[4] See History of Ancient Greece, c. xi. throughout.

[5] The contrast between the two coasts, furnished Cicero with his beautiful comparison, Mare Ionium, Græcum quoddam et portuosum—Inferum hoc, Tuscum et Barbarum scopulosum et infestum, &c. Cicero de Orator. l. iii. c. 19.

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nication with ancient Greece, or with Greek establishments in any part of the world.[6] In this manner, the origin of the Romans came to be a matter of some obscurity, if not in earlier ages, certainly in the later times of the republic: the difficulty must have increased with the burning of Rome by the Gauls, accompanied by the destruction of many ancient documents; and at the æra of her greatness and vanity, one of her brightest ornaments and best citizens frankly acknowledges his desire of concealing her obligations to Greece, for those laws and institutions, which did so much honour to Rome, when considered as the result of domestic wisdom.[7]

Foundation of Rome. Olym. vi. 4. B. C. 753.

Yet the odious secret was betrayed by the evidence of history, of monuments, and of language; by the circumstances accompanying the foundation of Rome itself; and the whole proceedings of that city, whether under kings or consuls. According to the custom of Greeks, in other parts of the world, those of Latium extended themselves by colonization, into many small but independent communities, occupying

[6] In the 220th year of the city, Livy says of Tarquin the Proud, "duos filios per ignotas ea tempestate terras, ignotiora maria in Græciam misit." Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 56.

[7] Multa sunt etiam in nostris ducta a Pythagoreis, quæ prætereo; ne ea quæ peperisse ipsi putamur aliunde didicisse videamur. Cicero Tusculan. l. iv. Plutarch in Flamin. speaks of ενανσματα μικρα και γλισχρα κοινηματα παλαιᾶς γενες, "the small sparks and faint resemblances which the Romans had retained of their ancient extraction," even on an occasion when he would have been most willing to conceal, if possible, their Grecian descent.

when they first obtained the notice of history, twenty miles inland, and sixty miles along the coast, from the left bank of the Tiber, to the promontory of Circeii. Alba, the mother of Rome, was fifteen miles from the sea, defended on one side by abrupt precipices, and adorned on the other by a large and deep lake, whose waters, being artificially accumulated, served the double[8] purpose of irrigating the contiguous plain, and of resisting the invasion of enemies. The city is said to have subsisted several centuries, as head of the Latin confederacy, and to have founded thirty colonies, when king Numitor sent out a new one under his grandson Romulus. Accompanied by the valour of three hundred companions in arms, and the strength of three thousand hardy peasants, Romulus occupied the district assigned to him, adjacent to the left bank of the Tiber, scarcely seven miles in circumference. Within this narrow territory, he immediately commenced designs calculated to promote his renown in life, and in death to secure those coveted honours to his shade, which, according to the useful superstition of Greece, belonged to the benefactors and improvers, above all to the prosperous founders[9] of cities and commonwealths. Actuated by motives, equally energetic and ardent, he is said, in the space of three years, to have collected sub-

Romulus, his views and institutions.

[8] Dionys. Halicarn. Hist. Roman. l. i. p. 53. Conf. Piranesi Antiquité d'Albano, p. 6. et seq.

[9] Vid: Diodorus Siculus, l. xx. s. 102. θυσίας και πανηγυρεις, &c. Conf. Dion. Chrysostom. Orat. xxxiii. p. 408.

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jects, built a city, instituted a religion, and arrayed an army.[10] But his subjects had partly accompanied him from Alba, and might easily, amidst the wars and distractions of petty states, be augmented by his protecting asylum; his fortress called Rome, from a Greek word denoting strength, already subsisted among the seven hills, and needed only to be repaired and re-occupied[11]; and in respect of religion, polity, and war, his institutions, even, as described by the popular historians of his country, perfectly accord with those which prevailed in the ancient royalties of Greece. There, during those heroic ages, as in Rome afterwards, national assemblies deliberated and resolved, senates approved and confirmed[12], and kings at the head of the community, exercised the prerogatives of convener and president of senates and assemblies, together with the important functions of high-priest, judge, and general.

Respective merits of his six immediate

Under such political arrangements, Romulus infused into the commonwealth his own magnanimity. Numa inspired it with reverence for the

[10] Dionysius and Livy.

[11] Vid. Auctor. apud Cluverium, Ital. Antiq. p. 246. et seq.

[12] This order was afterwards reversed: the senate proposed and the people confirmed. Dionys. Halicarn. l. ii. p. 87. When the alteration took place, I do not find; nor have I met with any writer, ancient or modern, who agitates the question. But from Dionysius, incomparably the most informing author, concerning the first ages of Rome, we learn that the Roman people were very anciently divided into φρατρα, or Curiæ, which collected, each of them apart, the votes of their respective members, and that the resolve of the majority of the Curiæ was referred to the Senate. Conf Digest. l. i. tit. i. 2.

maxims of justice, as guarded by the sanctions of religion. Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Martius respectively fortified the laws of Romulus and of Numa. Tarquinius Priscus, a prince of Corinthian extraction, created that taste for Grecian elegance, and planned those works of solidity and splendour, which already announced the eternal city. Servius Tullius secured regularity and fairness in collecting the public revenue, multiplied and improved the rules of legal polity, and balanced, with a nice hand, the rights of liberty and numbers among a free people, against the prerogatives of birth, wealth, and superior personal attainments. What remained to be done by the cruel and proud Tarquin? To fall, it has been said, an useful victim, and to promote by his disgrace the future glory of his country, since Rome must either have changed its government, or have remained a petty monarchy.[14] This is not, however, one of those reflections that naturally grow out of facts. Towards the end of the second century of the city, Servius Tullius mustered eighty-four thousand seven hundred citizens in arms[15]; after the lapse of two hundred years, this number did not double, amounting to only one hundred and sixty thousand[16]: a circumstance, which shows that the growth of Rome, whether proceeding from do-

[14] Il devoit arriver de deux choses l'une; ou que Rome changeroit son gouvernement, on qu'elle resteroit une petite et pauvre Monarchie. Montesquieu, Grandeur et Decadence, c. 1.

[15] Dionys. p. 225.

[16] Tabul. Capitolin. et Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 22.

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mestic or foreign causes, was more rapid under the kings, than under the consuls.

Change from royalty to republicanism. B. C. 509. U. C. 245. Parallel of Rome and Athens.

The revolution from royalty to republicanism happened at Rome as at Athens, and other cities of Greece, because kings, dissatisfied with legitimate honours, overleaped those barriers, which the religion of the times opposed to their tyranny.[17] In the uniform belief of their subjects, they were the accountable vicegerents of heaven, and the sceptre dropped from their hands, whenever they infringed the sacred obligations, under which they held it. Through the eminent abilities, the obstinate struggle, and the ultimate and complete discomfiture of the Roman, as well as the Athenian tyrants, the martial spirit of both nations was raised to the highest pitch; and in both alike, the enthusiasm for military glory accompanied the enthusiasm for liberty.[18] The object of their fond wishes, both of them acquired beyond all other cities in the world; though their roads to grandeur and renown became widely different, from their total dissimilarity in point of local circumstances and neighbourhood. Athens, surrounded by states brave and politic as herself, made conquests abroad; and in the zenith of her greatness,

[17] Thucydid. in Procem. Aristot. Politic. passim. Montesquieu, Esprit des Loix. l. xi. c. 11. totally mistakes the nature of these revolutions.

[18] Δηλοι δε ε κατα ἑν μονον, αλλα πολλαχῳ, ἡ ισηγορια ὡς εστι χρημα σπεδαιον, &c. Herodot. l. v. c. 78. This passage, attesting the military energies inspired by liberty, is the text on which Livy expatiates, in his second book throughout.

asserted dominion over far remote coasts, and a thousand maritime republics. But her diminutive territory, at home, afforded not any firm basis on which empire could rest; whereas the Romans first conquered the nations of Italy around them, and thence from that central peninsula, the solid citadel of their power, extended their triumphs on all sides, until the whole of the Mediterranean sea was inclosed within their iron frontier. Yet, notwithstanding this diversity of fortune, the maxims and revolutions of the two states, exhibit such a striking resemblance as renders the history of the one a perpetual commentary on that of the other.

Their prominent characteristics.

In comparison with other nations of antiquity, the prominent characteristics of both Greeks and Romans consisted in the law of monogamy[19], and in the zeal for civil liberty. From the former of these sources flowed that early institution, and that propriety of domestic manners, which distinguishes, in modern times, the subjects of Europe from the slaves of Asia. Con-

[19] Ενα ανδρα μιας γυναικος τυχειν, vid. Petit. de Leg. Attic. p. 35. From two passages of Livy, the one corrupt, the other rhetorical, Vico Neapolitano, and D'Uni, (Della cittadinanza Romana) and other fanciful writers, have inferred that marriages, establishing certainty with regard to the offspring, the duties of education, &c. could be contracted only by Patricians, so called a patre ciendo, that is, as they explain the words, from being able to name their fathers. But Homer would have taught them that they should have said from being able to boast their father's virtues. The etymology, besides, is denied by Dionysius, l. ii. p. 83. and indeed by Livy himself, "Patres certe, ab honore; Patriciique progenies eorum appellata." Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 8. Conf. l. x. c. 8.

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suls were in Rome, what the archons had been in Greece. The Tribunes in the one country, corresponded to the Ephori in the other. Uncontrouled powers had belonged to the Grecian Æsymnetæ[20], before they were conferred on the Roman Dictators. In the Patricians of Rome, it is easy to recognise the Eupatridæ of Greece[21]; while the Equites of the former country bear a striking analogy to those noble bands of Grecian youth employed by the magistrates in matters requiring celerity[22] and dispatch, and, who serving on horseback in proof of their hereditary opulence, were always ready to defend the state against foreign enemies, and the government against domestic insurgents.[23] To say all in one word, such was the affinity between the two nations, that even the municipal laws of the Greeks were early borrowed by the Romans, and embodied in their jurisprudence.[24]

[20] Aristot. Politic. l. iii. c. 14.

[21] The prerogatives of the Roman Patricians are comprised in the old Athenian law, Ευπατριδας γνωσκειν τα θεια, και παρεχειν αρχοντας, και νομων διδασκαλες ειναι, και δσιων και ἱερων ἐξηγητας. "It belongs to the Eupatridæ to perform the rites, and interpret the omens, of religion, to teach the laws, and to bear magistracies."

[22] The Equites were originally called Celeres, a word denoting their primary functions, (Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxxiii. c. 2.) and exactly according with their office in Greece. See History of Ancient Greece, c. xxviii.

[23] Aristot. Politic. l. iv. et passim. Compare the account of Cinadon's conspiracy, History of Ancient Greece, c. xxviii.

[24] Dionysius, l. x. p. 681. Tit. Liv. l. iii. c. 31. Tacitus, Annal. l. iii. c. 27. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 642. and Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxxiv. c. 5. The twelve tables were promulgated, U. C. 302. B. C. 452. Hermodorus of Ephesus assisted in the work. Pompon. de Origin. Juris, &c.

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Similarity in their transactions.

With such congeniality of character, their transactions also afford very remarkable parallels. In their respective histories, we find alike haughty[25] proceedings of the Eupatridæ and Patricians, immediately after the abolition of kings, whose sacred office had served in both countries, as a security and pledge, that the people should not be treated with insult, nor the nobles with injustice.[26] Yet, from the destruction of Tarquin, a period of three hundred and sixty-one years passed away before any dissensions between the Patricians and Plebeians terminated in blood[27]: and so firmly had the foundations of domestic manners been established under the six preceding kings, that two hundred and sixty years elapsed, before any woman in Rome publicly separated from her husband.[28] In no country of the world were crimes less frequent, or punishments less severe. The dread of admonition from a magistrate long operated as a restraint, equally efficacious and salutary[29]; so acute was the sense of shame, and so awful the respect for government, deemed essential to

[25] Conf. Dionys. l. x. p. 632. et seq. and History of Ancient Greece, c. 13. Dein servili imperio Patres Plebem exercere. Sallust. Fragment.

[26] Aristot. Politic. l. v. c. 10.

[27] See in Livy, l. iv. c. 9, 10. the contrast between the impassioned and sanguinary Ardeans, and the disciplined moderation even of the Roman populace.

[28] The first divorce happened U. C. 520. Vid. Sigonii de Antiq. Jur. Civil. Roman. l. i. c. 9. p. 51.

[29] Conf. Tit. Liv. l. x. c. 9. and Aulus Gellius, l. xv. c. 11. The sole sanction of the Valerian law consisted in the declaration, that he, who violated it, would act amiss. Tit. Liv. ubi supra.

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the nature of man, because indispensable to his existence in community. Habituated to such feelings, the Romans were quickened in the pursuit of greatness by the active emulation of two annual consuls, and the ardent competition between two orders in the state, the Patricians striving to maintain the pre-eminence which they enjoyed, the Plebeians struggling to merit the equality to which they aspired: and the same political arrangements, under which a people less disciplined by morals, would have fluctuated between cruel tyranny and bloody sedition, secured, to this illustrious nation, equality of freedom at home, and abroad consolidation of empire.

Wars of the Romans in Italy.

Few readers are altogether unprepared on the subject of Roman warfare in Italy: fewer still entertain clear or correct notions concerning it. For this purpose it would be necessary to cast an eye on the nations by whom Rome was surrounded; and to examine her transactions with these nations separately and successively, so that preceding events may throw light on those that follow them. In prosecuting this new mode of Roman history, it will be proper, also, to advert to the results of military success in the increase and embellishment of the city, and in the extension, improvement, and security of the territory: from the distinct consideration of which capital objects, we shall be enabled to estimate the progress of the Romans, in arts as well as arms, when, at the close

of Alexander's reign, they first came into contact with the inhabitants of Magna Græcia.

Nations around them in that country.

Besides their brethren in Latium, and the Tuscans who held the opposite bank of the Tiber, the Æqui lived more inland towards the north of Rome, and the Volsci on the south, inhabiting respectively the rough and intricate valleys around the Anio, and the Liris. Beyond the Æqui on one side, and beyond the Volsci on the other, the Sabines and Samnites enjoyed more extensive domains. The Samnites, who became the more powerful of the two, were colonies of Sabines; both nations descended from the Osci, and spoke the ancient Oscan tongue[30]; and both were the founders of various smaller communities, which divided by mountains or rivers, and defended by rude walls, occupied and deformed many inland districts, while the neighbouring coasts were cultivated and embellished by Tuscans and Greeks. Of the two seas encompassing Italy, the western received the name of Tuscan, and the eastern is said to have been called the Adriatic from Adria, a Tuscan colony.[31] The Tuscans, indeed, very anciently cultivated the extensive plains between the Alps and Apennines, the Po and the Rubicon. Their first settlements, however, should seem to have been formed on the opposite side of the peninsula, in the country still bearing the name of Tuscany.[32] In

Tuscans—their limits defined.

[30] Strabo, l. v. p. 233.

[31] Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 33.

[32] Livy says of them "in utrumque mare vergentes incoluere urbibus duodenis terras, prius cis Apenninum, ad inferum mare;

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this district between the Tuscan sea and the Apennine, they built twelve cities, which in process of time planted the eastern side of the mountain, with as many colonies, extending to the Hadriatic, and finally occupying the whole of the adjacent coast, except the little corner manfully defended by the Veneti; a name, which local situation perpetuated to modern times in the long illustrious Venetians. Not contented with such ample possessions in the north, the Tuscans in their prosperous days usurped the Campania, that valuable southern plain immediately contiguous to the Latin shore, comparatively small in extent, but peculiarly alluring in point of climate, fertility and beauty.[33] In this delightful district, the Tuscans likewise established twelve colonies, of which the principal was Vulturnus, afterwards called Capua.[34] But notwithstanding the amplitude of their territories, their military power had ceased to be formidable even in the first ages of Rome. At the time when Romulus occupied that strong-hold, arts, rather

postea trans Apenninum totidem, quot capita originis erant, coloniis missis; quæ trans Padum omnia loca, excepto Venetorum angulo, usque ad mare tenuere." l. v. c. 33. The first settlements of the Tuscans thus lay between the Mare Inferum and the Apennine: they afterwards crossed the mountain, and planted colonies around the Po. But Cluverius says, on the contrary, " Hi igitur antiquæ illius Hetruriæ Circumpadanæ fuere fines; ex quibus postea in novam inter Apenninum et Mare inferum Hetruriam totidem colonias deduxerunt." Vid. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. ii. p. 454.

[33] Polybius, l. ii. c. 17.

[34] Tit. Liv. l. iv. c. 37.

than arms, formed the main pursuit of the Tuscans. They were a commercial and ingenious people, resembling the Greeks in their taste for music and dancing, for painting and sculpture: while their pompous magnificence, voluptuous luxury, and worse than Asiatic effeminacy[35], well accord with the characteristics of the Lydians, their reputed ancestors.[36] Their confederacy had become extremely inadequate, even for the purpose of defence; and their thirty-six cities, governed by as many kings called Lucomons[37], should seem to have been anxious, each for its particular safety, taking a very faint concern in the affairs of its neighbours.

Rape of the Sabines—how justified.

Under such circumstances of ancient Italy, a country exhibiting strength void of art in some parts, and opulence without union in others, Romulus was first engaged in war through the expedient by which his subjects had been collected, and among whom, the number of males greatly predominated over that of females. This gave occasion to the well-known exploit, called the rape of the Sabines, though Latin and Tuscan women, still nearer neighbours to Rome, had flocked to see the games of Neptune, and thereby exposed themselves to the rudeness of compulsory wedlock: for Romulus administered to the Romans, and the damsels whom they respectively seized, the elements of fire, bread or rather grain, and water; emblems

[35] Athenæus, l. xii. p. 517. [36] Justin. l. xx. c. 1.
[37] Lucomones reges sunt Tusca lingua. Servius ad Eneid. l. ii.

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employed in those days to denote the indissoluble communion of married life.[38] To the relatives of the detained women, enraged at violated hospitality, he alleged the plea of political necessity, and the primeval institutions of Greece, according to which it was deemed more decorous[39] in females to submit to manly force, than to pronounce a blushing consent. In contempt of such justifications, the neighbours of Rome took arms. The Romans checked their irruption; drove them into disorderly flight; and Romulus, with his own hand, slew their leader, king of Cænina, a city, it is uncertain, whether of the Latins or Sabines. Upon this, and a second victory over the Latin city Antemna, Romulus led back his army exulting in success, and singing rude extemporary verses, to the praise of his skill and valour. He then entered the city clothed in purple, and crowned with laurel, preceded by priests, and followed by soldiers. Public gratulations hailed this victorious procession. Sacrifices to the gods were accompanied with joyous entertainments; and during this mixed solemnity, destined, in process of time, to swell into the gorgeous pomp of Roman triumphs, Romulus conveyed to the Capitoline hill the spoils of the king of Cænina, his prostrate rival, and consecrated them to Jupiter under his title of spoil-bearer; to whom he afterwards raised a temple,

The triumphs.

[38] Dionys. Halicarn. l. ii. p. 95.

[39] Ταις γυναιξι επιφανεστερον. Id. ibid.

whose vestiges could be discerned with reverence even in the age of Augustus.[40] This temple, the first germ of the renowned capitol, was destined for the reception of the spolia opima, the spoils stripped by Roman commanders from the bodies of adverse generals; an honour not lessened to Romulus by frequent participation, since the spolia opima were only twice consecrated, from the death of that prince to the dissolution of the commonwealth[41], after numerous battles, and almost as many victories.

Condition of the central states of Italy during the 43 years of Numa's reign. U. C. 59—82.

Under her first king, Rome conquered several cities of the Latins and Tuscans, and incorporated within her own walls a considerable portion of the Sabines.[42] Numa, the second king, reprobated the encroachments of ambition. He erected a temple to Good Faith; and his example concurred with his precepts towards impressing the salutary conviction that justice is essential to piety. His mild yet firm sway anticipated the wish of the virtuous Plato; and while populous and powerful nations were a prey to despotism or anarchy, a small community on the banks of the Tiber flourished under the paternal care of a philosopher on the throne. The influence of Numa's virtues extended to

[40] Dionys. Halicarn. l. ii. p. 102.

[41] Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 10. The second spolia opima were gained by Cornelius Cossus over Tolumnius king of the Veientes. Id. l. iv. c. 19.; the third, by Claudius Marcellus over Britomarus king of the Gauls. Plut. in Marcello.

[42] Dionysius, l. ii. & Tit. Liv. l. i.

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neighbouring states. Those who had been rivals and enemies celebrated his well-earned praise; and the spirit of just government, diffusing itself like a mild zephyr from Latium, softened into amity the surrounding commonwealths. To propitiate the gods rather by sanctity of manners[43] than by rich offerings, to till or plant the ground, and to rear lawful children, occupied the central states of Italy for the space of forty-three years; during which period it was never once necessary to open the temple of Janus. To this mysterious personage, whose reformation of mankind from savageness into civility was typified in his double countenance[44], a temple had been dedicated by Romulus. Numa completed this temple, and adopted it as a fit emblem of war and peace; of war when open, of peace when shut: under which latter circumstance, the territory of Rome was cultivated with an emulation of industry. Each citizen could call a little lot[45] of land his own. Husbandmen thenceforth continued the main division of Romans.[46] Other branches of labour

[43] Dionysius, l. ii. p. 123. & Plutarch in Numa. Numa rejected all traditions and all ceremonies derogatory to the gods, and thereby detrimental to man. He thus refined the mythology of Homer, as was afterwards done by the Pythagoreans. See History of Ancient Greece, c. xi. From this coincidence in theological reformation arose the anachronism stigmatised by Livy, l. i. c. 18. of making Numa a scholar of Pythagoras, who lived 100 years after him.

[44] Macrob. Saturnalia, l. i. c. 7.

[45] Two Roman jugera, equal to acres 1,256: that is, to five-fourths of an English acre.

[46] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xviii. c. 34.

were encouraged in proportion to the profit, or even pleasure, which they afforded. The smith, carpenter, weaver, and tanner administered to coarser wants; and already, in the reign of Numa, the more refined trades of the dyer, the goldsmith, and the maker of musical instruments were erected into separate corporations, enjoying appropriate halls, emblems, and festivals.[47]

Wars under the three succeeding kings. U. C. 82—170.

In the reign of Tullus Hostilius, successor to Numa, the pretensions of Alba, long the chief city of the Latins, were overthrown by the issue of the well-known combat between the Horatii and Curiatii; a transaction in several of its circumstances strongly marking the distinction between heroic and barbarous manners.[48] But notwithstanding the demolition of Alba, and the conversion of its inhabitants into Romans, wars were often renewed with the Latins, as well as with the Sabines and Tuscans, in consequence of the law of nations then prevalent in Italy. By a useful fiction of modern lawyers, kings, in their official capacity, are immortal; and the rights and obligations of each prince

[47] Plutarch in Numa.

[48] Manners are barbarous when crimes are committed wantonly, witnessed unfeelingly, and either horridly avenged, or allowed to pass unchallenged. The reverse of all this appears in Dionysius, l. iii. p. 151. See the affecting prelude to the combat; the agitations and tears of the kinsmen; the resistless transports of the love-sick Horatia bursting the restraints of her well-disciplined modesty: the stern patriotism of her brother; his αυθαδεια, or confidence in his own dire feelings, of which the propriety, on such an occasion, was recognized by the father of Horatia himself, and by the king who expiated the murder.

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are thus transmitted entire to his successors. But the neighbours of ancient Rome, not acknowledging this maxim [49], rejected the supremacy, first of Ancus Martius, and afterwards of Tarquinius Priscus. The former of these princes, grandson to Numa, and heir to his virtues, armed for a just defence, and terminated a long and complicated war by results beneficial to his country. The Veientes ceded to Rome the property of the Mesian forest; the remotest communities of Sabines acknowledged the superiority of Roman valour; Ancus extended his frontier to the sea; and near the mouth of the Tiber, constructed the safe harbour of Ostia. To secure the navigation [50] of that river, he fortified the Janiculum, an eminence on its western bank; and this eighth, as it may be deemed, and loftiest [51] of the Roman hills, was joined to mount Palatine by a wooden bridge. To the new citizens, chiefly Latins, whom his victories brought to Rome, Ancus assigned dwellings on mount Aventine. Mount Cælius was inhabited by Albans: the Palatine and Capitoline hills had been already occupied respectively by Romans and Sabines. [52] Upon the death of Ancus Martius, his successor, Tarquinius Priscus, was involved in a new war. The incursions of his enemies were repressed, their armies driven

[49] Dionysius, l. iii. p. 186. [50] Ibid. p. 185.

[51] The Janiculum rises 260 feet above the level of the Tiber; that is, 100 feet higher than any of the seven hills on the opposite bank.

[52] Dionys. ibid.

from the field, many of their cities taken, and chastised with different measures of severity according to the obstinacy of their resistance. The Latins, having wholly submitted, became auxiliaries to Tarquin in reducing the rebellious communities of Tuscans; namely, those first established in Italy on the western side of the Apennine: and both Latins and Tuscans followed the standard of Rome in her renewed hostilities with the Sabines, and in the course of five years compelled that warlike people to accept the same conditions of peace, by which themselves were bound.[53]

Ensigns of honour received from the Tuscans by Tarquinius Priscus.

Such a tide of prosperity was celebrated by triumphs at Rome, and commemorated by public monuments. As emblems of his supremacy, Tarquin received from the Tuscans a golden crown, a sceptre of ivory, bearing an eagle on its summit, and a throne of the same rare material. The ostentatious Tuscans, pompous even in their flattery, presented him also with a purple tunic embroidered with gold, and a robe of royalty rivalling the *Candys* worn by the great kings of the East, together with twelve fasces, representing the allegiance of their twelve subject communities.[54] The senate and people of Rome allowed Tarquin to assume these badges of grandeur, which were retained by succeeding kings, and even by the Roman consuls, who rejected only the golden crown

[53] Dionys. l. iii. p. 184. et seq.

[54] Dionys. ibid.

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and variegated robe of royalty, as ornaments too proud and invidious.[55]

Rome improved in strength, beauty, and salubrity.

A man of Corinthian extraction, brought up amidst the arts of Tuscany, and carefully instructed by his father in those of Greece, might be expected to employ the wealth acquired by conquest in works of useful magnificence. Wonderful were the exertions of Tarquin for improving the strength, the beauty, and the salubrity of Rome. The four hills rudely inclosed by preceding kings (for the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline were added by his successor Servius Tullius), he surrounded with a regular and complete wall, composed, it is said, of stones, forming, many of them, a cart's load. He constructed the Cloaca maxima, destined to carry in a broad subterranean stream the filth of the city into the Tiber.[56] He adorned the Forum with elegant porticoes; and, aspiring in all things to rival the magnificence of Greece, erected on a plain between the Palatine and Aventine hills, a regular and spacious hippodrome, which, under the name of Circus, far surpassed its model the hippodrome of Olympia. Tarquin approached his eightieth year, and commenced in this advanced life the noblest of all his works. During his obstinate war with the

[55] Conf. Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 8. & l. ii. c. 1. & Dionys. ubi supra.

[56] Strabo, l. v. p. 235. & Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 24. The Cloaca was repaired under the republic at the expence of 1000 talents. Dionys. l. iii. p. 200. It was again repaired by Agrippa under Augustus. Ovid. Fast. l. iv. v. 401. & Strabo, ubi supra. It is now choaked up and neglected, and its mouth only to be seen when the Tiber is low.

Sabines, he had vowed temples on the Capitoline hill to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; but as Terminus and Juventas, the god of boundaries and the goddess of youth, who had already in that place chapels erected to them, refused to resign their seats[57] even to Jupiter himself, he inclosed the mansions of these inflexible divinities within the precincts of his new edifice, of which he traced the plan, and laboriously formed the vast subterranean base. His grandson, Tarquin the Proud, carried on the design, which was completed in the third Consulate. The capitol of Rome stood, like that of Corinth, on an eminence, though far less commanding[58]; and contained within its walls three parallel temples, that of Jupiter occupying the middle or most honourable place. This enormous pile of building, which extended 1840 Roman feet in circuit, was burnt amidst the civil wars of Marius and Sylla. Enriched with the spoils of Asia, Rome rebuilt the capitol, and adorned it with a profusion of costly ornaments, but neither altered

[57] The obstinacy of Terminus was construed by the augurs into an omen, "that the boundaries of the commonwealth should never recede;" and that of Juventas, that Rome should ever flourish in youthful vigour. Livy, l. i. c. 55. refers this transaction to the reign of Tarquin the Proud. Dionysius, l. iv. p. 257. is far more worthy of being followed.

[58] The Capitoline hill rose 118 feet above the level of the Tiber: the Palatine, 135; the Cælian, 125; the Esquiline, 154: the Aventine, 117; the union of the Quirinal and Viminal in Diocletian's baths, 141: the top of mount Janiculum, near the Villa Spada, 260. See Philosophical Transactions, vol. xlvii. part ii. for year 1777. But the hills of Rome have been depressed, and its valleys elevated through farther dilapidations of the city.

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its primary form, nor increased its original dimensions. [59]

Servius Tullius. — His council of the Latins resembling that of the Amphictyons. U. C. 177—219.

Tarquinius Priscus, after a reign of thirty-eight years, was succeeded by his son-in-law Servius Tullius, who, from the cause above explained, which armed the neighbours of Rome on the accession of every new king, had to begin his administration with hostilities against the Tuscans and Latins. The former people, being stripped of part of their lands, renewed their submissions; and the latter, after repeated defeats in war, were more completely subdued by policy. In emulation of the Amphictyons in Greece [60], Servius required the Latins to build a temple at Rome on mount Aventine, and to send thither annual deputies from their several cities, for the purpose of commemorating their common origin; of worshipping their common gods; of adjusting mutual interests; and of concerting national enterprises. By thus assembling at Rome, the Latins all acknowledged that city for the centre of their union and their capital; and the name of Latin, as Servius had foreseen, came gradually to be lost in the higher appellation of Roman.

His new laws.

By fifty new laws, this wise prince restrained the commission of wrongs, and enforced the obligation of contracts. He extended the rights of citizenship to emancipated slaves, repelling

[59] Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 24. Conf. Tacit. Histor. l. iv. c. 53. Even under the emperors, all admired, vastum aggeris spatium et substructiones insanas Capitolii. Plin. ibid.

[60] Dionys. l. iv. p. 213.

the objections of pride and cruelty; and to actual slaves he communicated the privileges of religion, built for their use wooden oratories on the cross-ways, and allowed them to celebrate in common the festival of the Compitalia.[61] To accommodate the new citizens, whom his mild policy had created, he joined the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline to the mounts already enclosed, and thus completed the city of the seven hills. Rome, as thus enlarged, is likened to Athens in extent. The comparison is not exact, for Athens measured eighteen miles in circuit; and the walls of Rome only fourteen miles, even when the Campus Martius had been taken in by Aurelian.[62] But long before the age of that

[61] Dionys. p. 213. et seq.

[62] According to Nolli's accurate map, the walls of Rome, including the Campus Martius inclosed by Aurelian, and the Mons Vaticanus, called Cittá Leonina, because taken in by Pope Leo IV. extend in their whole circuit only 15¼ miles, 43 cannes, and 5 palms, Roman measure. The modern walls, however, are more extensive than the ancient, which, in the reign of Titus, measured 12 miles, 200 paces. Plin. l. iii. c. 5. But we shall see hereafter, that the environs of Rome came to be crowded by buildings, especially along the high-ways, comprehended under the same general name, "Urbis appellatio muris, Romæ autem continentibus ædificiis finitur, quod latius patet."

And Claudian —

Inde salutato libatis Tybride lymphis
Excipiunt areas, operosaque semita vastis
Molibus, et quicquid tantæ præmittitur urbi —

verses extending the approaches of Rome to the confluence of the Nar and the Tiber. The indefinite signification of the word has passed with similar effect to modern times, of which I met with an example nearly half a century ago. At the distance of two stages from the Porta del Populo, a Roman being taxed with cheating, replied, "alle porte di Roma non s' inganna nissuno," a moral exaggeration as great as the geographical. Horace, during the

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emperor, spacious suburbs had gradually arisen on all sides, exhibiting from their near contiguity to Rome, and each other, the appearance of one continuous and endless city.[63]

In consequence of the enlargement of Rome, Servius deemed it the more necessary to keep an exact account of its resources. For this purpose, he availed himself of the divisions, already made, of the city into wards, and of the country into districts. The wards, he raised from the number of three to that of four, inhabited by four city tribes: the rustic tribes were distributed into fifteen districts, each of which was provided with a place of safety in case of invasion, commonly a natural eminence fortified by art, and denoted by the Greek word Pagus, expressive of its form and use. Over each Pagus an officer was chosen to preside, whose peculiar business was to collect contributions, and to superintend in the celebration of the Paganalia; religious festivals which were made to answer an important political purpose; for the inhabitants of each district were commanded to dedicate, at their respective Paganalia, copper coins of different denominations, according to their own differences of age or sex.

meridian greatness of Rome, fixes the Quirinal and the Aventine for its northern and southern boundaries:

Cubat hic in colle Quirino,
Hic extremo in Aventino;

the interval between which boundaries measures three English miles.

[63] Dionysius, p. 213. et seq.

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These religious offerings at once showed to the magistrate the populousness of his canton or district, the proportion of males to females, and that of fighting men to males above or below the fit military age. The regulations of Servius did not stop here. At the death of every inhabitant belonging to the city or country, a piece of money was appropriated in the temple of Venus Libitina: and for every child that was born, a piece, differently stamped, was to be deposited in the temple of Juno Lucina: directions that produced an accurate register of births and burials. The last and most important ordinance of Servius, was that of the Census and Comitia Centuriata; an institution essential to the stability of the commonwealth, and with the disuse of which, as we shall see hereafter, those evils began, which rendered the most high-minded people in history a prey to military despotism.

The Census.

Servius is said to have observed[64], that in the best ordered republics of Greece, the proportion of public contributions was adjusted with all possible exactness to the extent of private property. To introduce the same equitable regulation at Rome, a law was enacted commanding fathers of families to deliver upon oath a full and faithful account of their whole household and fortunes. According to their various gradations in point of wealth, Servius distributed them into six classes: the first class consisted of persons

[64] I follow Dionysius, l. iv. p. 213. et seq.

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worth 100,000 asses[65], equivalent to 100 pounds weight of silver: the second class, of those worth two-thirds of that amount; the third, of persons estimated at 50,000 asses: one-half of that valuation marked the fourth class: the fifth class required only 11,000 asses, equivalent to 35 pounds sterling[66]: citizens not possessed of property to this amount, composed the sixth class, and were exempted on account of poverty from all pecuniary contributions. But this indulgence was attended with nearly a proportionate degradation as to the exercise of political rights: for the six classes were collectively divided into 193 centuries, comprehending the whole body of Roman citizens: each citizen voted only in his century; and each century had an equal weight in the enactment of laws and the appointment of magistrates. But of the 193 centuries into which the people were divided, not less than 98 were formed out of the first class; so that when these 98 centuries were unanimous, they enjoyed a decided preponderancy in all public concerns. The three succeeding classes were

[65] An as was a Roman pound of copper, nearly 12 ounces avoirdupois. Old square pieces of copper, with the figure of a sheep, are met with in various collections, agreeing with what Varro says, Servius Æs pecore notavit. Varro de Re Rustic. l. ii. c. 1. Conf. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3.

[66] In those days, and long afterwards, a bushel of barley sold in Italy for two-pence; a bushel of wheat cost four-pence: a firkin of wine was exchanged for a bushel of wheat; and a man defrayed his expences, dinner or supper, at an inn on the road, for one farthing. Polybius, l. ii. c. 15. & l. vi. c. 29. This cheapness of living arose from the plenty of necessaries which had continued from the industrious agricultural age of Numa.

mustered, each into 21 centuries; whose equipments for war varied in completeness proportionally to their respective fortunes, all of them being less perfect than the Grecian bucklers, breast-plates, greaves, and helmets distinguishing the centuries composed from the most honourable division of soldiers as well as citizens. The fifth class was divided into 35 centuries of velites, or light-armed troops; and the sixth class was thrown into one century, not so much for military purposes, as to prevent the exclusion of any individual at Rome, however unfortunate his circumstances, from all share in public deliberations and popular elections. To estimate the fluctuations of property produced among individuals by time and chance, a new valuation of estates, or new census, was to be taken at the end of every fifth year, accompanied by a periodical muster of persons.[67] On this solemn occasion, the centuries of horse and foot, the heavy-armed and velites, were drawn up in battle-array in the plain extending between the Tiber on one side, and the Capitoline and Quirinal hills on the other. This plain was called the Campus Martius, being peculiarly consecrated to the god of war, on whose altar the suovetaurilia, that is, a bull, a boar, and a ram, were at every quinquennial muster offered as an expiatory sacrifice or *lustrum*; for this is the Greek term denoting such a solemnity; and we have seen in a former part of this work, that

[67] Dionysius, l. iv. p. 225.

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similar lustrations[68] of armed men, prevailed from the earliest times in Macedon, the greatest and most renowned of all Greek kingdoms: at the only muster recorded under Servius Tullius, the Romans in arms amounted to 84,700[69]: a military force, which, in the space of 260 years from the death of their last king, (for Tarquin the Proud was a tyrant,) gave to this warlike people a firm dominion over Italy, and eventually enabled them to push their conquests on all sides around it, with an uniformity and stability of success, unparalleled in history.

War with the Tarquins. U. C. 245—259.

Had Rome, at the conclusion of Servius's reign, passed from a monarchy to a republic, it would have undergone little other change than that of substituting in the stead of kings two annual consuls. But Tarquin the Proud spurned hereditary and legal forms, governed by domestic councils, oppressed his people, and assassinated his nobles. The public indignation, which had been a long twenty years in collecting, exploded in the well-known events which followed the tragic death of Lucretia. In establishing, or rather in restoring the republic, the chief merit belonged to Brutus and Collatinus, both of them of Corinthian extraction, since the former descended from the sister of Tarquinius Priscus, and the latter from Aruns, elder brother to that accomplished prince. At their instigation, the Romans banished Tarquin the Proud with his three sons. They were followed

[68] See above, vol i. p. 310.

[69] Dionysius, l. iv. p. 225.

into exile by the obnoxious instruments of their tyranny; and abetted, during the space of fourteen years, by the resentment or envy of both Latins and Tuscans. But this long war, levied for the reinstatement of tyrants, redounded wholly to the glory of Rome and of liberty; names ever to be associated with those of Brutus and Valerius; of Horatius Cocles and Mutius Scævola; of the virgin Cloelia; and of the dictator Posthumius, who terminated the fierce struggle by his victory near the lake Regillus[70] at the foot of the Tusculan hills. Two sons of Tarquin fell in the field: the third had previously perished in an attempt to recover Gabii: the wretched father died next year at Cumæ, a Greek colony in Campania, in which he had found refuge, after the wreck of his fortunes, with Aristodemus, master of that place, and like himself the usurper of sovereignty in a free city.

Division of Italian wars under the consuls.

Before the consular government was established, Rome had gained an ascendancy over the Latins, Sabines, and Tuscans. From this time forward, until, on the lapse of two centuries, her affairs come to be embodied in the present history, she carried on, I. Perpetual hostilities with the Æqui and Volsci, envious and angry neighbours, inhabiting respectively the mountainous tracks around the Anio and the Liris. II. She had occasional conflicts with the

[70] Tit. Liv. l. ii. c. 19. For the events alluded to in the text, see his second book throughout.

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nations previously conquered, whom she therefore regarded as rebels, especially with the Tuscans, who, though cowardly as a confederacy, showed spirit and perseverance in defending particular cities. III. She had to oppose the bloody and desolating irruptions of the Gauls, until she had humbled the spirit of those haughty Barbarians. IV. She engaged in the long and obstinate conflict with the Samnites, which finally brought her into warfare with the cities of Magna Græcia. Under these four heads, all the Italian wars of Rome naturally arrange themselves, since her more obscure enemies were dependencies or colonies of the nations just mentioned, and never had recourse to arms but in the character of auxiliaries.

Those of two centuries with the Æqui and Volsci.

The Æqui, even in the reign of Ancus Martius, are characterised as a people of high antiquity; and both they, and the Volsci, men of congenial characters, I should regard as the bravest portion of the Siculi, who maintained their hereditary possessions on the continent, when their brethren, as we are informed by the most accurate of historians, sought refuge in the neighbouring island, to which they communicated the name of Sicily.[71] Proud of immemorial possession, these fierce clans hated their neighbours in Latium as intruders, lived by prey and plunder, and, from their numerous strongholds among the mountains, were always ready to deform the rich adjacent plains. Their sud-

[71] Thucydides, l. vi. p. 412. et seq.

den incursions were followed by rapid retreats, that they might avoid pitched battles with the Romans, over whom they boasted their superiority in desultory encounters, as well as in single combats. From the time that Tarquin the Proud first[72] levied war on the Volsci to their total disappearance in history, that is, for the period of one hundred and ninety-four years, their incursions are described as returning almost regularly with the return of autumn.[73] Their arms were frequently joined by the Æqui, who, resisting twenty-six years longer, finally submitted in the 450th year of the city, and were only subdued by being nearly exterminated, since, in the preceding year, the consul Sempronius stormed and burned forty-one of their strong-holds or cities.[74] In the course of this unceasing warfare of two centuries, the Romans often brought their enemies to battle, and defeated them commonly with the loss of two or three thousand slain. They also made themselves masters of several of their townships; and it appears extraordinary, that, reduced in their numbers and curtailed of their territory, the Æqui and Volsci should so long have found new resources, and retained undaunted resolution. In his perpetual narrative of their resistance or aggression, Livy seems apprehensive, not only

Causes which enabled

[72] Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 53.

[73] Ab Æquis et Volscis statum jam et prope solenne bellum in singulos annos timebatur. Tit. Liv. l. iii. c. 15.

[74] Sigonius's emendation reconciles Diodorus, l. xx. s. 102. with Livy, l. ix. c. 45. Cluverius, Ital. Antiq. p. 776. quotes the latter incorrectly.

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these nations to make such an obstinate resistance.

of tiring the patience, but of staggering the belief, of his readers. "How is it possible that those miserable districts, which are now rescued from solitude only by Roman slaves, should have supplied such continual successions of brave military recruits?" He answers by saying, "that each levy must have been confined to persons of a particular age, one race being allowed to spring up before another was entirely cut off; or that the unceasing hostilities of the nations were not carried on by precisely the same cities; or in fine, that the mountains of the Æqui and Volsci must have teemed beyond all example with inhabitants."[75] To the causes assigned by Livy, four others, I think, may be added. Without supposing any unaccountable degree of populousness, it may safely be allowed that the proportion of soldiers to the whole inhabitants was far greater in Italy in those primitive times, than in the luxurious age of Livy and Augustus. In the first centuries of Rome, arms and agriculture formed the great pursuit of that republic herself; and were the sole occupations followed by her ruder neighbours, who needed few accommodations, who coveted no luxuries, and whose ruling passion was the love of independence. Secondly, by the unskilful engineers of those times, whose attainments by no means kept pace with other branches of the military art, many cities of the Æqui and Volsci were regarded as impregnable fortresses. Though

[75] Liv. l. vi. c. 12.

driven from the field, those alert and cautious adversaries generally secured their retreat; and oftentimes, after wasting the harvests of Rome, allowed their own to be burned or destroyed without quitting the protection of their walls.[76] Thirdly, the Æqui and Volsci did not fight unaided. Not to mention the contemporary wars, that will be examined presently, these incessant and irreclaimable enemies drew to their standard numerous volunteers from various parts of Italy; enterprising youths, eager to exercise their impatient valour, and more concealed levies from jealous communities anxious to undermine the power of Rome, which they had not courage openly to assail. Not only more distant states, but the Hernici[77], a Sabine nation, and even the Latins themselves, were frequently convicted of this clandestine hostility. Fourthly, the colonies which the Romans established as out-posts in the territories of their enemies, were, in the course of time, tempted, in some instances, to prefer the connection by neighbourhood to that by blood[78], and thus to abet the party, which they had been sent out to controul. In addition to these circumstances, serving to account for the endless wars of the Æqui and Volsci, it may

[76] In oppida sua se recipere, uti sua populariique passi. Liv. l. iii. c. 5. Similar expressions frequently occur.

[77] The Hernici apologised, "quod suæ juventutis aliqui apud Volscos militarent: nec culpam in eo publicam, nec consilium." But the Romans were not the dupes of this artifice. Vid. Tit. Liv. l. vi. c. 10.

[78] Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 12. et seq.

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be observed, that mountainous districts, though not essentially more populous than others, are found by experience better to maintain the populousness which at any given time they have acquired: they are not store-houses or arsenals of fighting men, but rather their breeding places and founderies: and whatever numbers you drain off, the populousness again rises to its former level.

Siege of Veii. U.C. 351—361.

In the midst of their long warfare with the Æqui and Volsci, the Romans were engaged in comparatively short but sharp conflicts with the Veientes, their near neighbours in Tuscany, and with the Galli Senones, the most southern clan of the Gauls, who, from the time of Tarquinius Priscus, had been pouring their rapacious hordes into Italy. The former of these enemies the Romans totally extirpated; and by the latter, only six years afterwards, were themselves brought to the brink of ruin. The Veientes had submitted, with other Tuscan cities around them, to the arms of the Roman kings; and after espousing the cause of Tarquin the tyrant, had reluctantly acknowledged the new republic for their master. But in the language of the Roman senate, they rebelled seven times; and in one of their earliest rebellions, a battle on the banks of the Cremera, which flowed through their territory into the Tiber, had nearly extinguished the most flourishing family of the republic, 306 Fabii, the whole individuals of that

name of an age to bear arms.[79] Exasperated by this defeat, and stung with many insults which followed it, the Romans vowed revenge on the hostile towers of Veii frowning from abrupt hills, only eighteen miles distant. The strength of Veii defied assault; the place must be taken by blockade, for which purpose it would be necessary to keep the field many months, perhaps years. The senate therefore decreed, that soldiers, who had hitherto served at their private expence, should receive pay from the public[80]; and that each citizen should contribute towards this expence in proportion to his property or census. The Patricians, and more wealthy among the Plebeians, vied with each other in pouring their money into the treasury. Veii was invested in form: a ditch and rampart, thrown round the place; and, at a due distance, a line of circumvallation drawn to intercept succours to the besieged. The vigour of attack was met with equal vigour of resistance. The Romans kept the field in winter as well as sum-

[79] Conf. Tit. Liv. l. ii. c. 45. et seq. and Dionysius, Hist. Roman. l. ix. c. 587.

[80] The pay of one horseman was equivalent to that of three foot-soldiers; but we are not informed of the exact amount of either. Two centuries afterwards, in the age of Polybius, the Roman infantry received the value of two-pence daily; centurions four-pence, and horsemen sixpence. This daily pay sufficed to provide the soldier with eight meals, or to supply him four days with bread. Conf. Polybius, l. ii. c. 15. and l. vi. c. 39. In Cicero's time, 100 years after Polybius, the bushel of wheat cost 12 sestertii: that is, it had risen four times in value. In speaking of early times, Pliny, l. xviii. c. 4. says, Ergo iis moribus non modo sufficiebunt fruges, verum etiam annonæ vilitas incredibilis.

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mer; having in this warfare first erected tents, covered with skins. Yet Veii was not taken until the tenth year, when Camillus, by means of a mine[81], opened a passage to the citadel, at the same time that a general assault was made on the walls. The city became a spoil to the conquerors: and nothing was brought into the public treasury, but the price of the captive Veientes, who next day were sold to merchants accompanying the Roman army.

Donation to Delphi.

During the obstinate resistance of this ill-fated people who had repeatedly burnt or destroyed the *vineæ*, or Roman engines, the oracle of Delphi had been consulted by the Romans and had exhorted them to perseverance in the siege. To repay this encouraging response, Camillus dedicated the tenth part of his spoil to the god. A golden vase was cast, and shipped for Delphi. But the vessel, conveying this donation, being captured near the straits of Messina by pirates belonging to the Liparean isles, Timasitheus, the archon, or first magistrate, of Lipara, procured her restitution, and himself conducted the Romans to Delphi. The senate declared Timasitheus a benefactor to the republic; rewarded him with fit presents; and, an hundred and forty years afterwards, when Lipara was

[81] Livy, l. v. c. 19. says of this mine, Operum fuit omnium longe maximum et laboriosissimum. Zanchi examined its remains, and has ventured to give a plate of it in his Veio Illustrato. This circumstance, with many others, confirms the notices in Eutropius and in Peutinger's Tables, concerning the long disputed situation of Veii. That city was distant 18 miles from Rome, and 9 from the Tiber. Its ruins were found by Zanchi in the wood of Montelupuli.

taken in the midst of the first Punic war, they gratefully remembered his merit, and exempted his descendants from every public burthen.[82] CHAP. XII.

Digression on the legionary order of battle.

The siege of Veii, which first introduced pay into the Roman armies, would appear to have been the æra[83] of a far more important change: namely the introduction of their chequer order of battle. Before this time they were armed, like the Greeks, with long spears. From this weapon, the first rank retained the name of Hastati[84]: this rank consisted, as in Greece, of young men: the second, called Principes, consisted of soldiers in the vigour of life: the third rank, or Triarii, were tried veterans[85]; and to this system of arrangement, according to different ages, the Romans, as well as Greeks, continued unalterably to adhere.[86] But in their chequer order of battle, as commonly understood, the Romans differed from the Greeks and all other nations. Their legion contained ten cohorts; the cohort, three maniples; the maniples, two centuries, and the legion, thus containing sixty centuries, would have amounted to six thousand soldiers, had the word century been used in its proper sense. But the Comitia

[82] Conf. Tit. l. v. c. 25. et seq. & Plutarch in Camill.

[83] I infer this from what Livy says, Clypeis antea Romani usi sunt, deinde postea stipendiarii facti, scuta pro clypeis fecere. Liv. l. viii. c. 8. We shall see presently the connection between the *scutum* and the chequer order of battle.

[84] Varro de Ling. Latin, l. iv. c. 16

[85] Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 8.

[86] History of Ancient Greece, c. ix.

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centuriata, as regulated by Servius Tullius, accustomed the Romans to the technical meaning of the term, so that in the 407th year of the city, the legion of sixty centuries consisted only of four thousand two hundred men; which continued to be its ordinary force two hundred years afterwards in the age of Polybius. According to received accounts, the thirty maniples into which each legion was divided, were thrown into the form of a quincunx; each maniple being a square mass, ten in rank and as many in file, and the whole maniples in the centre line standing directly opposite to the intervals in the front and rear. Upon this supposition, the Roman order of battle consisted of a number of square masses, separated by intervals equal or nearly equal to the fronts of the maniples.[87] These wide intervals, however, must have rendered it difficult, if not impossible, for the Romans to advance regularly to the charge, or to have maintained due order in time of action. The same chequer order of maniples would also have exposed them in every battle to be attacked in both flanks, and in rear; and if the second line had been posted, as is commonly imagined, fifty feet behind the Hastati, even

[87] The system is explained at large by Lipsius, de Militia Romana, a work so classical with critics, that Crevier corrects the text of Livy where inconsistent with it. Vid. Crevier, Not. ad Liv. vol. ii. p. 704. Could we believe Joseph Scaliger, Lipsius borrowed, without acknowledgement, his doctrine concerning the legionary order, from Francisco Patrizio. Patrizio's work is said to have been written in Italian. Vid. Scaligerean. Artic. Lipsius, Edit. Colon. Agrippin. An. 1667.

its pila, or missile spears resembling those of Homer's heroes, would have been unable to reach the enemy; much more the pila of the rear guard, or Triarii; so that, on this system, the inefficiency of men in a Roman army is too absurd for conception.

These inconveniencies are obviated by another, and more rational account, of the legionary disposition.[88] Amidst unceasing conflicts with multiplied opponents, the Romans naturally discovered that other weapons, whether manual or missile, were all of them inferior in efficacy to their short massy swords, double edged, sharp pointed, and which, sustained by a proper arm of defence, were adapted alike to all varieties of ground and all descriptions of enemies. To make the best use of such a weapon, they saw the necessity of allowing the swordsman full space around him; and to leave to him this space within the smallest possible compass, they placed the men belonging to the second rank behind the intervals in the first, and the men belonging to the third rank behind the intervals in the second; compensating in safety to the soldier for this loose order by furnishing him with the *scutum*[89], a shield far more ample than the clypeus, which he had before worn. In consequence of this alteration, the Roman tactics became totally different from the Grecian. The Greeks acted

[88] For what follows I am indebted to a treatise in manuscript kindly communicated to me by the late General Melville.

[89] Clypeus illis, (Macedonibus) Romanis Scutum, majus corpori tegumentum. Tit. Liv. l. ix. c. 19.

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in phalanx by the united impression of their mass, the men behind invigorating the impetus of those in the same file before them. But the Romans, not being drawn up in rank and file, for the latter of which no word occurs in their language[90], were obliged, each single combatant, to depend on the strenuous exertions of his strength and activity. Arranged in the quincunx, or chequer order, not of maniples[91], but of individuals, the legionary soldier had, within a given space, the freest scope for the motions of his sword in attack and for those of his shield in defence.[92] This chequer disposition was also

[90] This is sufficient to show that the file-order was not usual among them, though employed in particular instances, as at the famous battle of Zama, where the Romans were placed in direct *back-standing*, and at intervals, to make way for the enemy's elephants. Polybius, l. xv. c. 5. et seq.

[91] It would be presumptuous to say that the chequer-order by maniples never was employed. Yet upon a careful examination of all the ancient battles, that are described, I find not any one decisive example of it. The great depth assigned to it by Lipsius is better adapted to the phalanx than to the legion, and something very like his Roman order was practised, under particular circumstances, by Xenophon when he ascended the mountains, and defeated the Colchians. Expedit. Cyri, l. iv. p. 341. Comp. History of Ancient Greece, vol. iii. c. 26. The same tactics were employed by Philopœmen in the second battle of Mantinæa; of which hereafter.

[92] The beautiful passage in Cicero de Senectut. c. 17., where Lysander, upon viewing the plantations of Cyrus, admired "proceritates arborum, et directos in quincuncem ordines;" and the more beautiful lines in virgil, Georg. ii. v. 280, where he recommends the planting of trees in a quincunx, as armies are drawn up:—

Non animum modo uti pascat prospectus inanem,
Sed quia non aliter vires dabit omnibus æquas
Terra, neque in vacuum poterunt se extendere rami.

These passages apply, not to the quincunx of maniples of men, or of clumps of tress, but to the quincunx of individuals in both kinds, which arrangement alone allows either air and soil to the plants or elbow-room to the soldiers.

incomparably the best fitted with such weapons for facilitating the necessary successions in battle to the killed, wounded, or repulsed, whether these successions were made by individuals, by maniples, or by whole ranks: ranks still retaining the technical names of Hastati, Principes, and Triarii, after the spear long or hasta had been totally laid aside, and the whole legion armed alike with the sword and pilum. This latter weapon was six feet long, terminating in a steel point; after discharging which missile spear[93], the Roman rushed on the enemy with his massy *gladius*. But I return from this technical digression, to the irruption of the Galli Senones.

Irruption of the Galli Senones. B. C. 390. U. C. 364.

These Gauls having traversed the lands long occupied in Italy by their brethren, dispossessed the eastern Tuscans and Umbrians of the territories between the rivers Utis and Æsis, extending from Ravenna to Ancona, ninety Roman miles along the coast of the Hadriatic. Not contented with this easy conquest, they marched to Clusium, a city in the heart of Tuscany, only fourscore miles from Rome, threatening the inhabitants with destruction, unless they resigned their well-cultivated fields. The Clusians, while they negotiated with the invaders, dispatched ambassadors to Rome, craving assistance as speedy as their danger was imminent.[94] The Romans sent by way of mediators between the

[93] Dionysius, Vegetius, et Lipsius de Milit. Roman. l. iii. c. 3.
[94] Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 35. et seq.

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Gauls and Clusians three brothers of the Fabian family, the most distinguished in the republic for patriotism and boiling valour. The Fabii, according to their instructions, explained to the Gauls, that Clusium being united in strict friendship with Rome, any injury done to it could not be overlooked by their commonwealth, hitherto unacquainted with the Gauls, and desirous of being known to them only by good offices. The Gauls replied, "that they doubted not the bravery of the Romans, whom the Clusians had chosen for their protectors: but these people possessed more lands than they needed, and, if they refused to relinquish their superfluity, must prepare for a battle, in which the Romans, as spectators, might witness how far the prowess of the Gauls surpassed that of all other nations."[95] The Fabii remonstrated, but in vain: the Gauls told them, that their rights were in their swords.[96] A battle ensued, in which the Roman ambassadors distinguished themselves conspicuously in the first ranks; and one of them, Quintus Fabius, being carried beyond the van by the impetuosity of his horse, encountered, slew, and spoiled a Gallic chief.

Jus Feciale, the law of nations.

The fall of this chief was communicated by signal, to the whole invading army. The Gauls sounded a retreat; and stifled their animosity to Clusium, that it might be directed more fiercely against Rome. Though blind to their own in-

[95] Alexander remarked justly, οι κελται αιεν αλαζονες. "The Gauls were ever boasters." Arrian, Expedit. Alexand. l. i. c. 4.

[96] Se in armis jus ferre. Liv. l. v. c. 36.

justice, they were taught by their priests or elders, to discern that of the enemy, and to send messengers before them, demanding the Fabian brothers, as violators of the laws of nations. These laws were from the reign of Numa interpreted at Rome by the college of heralds[97], which, upon complaint from the Gauls, denounced the wrath of heaven against the commonwealth, unless the Fabii were surrendered to punishment, as men who had polluted the sanctity of their own official character; for among the Romans an awful sanctity invested every institution, and every agent subservient to the prevention or the termination of warfare. The senate concurred in reprobation of the unwarrantable proceedings of the Fabii; but in tenderness to persons of such distinguished hereditary worth, referred the ultimate decision to the people, who, instead of delivering into the cruel hands of Barbarians, three illustrious youths, whose fault had originated in extravagance of valour, named the Fabii, with three colleagues, for military tribunes. Apprised of this proceeding, the Gauls, who had been slowly advancing southward, precipitated their march to Rome with all the fury of ungovernable rage, declaring to the terrified cities in

[97] The Feciales in Rome corresponded with the Ειρηνοδικοι in Greece. War was not to be levied till formally declared by them; and according to the Jus Feciale (the law of nations) could not be justly declared on any other grounds than those of making reprisals, of repelling or avenging injuries: omnia quæ defendi, repetique, et ulcisci fas sit. Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 49. Conf. Dionysius, l. ii. p. 131.

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their way, Rome only to be the object of their vengeance.

Allian rout. U. C. 364.

News of the approaching danger had scarcely arrived there, when the Gallic train, both cavalry and infantry, made its appearance, covering a vast extent of country. It exceeded seventy thousand in number, twice the force which the Romans could immediately march. Headed, however, by their military tribunes, they hastened to meet the invaders; and taking post eleven miles from Rome, on the left bank of the Allia, near its confluence with the Tiber, detached part of their number to seize a neighbouring eminence. Brennus, general of the Gauls, fearful of an attaek in flank, determined first to dislodge this detachment, whose resistance, short and feeble as it was, saved the main body of Romans from destruction, but saved them at the expence of that pre-eminence in martial glory, which they had long and honourably sustained. The suddenness of the invasion had obliged them to omit those religious ceremonies which inspire confidence, and prevented them from employing those military precautions which ensure victory. Their warfare was new in itself, being unauthorised by the college of heralds; and they had to contend with a new and terrible enemy, whose numbers, impetuosity, singular arms, and more singular tactics[98], heightened the consternation first excited by their savage howlings, sanguinary

[98] See above, chapter x.

aspect, and gigantic stature. The Romans fled: one part of them towards Rome, the far greater to Veii.[99]

The conquerors paused in amaze at their easy victory. Apprehending an ambush, they explored the ground on all sides; and when danger in no part threatened them, they began to chaunt boastfully their warlike songs, to pile, in towering trophies, the Roman shields, which in the trepidation of flight had been abandoned, and to indulge in that levity of mirth, and those intemperate carousals, with which they were accustomed to celebrate the feasts of victory. Their intermediate position, however, prevented all communication between Rome and Veii; so that those of the routed army, who had entered the former city, regretted as lost, the far greater number of fugitives who had escaped to the latter. Thus reduced in strength, they despaired of being able to withstand the progress of the Gauls, or of defending the wide extent of Rome against the fury of their assault. The helpless crowd was encouraged to scatter itself southward, through the inferior strong-holds of Latium; while the priestesses of Vesta were permitted to transport the venerated symbols of their worship in an opposite direction to the Tuscan city Cæré, fifteen miles distant. In performing this sacred office, they were assisted by the piety of Lucius Albinius, a poor Plebeian, who, on beholding them after they had

[99] Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 38. Conf. Plutarch in Camill.

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passed the wooden bridge across the Tiber, laboriously ascending mount Janiculum, placed them in a cart, in which he was conveying his wife and children to a place of safety. The preference given by Lucius to a religious duty, above the interests of his own family, was extolled by Roman historians, and his name passed in an obscure rumour into Greece, as that of the saviour of Rome. [100]

Rome, except the capitol, taken by the Gauls. B. C. 390. U. C. 364.

But this commonwealth was really saved by most extraordinary public exertions of patriotism and fortitude. On a similar occasion, the Athenians acquired immortal glory by abandoning their *city*, for the sake of their *country*. [101] With a magnanimity not less sublime, one part of the Romans invited certain death to render the other invincible. Retarded by their frantic rejoicings, the Gauls advanced not to Rome till the third day after the Allian rout. By this time, the more helpless inhabitants had dispersed over Latium; the men fit to bear arms had fortified themselves in the capitol: while the aged fathers of the republic, disdaining to encumber the warriors, or to diminish their supplies of food, seated themselves on their curule chairs, some in the Forum, others in the vestibules of their houses, and required Marcus Fabius, the high priest, to rehearse to them the form of devotion for the safety of the state. This ceremony being performed, they grasped their ivory

[100] Aristot. apud Plutarch in Camill.

[101] History of Ancient Greece, vol. i. c. 10.

rods, and calmly waited the approach of the Barbarians. Amidst the dreary solitude and silence which prevailed in Rome, the majesty of such a sight might have overawed the Gauls, a nation peculiarly susceptible of new impressions, when the levity of a sportive Barbarian insulted the snow-white beard of Marcus Papirius. The venerable senator chid the offence with his ivory rod, and thereby provoked the Gaul's impetuous broad-sword: the contagious example was followed by his blood-thirsty companions, who completed the unresisted massacre. [102]

In the sack, which immediately followed, of Rome, the streets in many places were set on fire; by which wanton havoc, the Gauls diminished their own resources for besieging the capitol, now fortified by strong bulwarks in form of a citadel. The want of provisions obliged part of them to quit the blockade; and as the corn in the neighbourhood of Veii had by this time been conveyed thither, the Gauls foraged in an opposite direction, towards Ardea, a Roman colony, twenty miles south of its metropolis. In Ardea there resided an illustrious Patrician, now suffering exile and ignominy for great and brilliant services. Camillus, after conquering Veii, had celebrated games in the Circus, and triumphed in a chariot drawn by four horses of resplendent whiteness. This pomp offended the jealousy of republicans, by the glare of too conspicuous a prosperity. He was invidiously and

[102] Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 38.

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most unjustly impeached of peculation, and foreseeing that factious suffrages would prevail, had retired to Ardea in voluntary banishment.[103]

Camillus Dictator — Destruction of the Gauls. U. C. 367. B. C. 387.

But the good fortune of Rome sent Camillus to Ardea. At his instigation, the Ardeans, by a nocturnal march, surprised the Gauls buried in sleep and wine. Many of them were slain; and a party, being driven towards Antium, was totally destroyed by a sally from that place. Meanwhile, the army at Veii had received reinforcements from many neighbouring districts, and needed only a general like Camillus to conduct it to victory. Before naming an exile for Dictator, it seemed necessary to the army at Veii to consult the Romans besieged in the capitol, who still preserved all the legal forms of civil polity, passing regular decrees in name of the Senate and People. To gain admission to this pent-up majesty of the republic, was a great but not insuperable difficulty; for the Romans had always agents at command, ready for every enterprise. By means of a piece of buoyant bark, Pontius Cominius, an intrepid youth, floated unperceived down the stream of the Tiber; ascended an unguarded precipice on the bank; and communicated to the Romans in the capitol the wishes of their brethren at Veii. Camillus was voted Dictator: news of his election were conveyed to Veii by the successful return of Pontius thither. The Dictator hast-

[103] Plutarch in Camill.

oned from Ardea, and, having reviewed his army, immediately led it to Rome.[104]

Before his arrival, the capitol had been narrowly saved from surprise in the night, through the vigilance and valour of Marcus Manlius; a deliverance, however, that seemed of little importance, as the besieged were now perishing from hunger. Meanwhile, the Gauls learned that their own territories had been invaded by the warlike Veneti.[105] In haste to protect their homes, they gave intimation that, for a moderate ransom, they would consent to raise the siege. Famine compelled the Romans to listen to this mortifying proposal. Their military tribunes began to weigh a thousand Roman pounds of gold to king Brennus. That dishonest Barbarian had brought a false balance: the tribunes detected his fraud, and weighed the gold fairly: Brennus threw his sword into the scale, exclaiming, "woe to the vanquished." During a transaction, infamous on one side, and ignominious on the other, Camillus entered Rome with his army, to ransom the city with steel. A dreadful havoc was made of the Barbarians, first in the streets, and afterwards where they made a halt, at the eighth mile-stone on the road to Gabii. So complete was the destruction, that not a messenger returned home to report the public calamity.[106]

[104] Plutarch in Camill.

[105] We learn this important circumstance from Polybius, l. ii. c. 18. It is pertinently introduced by Plutarch, in his Discourse on the Good Fortune of Rome, p. 580. Edit. Xyland.

[106] Conf. Tit. Liv. Polybius, ubi supra, et Plutarch in Camill.

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Rome repaired.

The Romans thus recovered their city, but a city in ruins. That it might be the more speedily repaired, bricks were supplied by the public; and permission was granted of cutting timber, and digging stone wherever these materials abounded. Before the burning of Rome by the Gauls, many houses consisted of several stories, and were adorned by courts and vestibules.[107] They were rebuilt, doubtless, with less magnificence; for the owners were obliged to give sureties that the work should be completed within the year; and this desire of expedition prevented due care in straightening the streets, insomuch that the common sewers, which formerly ran below empty spaces, now too frequently annoyed the tenants of well-inhabited buildings. The capitol was strengthened with grateful diligence, and its stupendous basis of square stone, constructed on this occasion, remained a work of conspicuous grandeur in the age of Augustus. Amidst exertions essential to

[107] Tit. Liv. et Plutarch in Camill. They were thus distinguished from the huts of rustics, whether husbandmen or shepherds. Yet Montesquieu, in speaking of the burning of Rome by the Gauls, says "L'incendie de la ville ne fut que l'incendie de quelques cabanes de pasteurs." Grandeur et Decadence, cap. i. Nothing has propagated more false notions concerning things remote in place or time, than what the French call "l'Esprit." The modern writers who talk of the rudeness and barbarism of the ancient Romans think very differently from Cicero as quoted by Augustin. de Civitate Dei. l. xxii. c. 16. "Magis est in Romulo admirandum, quod cæteri, qui Dii ex hominibus facti esse dicuntur, minus eruditis hominum seculis fuerunt: Romuli autem ætatem, minus his sexcentis annis, jam inveteratis literis atque doctrinis, omnique illo antiquo ex inculta hominum vita errore sublato, fuisse cernimus."

their subsistence or security, the Romans showed peculiar attention to the concerns of religion. This, as Camillus told them, was the primary and most important of all national objects; "since, in recalling to mind the vicissitudes of the Veientian and Gallic war, they must perceive that success had uniformly accompanied their obedience to the gods, whereas disaster had as constantly resulted from the guilt of an opposite behaviour." [108]

From the rebuilding of the city, the Romans were, in the course of one hundred and seven years, brought nine times in competition with the Gauls, in as many tumultuary wars, commonly decided by the event of single battles. Before the end of this period, the Romans discovered that these restless enemies had not strength proportional to their stature; that their impetuous courage wanted perseverance and firmness; that, though in their first assaults they were greater than men, in their second they were less than women [109]: in fine, that in all things, the Gauls were more showy than substantial.

[108] Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 54.

[109] Ibid. l. x. c. 28. In the account of the Gallic wars, there are considerable differences between Polybius, l. ii. c. 18. et seq. and Livy, l. vi. c. 22. l. vii. c. 9. 11. 23. et l. viii. c. 20. et l. x. c. 27. That Livy used much freedom with other authors as well as with Polybius, will appear from comparing his account of Manlius's combat with the gigantic Gaul, l. vii. c. 10. and that of Claudius Quadrigarius, preserved in Aulus Gellius, l. ix. c. 13. Quadrigarius was contemporary with Sisenna, who also wrote a Roman history, and flourished in the time of Sylla. Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 9. Livy professes to follow Quadrigarius in l. vii. c. 10. et l. viii. c. 9.

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War with the Samnites. U.C. 414. B. C. 340.

In the midst of the Gallic wars, and about half a century after the rebuilding of Rome, the commonwealth first engaged in hostilities with a nation of a far more obstinate character. This was the Samnites, a people inhabiting those rough and lofty tracts of the Apennine, which overlook Latium and Campania on one side, the Hadriatic sea on the other; and which diverge in their southern course towards Apulia and Lucania. From their central mountains, they poured down their arms and colonies towards the Hadriatic and Tuscan seas; and eighty years before this period, a party of Samnites surprised Vulturnus, the principal Tuscan settlement in Campania, butchered the inhabitants, and appropriated their city and territory.[110] From Capua, the new name of Vulturnus, these daring assassins are commonly called Capuans; and their bloody usurpation of that place, compared with the transactions which we are now going to relate, affords a memorable instance of the change which may be operated, in the course of fourscore years, on the characters of men, through local circumstances and climate.

The Samnites, in their various encroachments, had hitherto met with no opposition from Rome; and, as they admired the valour and good fortune of this commonwealth in the wars which have just been related, they solicited and obtained the friendship of its magistrates,

[110] Tit. Liv. l. iv. c. 37.

and were accepted as its allies. Presuming on this treaty, they made war on the Sidicini [111], a people of Campania, whose capital was within five miles of the Liris; the eastern boundary of Latium. This war was not coloured with the slightest pretence of justice. The Samnites, descending from the Apennine, had been accustomed to infest many adjacent plains, and they quarrelled with the Sidicini, merely because they were strong enough to plunder them with impunity.

The Capuans surrender their territory and persons to the Romans. U.C. 414.

The Sidicini applied for assistance to their neighbours the Capuans, and obtained it from that people whose own safety appeared to be at stake. Both communities were defeated by the Samnites; upon which event, the Capuans sent an embassy to Rome, supplicating protection against fierce mountaineers, with whom they acknowledged, that their own city, populous as as it was, and next to Rome, the greatest and richest in all Italy, was totally unable to contend. The senate replied, by the voice of the Consul Valerius, "The Romans would willingly contract friendship with the Capuans; but unfortunately a prior friendship stands in the way. We are allied with the Samnites; on which account we cannot arm in your defence, without violating our duty to the gods, as well as to our confederates; to whom, however, we shall intimate our desire, that they desist from further hostilities." Upon receiving this answer, the

[111] Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 29.

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spokesman of the Capuan embassy said, according to the instructions brought with him, these memorable words, "Although you refuse, conscript fathers! to protect the Capuans against unprovoked violence, you will doubtless defend your own property. We therefore surrender to you Capua, its people, and territory, and temples. They are now your own; and whatever wrong may be done them is henceforth committed against the jurisdiction of Rome." The ambassadors then fell prostrate in the vestibule of the senate-house, with supplicating hands, and heavy moans, and eyes streaming with tears. Historians do not insinuate, that these abject demonstrations might be nothing more than an artful drama, previously concerted with the Romans, for the purpose of enabling them to elude, without dishonour, their treaty with the Samnites. An embassy, however, was sent by them to Samnium of a quite different import from that proposed by Valerius, communicating the recent surrender of Capua; and commanding their ancient allies to abstain from injustice towards their new subjects. The Samnian magistrates, assembled in their supreme council, set this mandate at defiance; and in hearing of the Roman ambassadors, ordered their forces into Campania.[112]

Battle near Mount Gaurus. U. C. 414. B. C. 340.

Their audacity, when made known at Rome, filled all ranks with indignation. The senate dispatched heralds into Samnium, to demand

[112] Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 31.

reparation of wrongs; and, in case of refusal, solemnly to denounce war. The popular assembly, upon learning that justice was denied, decreed that the consuls, Valerius and Cornelius, should immediately march, the former into Campania, the latter into Samnium. Valerius encamped near Mount Gaurus in Campania, where the eagerness and confidence on both sides hastened the day of battle. Neither the swordsmen, nor the cavalry of the Romans could break the Samnite line, bristling with spears; and the resistance, insurmountable to mere force, was to be overcome only by such transports of military enthusiasm as were displayed in this first conflict with a new and formidable enemy. The Samnites had entered the field against men, whose renown filled Italy, with a resolution to conquer or die: and when asked, after defeat, what had changed their purpose, they said, that the flashing eyes of the Romans blasted opposition; and that their fierce countenances and wild demeanour, were not to be endured.[113] The Romans took possession of their camp; the Capuans and other Campanians flocked from all quarters to congratulate the victors. During Valerius's war in Campania, his colleague gained a still more bloody battle in Samnium. Thirty thousand

[113] Oculos sibi Romanorum ardere visos — vesanos vultus et furentia ora. Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 33. Conf. Plutarch in Pyrrho, p. 398. Edit. Xyland. "Valour," he says, "was well understood by Homer, who characterises it as the only virtue agitated by all the madness of enthusiasm."

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of the enemy are said to have fallen, and subsequent disasters so much dismayed the Samnites, that, when the consul Æmilius invaded their territory, he was met, not by hostile armies, but by supplicating embassies.[114] He therefore granted to them peace, upon receiving three months' provisions, and a year's pay, for his legions.

Rebellion of the Latins abetted by the Campanians. U. C. 416—419. B. C. 338—335.

These legions, indeed, were speedily to be employed in a more domestic warfare. Dangerous discontents prevailed among the Latins, who had long formed one-half of the Roman armies. The spirit of mutiny was fomented by ambitious chiefs, particularly Annius of Setia, and Numicius of Circeii. These men, equally artful and enterprising, maintained that civil society inferred perfect equality of law, and that this equality could only be secured by a fair rotation of magistracy; on which account they insisted that the Latins should enjoy a due share in the consular and senatorian power. At the distance of one hundred and sixty-one years from the victory at the lake Regillus, which had confirmed their supremacy over Latium, the Romans were thus brought into a new war with a people, who boasted the same blood and courage with themselves, who had conformed to the same institutions, both civil and military; in a word, who had every thing in common with them, except their unbending loftiness of patriotism and of policy. These virtues never

[114] Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 1.

shone more conspicuously than in the present renewed struggle with the Latins, and the Campanians their rash abetters. In the first great battle, fought near the roots of Mount Vesuvius, the consul Manlius, who twenty years before had despoiled the Giant Gaul, and acquired the surname of Torquatus, inflicted death on his own son for combating beyond the ranks [115]: the other consul Decius devoted himself to the infernal gods for the safety of his army. [116] This moral machinery proved irresistible. The enemy were repeatedly vanquished in Campania; and, upon a renewal of hostilities, completely subdued on the banks of the Astura, near the city Pedum in Latium. Lucius Camillus rivalled the glory of his kinsman Marcus, conqueror of the Gauls; and entering Rome in triumph, referred to the senate in what manner the Latins ought in future to be treated, observing that through the bounty of the gods, it now depended on that council, whether these rebels should any longer exist as a nation.

Treatment of the vanquished and settlement of the Roman conquests. U. C. 419—422. B. C. 335—332.

That correct justice might be administered, the senate determined, that each community, both of Latium and Campania, should be tried separately. Some states were stripped of their lands; new Roman colonies were established in cities belonging to others; national assemblies, and all federal institutions were thenceforth abolished among the Latins, that these allies might be connected with each other, only

[115] Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 7. [116] Ibid. c. 9.

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through the intervention of Rome. But, in compensation for these severities, the fidelity of Laurentium was rewarded with an equal and honourable alliance. Tusculum retained the privileges of Roman citizenship formerly conferred on it. The same benefits were extended to four other Latin cities; Nomentum, Pedum, Lanuvium, and Aricia; forming at the radius of fifteen or twenty miles from Rome, a half circle on the east of that capital. In Campania, and the adjacent district of the Aurunci, similar immunities were granted to Fundi, Formiæ, Cumæ, Capua, Suessala; and soon afterwards to Acerra. Colonies were planted at Cales in the territory of the Ausones, and at Fregellæ in that of the Sidicini.[117] To the north, as we have seen, the Romans enjoyed many strongholds, intermixed with the possessions of the Sabines and Tuscans. They now acquired equally important outposts in the south, stretching an hundred and twenty miles from Rome. The number of citizens amounted to nearly two hundred thousand. Thus in Italy, as afterwards in a large portion of the world, the Romans united and rewarded their friends, divided and punished their enemies; and these simple maxims, flowing from plain sense and natural passion, led them more surely to empire, than all the windings of that crooked policy with which their proceedings are sometimes justly branded.

[117] Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 13. et seq.

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The extension of their ascendency and power excited much fear and jealousy among the states of Magna Græcia, from Palæpolis, the neighbour and elder sister of Naples, to the far distant Tarentum; a republic whose wealth and commercial prosperity had been long marked in the communication of its name to the great adjacent gulph. All these cities, as we have seen, were deformed by the levity and capriciousness incident to the worst form of democracy; and each had too little stability in its domestic councils to inspire its neighbours with respect or confidence. Like Greeks in all parts of the world, they had among them ingenious and able men, whose sage admonitions they despised; generally committing their concerns to meretricious orators, or petulant buffoons, whose congeniality of character raised them to unrivalled credit with the thoughtless multitude. Under the influence of such counsellors, the commonwealth of Palæpolis wantonly injured the Roman settlers in Campania; and, encouraged by the Samnites, whose resentment, long stifled, had never been extinguished, answered all demands for reparation in terms of defiance.[118] Having unwisely provoked the Romans, Palæpolis more unwisely admitted a garrison of Samnites. The Romans sent an embassy into Samnium, complaining of the assistance thrown into Palæpolis as an infraction of the late peace. The Samnites returned a proud answer, challenging the

The extension of the Roman ascendency alarms Magna Græcia. U. C. 430. B. C. 324.

[118] Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 22.

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Romans to meet them in the plain of Capua.[119] The ambassadors rejoined, that the legions were accustomed to march whither their own generals commanded them: with all possible dispatch, they proceeded under the consul Papirius into Samnium, and, besides committing dreadful ravages on the open country, conquered the walled towns Allifæ, Callifæ, and Ruffrium.[120]

The address of Charilaus and Nymphius by which they save Palæpolis. U. C. 431. B. C. 323.

Meanwhile Publilius Philo, consul of the former year, was continued in command until he should finish the war with the insolent Palæpolitans. By making a judicious encampment, he had cut them off from all communication with their brethren in Naples, on the opposite or right bank of the river Sebetus; and, in addition to the usual severities of war, the besieged were dreadfully afflicted by the rapacity, cruelty, and unbridled lust of the Samnites, who were entertained as their protectors. Charilaus and Nymphius, two bold and able citizens, saw no other safety for the place than a speedy surrender of it to the Romans. Having concerted between them the means for effecting this measure, Charilaus repaired secretly to the consul, and acquainting him with his project, subjoined, that it would depend on the treatment of the surrendered city, whether he himself should pass with posterity for a patriot or a traitor. Publilius sent him away with good hopes, and escorted by 3000 soldiers, for whose operations his accomplice Nymphius was at this time providing an

[119] Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 23. [120] Ibid. c. 25.

opportunity. Under the semblance of fierce animosity to Rome, this artful Greek persuaded the Samnites in garrison, that, as the principal strength of the enemy was then employed in distant service, it would be easy for them to make a descent on the coast of Latium, and to carry their ravages even to the gates of its capital; for which purpose, however, it would be necessary to set sail secretly in the night-time. Agreeably to this plan, all ships in the harbour were put in readiness, and the Samnites, at the close of night, proceeded thither for embarkation. Then was the time for Nymphius to exert his native dexterity; and, by a number of ready artifices, to creat confusion and delay, until Charilaus with his Roman escort should arrive, and surprise the nearly defenceless city; an enterprise not more skilfully contrived than boldly executed. The Palæpolitans obtained safety on submission; a few troops belonging to Nola, a town ten miles distant, were glad to escape through the northern gate; while the Samnites, betrayed and now deserted by Nymphius, and excluded from the surprised city, which contained all their necessaries, fled in trepidation homeward, in extreme want and half naked, objects of derision and mockery in the different districts through which they passed. [121] We know not how exactly Publilius fulfilled his tacit stipulations with Charilaus. It is certain that from this time forward, Naples,

[121] Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 26.

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or the new city, rose on the decline of the old; and assumed its proper station as head of the Greek settlements on its beautiful bay. The Romans confirmed the pre-eminence of Naples, and entered into an equal and honourable treaty with its magistrates.

Artifice by which the Tarentines gain the Lucanians to their party. U. C. 431. B. C. 323.

These transactions were not viewed with unconcern by Tarentum. The defection of the Lucanians, its nearest neighbours, and the submission of the kindred colony of Palæpolis, were the circumstances that occasioned most anxiety. The fate of Palæpolis seemed irrevocable; but the Lucanians, a barbarous and unsteady people, it was hoped, might be again prevailed on to change sides. For bringing them over from the party of the Romans, a stratagem was put in practice that could have been devised only by the profligate artifice of the Tarentines, and that could have proved successful only with the credulous stupidity of the Lucanians. Some youths, more distinguished by their rank in life, than respectable for their characters, were bribed to tear with lashes each other's backs, and then expose their bleeding bodies in the Lucanian assembly, demanding vengeance for cruelties thus inflicted on them by the Romans.[122] The multitude beheld, believed, pitied, and called aloud for a meeting of the senate, in which council it was determined to renew the league with Samnium, and to bind the public faith by giving hostages to that state, and

[122] Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 28.

entrusting to it the possession of several Lucanian strong-holds.

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War with the Samnites and their allies. U.C. 432. B.C. 322.

The confederacy of the Samnites was at the same time joined by the Vestini, one of the numerous colonies of Sabines. The last-mentioned people, being confined on the north-east by Umbria, and on the south-west by Latium, had early poured down their plantations along the Hadriatic sea, under the various names of Vestini, Peligni, Picentes, Marrucini, while their more illustrious colony of Marsi occupied the central ridges of the Apennine. To repress the Vestini, whose hostilities might be followed by those of many kindred tribes in their neighbourhood, the consul, Junius Brutus, hastened into their territory, and sacked two of their towns, Cutina and Cingalia. His colleague Lucius Camillus was obliged, through bad health, to name Papirius Cursor for carrying on the war in Samnium. The Samnites were twice defeated with great slaughter. Twenty thousand of them are said to have fallen in the battle of Imbrinium. Having consented to furnish cloathing and a year's pay for the Roman army, they obtained a short truce, which they had the folly to violate. Their country was invaded anew by Cornelius Arvina, and they were compelled to the disgraceful resolution of making atonement for the guilt of the community by surrendering Brutulus Papius, a bold and powerful citizen, accused as instigator of the war. Papius withdrew from ignominy by a voluntary death. His body and effects, however, were sent in

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solemn procession to Rome; but the Romans disdained private satisfaction for the public delinquency, and rejected all terms of accommodation with a people who had so often prove themselves void of faith.

The Caudine Forks. Two Roman legions passed under the yoke. U. C. 435. B. C. 319.

This decision was represented as inexorable cruelty by Caius Pontius the bravest of the Samnites, and son to Herennius the wisest of that nation. Pontius exhorted them to consider *that* war as just, which circumstances made necessary, and the conflicts of those as pious, whose sole resource was in arms.[123] The Samnites followed him into the field, to resist two consular armies that were expected to enter their country. To receive them, Pontius, adding craft to boldness, took post in the valley of Caudium, the narrowest and darkest in the Apennines. By soldiers, disguised as shepherds, the consuls Veturius and Posthumius were assured that the Samnites had marched into Apulia, and in the design of following them thither allowed themselves to be decoyed into the most intricate defile of Caudium, overhung by woody rocks, and known by the name of the Caudine Forks. Here their progress was suddenly interrupted. They perceived that the road had been obstructed by trunks of trees and huge masses of rock. The sides of the valley presented unsurmountable precipices. The Samnites were next descried on the contiguous heights. In this extremity the Romans endeavoured to turn back,

[123] Tit. Liv. l. ix. c. 1. et seq.

but found their retreat also cut off by artifical barriers, guarded by the enemy. Pontius consulted his father Herennius, how best to avail himself of this bloodless victory. The wise old man advised him either to grant the Romans entire safety, or to put the whole of them to death. Pontius rejected the extremes of useful mildness, or perhaps more useful severity. He exasperated the Romans to irreconcileable enmity by making them pass under the ignominious yoke, at the same time that he spared their lives on the hollow promise of peace, which those who gave it had neither the power nor the will to ratify. Within the space of a few months Papirius Cursor retaliated the disgrace of the Caudine Forks, on a garrison of 7000 Sabines, which he found in Luceria, a city which he wrested from them in Apulia. The war having thus recommenced with wounds to mutual pride, deeper sometimes than those of blood, continued to be carried on with little intermission till the memorable expedition of Pyrrhus, in whose final defeat the fortune of Samnium and all the more southern districts of Italy was involved.[124]

Events in the war with the Samnites and their allies. U. C. 440—473. B. C. 314—281.

In the course of this long conflict, relentless on one side, and desperate on the other, the Romans experienced several severe checks, but never met with any very signal loss; whereas the Samnites, on five different occasions, are said to have left above twenty thousand slain in the

[124] Tit. Liv. l. ix. c. 1. et seq.

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field.[125] The bloodiest battles were those of Beneventum in Samnium, and Aquilonia in Apulia, in the latter of which the Roman cavalry decided the battle with well-levelled spears, breaking down the enemies' battalions wherever they charged. Next year Fabius Maximus, among other Samnite prisoners, seized the person of Caius Pontius, their intrepid chief, the idol of his country and the shame of its enemies. Pontius adorned the conqueror's triumph, and his death then expiated the ignominy which he had inflicted at the Caudine Forks, on two consular armies.[126] With the loss of their favourite leader, the Samnites lost for a while the spirit of resistance; and having craved and obtained a truce, they were accused of violating their faith for the sixth time. On this last occasion they were powerfully abetted by the Lucanians and the Brutii, and the force of the war was directed towards the Greek colony of Thurium, formerly Sybaris, situate on the southern side of the broad Tarentine gulph, opposite to, and seventy miles distant from Tarentum. This colony, called indifferently Thurium or Thurii, had always maintained, as we have seen, a connection with the mother country, and a dozen years before the war of Peloponnesus had been reinforced by a considerable emigration of Athenians, deriving peculiar honour from the names of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Lysias, who are numbered

Thurium becomes the seat of the war, its siege raised. U. C. 473. B. C. 281.

[125] Tit. Liv. l. ix. & x. passim.

[126] Eutropius, l. ii. Orosius, l. iii. c. 22.

among the colonists.[127] To resist the Lucanians and Brutii, by whom it was surrounded, and whose animosity it had provoked by refusing to join in their confederacy with the Samnites, Thurii entered into the closest friendship with Rome, accepted a Roman garrison for its defence; and in consequence of this intimacy with a city that had been long one of the most distinguished in Magna Græcia, the Romans first began to examine as matters of improvement or curiosity, the language and arts of their remote Grecian ancestors.[128] To expel the Romans from Thurii, the Samnites, with their allies, bent the most desperate efforts of their resentment and obstinacy. But the illustrious Fabricius, whose character will appear more conspicuously in the war with Pyrrhus, defeated them in a great and decisive battle[129], in the year immediately preceding the arrival of that prince in Italy.

Contemporary wars with the Æqui and Volsci, Tuscans and Gauls. U. C. 440—470. B. C. 314—284.

In the central territory between the Rubicon and the borders of Campania, the Romans had been equally successful. The Æqui and Volsci, the Sidicini and Ausones, who had co-operated in the first scenes of the Samnite war, were punished almost by total extirpation, and their territories were occupied or rather entirely colonised by the conquerors. The Tuscan commonwealths of Perusia, Arretium, Volsinii, fought

[127] Conf. Strabo, l. vi. Diodor. l. xii. Plutarch in Pericl. & Dionys. Halicarn. in Lysia.

[128] Appian. de Reb. Samn. & Plutarch in Flamin.

[129] Liv. Epitom. l. xii. Dionysius, Excerp. Legat. Valerius Maximus, l. viii. c. 6. & Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 6.

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separately and were successively subdued. Other Tuscan states were equally unfortunate, whether they took arms spontaneously, or by compulsion of the Gauls; first objects of their rapacity, next victims in their warfare. The legions, after an interval of forty years, met this new invasion of Gauls at Sentinum in Umbria. Their rattling chariots of war frightened the Roman cavalry, when the consul Publius Decius, in imitation of his father of the same name, devoted himself to death for the safety of his country.[130] Twenty-five thousand of the enemy were slain, and eight thousand made prisoners. Nearly ten years, however, elapsed, before the Galli Senones were totally exterminated by the consul Cornelius Dolabella, who reduced their desolated city Sena into a Roman colony, and secured this bulwark against more northern Gauls by a decisive victory over the Boii at the lake Vademon in Tuscany.[131]

Roman conquests and colonies. — Luceria and Saticula. U. C. 440 —441.

During this tide of military success, the prosperity of the Romans, we may observe, was marked and confirmed by the establishment of colonies. Early in the Samnite war, they colonised the important strong-holds of Luceria and Saticula on the immediate frontier of their enemy. The Umbri were punished for a short defection by being bridled with a garrison in their strongest city Nequinum, or Narni. The same year Carseoli was planted in the country of the Marsi,

Carseoli. U. C. 456. Minturnæ

[130] Tit. Liv. l. x. c. 28.

[131] Dionys. Halicarn. Excerp. Legit.

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the bravest of the Sabine race; and shortly afterwards Minturnæ and Sinuessa, both of them on the frontier of Campania, the former near the mouth of the river Liris, the latter in the Vescian forest: and scarcely four years intervened, before the Romans sent one of their largest colonies to Venusia in Apulia. It consisted of twenty thousand men, and proved of vast importance in maintaining their authority over that extensive district. Upon the whole, previous to the war of Tarentum, they should seem to have established at least thirty colonies in different parts of Italy. [132]

and Sinuessa. U. C. 458.

Venusia. U. C. 462.

The Tarentines, as we have seen, had descended to the vilest artifices, for interposing a strong barrier between the manly valour of Rome and their own voluptuous effeminacy. But when they perceived that, by the falling of one people after another, the war was brought to their borders, anger carried them to an act of capricious rashness, which could have been committed only by a city like Tarentum, the abstract and essence of depraved democracy. It happened that the Romans in ten decked ships, a force sufficient to protect them against pirates, sailed, probably from Thurii, to survey [133] the neighbouring coasts of Magna Græcia; and being still at peace with Tarentum, prepared to enter that port as into a friendly harbour. Many Tarentines were then assembled, as was custo-

The Tarentines destroy a Roman fleet. U. C. 470. B. C. 284.

[132] Liv. l. x. & xi. passim. Conf. Strabo, l. v.

[133] Εθεατο την μεγαλην Ελλαδα. Appian de Rebus Samnit. c. vii. p. 57. Edit. Schweigh.

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mary with a people who lived only for pleasure, in their magnificent and spacious theatre, from which they had a distinct view of all vessels which approached their coast. Upon sight of the Roman ships, the spectators were thrown into an uproar. The consciousness of their own injuries, made them suspect the strangers of hostility. Philocharis, nicknamed Thais, the most profligate of men, and therefore the most acceptable to the multitude, cried out, that the guard-ships in the harbour must be launched, and the Barbarians repelled. His orders were obeyed; the Romans betook themselves to flight; five of their ships escaped, four were sunk, one was taken, and its crew either put to the sword, or dragged into slavery. Proud of this inglorious success, the Tarentines hastily marched to Thurii, compelled its slender garrison to capitulate, banished the nobles, and plundered the city.[134]

Their beastly insult to the ambassador, Posthumius. U. C. 472. B. C. 282.

Instead of proceeding immediately to punish these outrages, the Romans, according to their law of nations, sent an embassy to Tarentum with demands of satisfaction. The embassy was headed by Lucius Posthumius, a man of consular dignity. It was admitted to the bar of the Tarentine assembly, convened, as often happened in Greek cities, in the great theatre. But before the ambassadors declared the subject of their mission, their dress, their appearance,

[134] Dionys. Halicarn. Excerpt. Legat. p. 743. et seq. Conf. Appian, ubi supra.

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and as soon as they began to speak, the inaccuracies of their language and pronunciation, (for they made use of the Greek tongue) excited derision and mockery among the petulant rabble. Upon their demand, that the authors of most unprovoked violence, against the Romans and their allies, should be surrendered to condign punishment, they were hissed contumeliously from the theatre; and the buffoon Philonides, (for the names of such wretches only occur in the history of Tarentum,) followed closely after Posthumius, and lifting up his own garment, defiled with his excrement, the senatorian purple. The grinning multitude claimed his beastly insult for their own, whilst Posthumius calmly declared that the blood of the Tarentines should wash the stain from his laticlave. [135]

They invite Pyrrhus to command them. U. C. 473. B. C. 281.

That wretched people, uniting in an extraordinary degree folly with false refinement, thus provoked the resentment of Rome, without possessing the first requisite in war, a good general. As a free and commercial state, their walls defended them against neighbouring Barbarians; their fleet, against foreign enemies; they were jealous of military power, and careless of military merit; and their ancestors, on various occasions, to avoid employing commanders among themselves, who might have been tempted to become usurpers, had usefully engaged in their service, generals formed in the experienced schools of

[135] Dionysius, Halicarn. Excerpt. Legat. p. 745. et seq.

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Greece and Sicily. In compliance with such precedents, the Tarentines, in looking abroad for a stranger qualified to defend them, cast their eyes on Pyrrhus of Epirus, then on the point of contending[136] for the kingdom of Macedon, with the detestable Ptolemy Keraunus, when the ambassadors of Tarentum and her allies gave a new direction to his arms.[137]

His great views.—He makes sail for Italy. U. C. 473. B. C. 281.

According to the custom of that age, the ambassadors presented him with crowns of gold as tributes of respect from their several cities. They assured him, that the strength of the seaports in Magna Græcia, and of the Italian confederates around them, exceeded three hundred thousand infantry and twenty thousand cavalry; a mighty force which they were desirous of entrusting to the greatest general of the age, that he might employ it against an upstart and arrogant republic on the banks of the Tiber. Pyrrhus needed not the encouragement of this alluring exaggeration. His ancestors had fought with glory in defence of the Greek colonies in Italy; his affinity with the house of Agathocles gave him a personal concern in the affairs of Sicily and even of Africa; and his own genius, being vast and romantic, and emboldened by great, sudden, and most improbable strokes of fortune, he presumed to take the great Alexander for his model, and doubted not his abilities to produce in one-half of the world, a revolution similar to what his renowned kinsman

[136] See above, chap. x. p. 240.

[137] Plutarch in Pyrrho.

had effected in the other. Through the peninsula of Asia, the son of Philip had ascended to universal empire in the East; Pyrrhus hoped to make the peninsula of Italy, the ladder by which he was to attain an equal supremacy in the West. Under such flattering delusions, he immediately dispatched to Tarentum his lieutenant and friend Cineas, the Thessalian, at the head of 3000 men; and being furnished with transports by his allies in Magna Græcia, followed in person with a far greater force, partly raised in Epirus, and partly received from Ptolemy Keraunus on condition of leaving that murderous usurper in quiet possession of Macedon. This second embarkation consisted of twenty thousand heavy-armed infantry, three thousand horse, two thousand archers, five hundred slingers, and twenty elephants[138]: a well-composed army, which, by the Greeks of that age, might very reasonably have been deemed capable of making boundless conquests among barbarous nations.

His proceeding at Tarentum. U. C. 473. B. C. 281.

The first imprudence of Pyrrhus was that of setting sail at the stormy opening of spring, in consequence of which rashness his transports were scattered by a tempest, and even his own galley wrecked on the coast of Messapia. The inhabitants of that extensive district, encompassing the territory of Tarentum, having entered into all the views of their Grecian neighbours, received with respectful courtesy

[138] Plutarch in Pyrrho.

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prince who had braved every danger in hastening to their aid. Pyrrhus advanced to Tarentum at the head of little more than two thousand men; he was met on the way by an escort under Cineas; and a few days after his arrival at the place of destination, most of his transports reached its capacious harbour in safety. The Tarentines had suffered much uneasiness during the storm by which the king's ships were assailed; and fearing the immediate vengeance of Rome, had pusillanimously pent themselves up within their walls. Pyrrhus exhorted them to employ nobler means of safety. By his orders, an exact account was taken of the males fit to bear arms. Levies were made with all possible expedition; and the king, soon discovering the cowardice of the people with whom he had to do, charged the press-masters to bring him personable men, such as had size and strength, saying that it would be his own business to fashion them into soldiers.[139] In conformity with this resolution of rendering Tarentum a place of arms, the number of useless holidays was reduced; unseasonable solemnities were proscribed; an order was issued for shutting up the public walks and gardens, the porticoes of prating politicians, the gymnasia for idle exercise, above all, the innumerable bagnios, those vile resorts of licentious murmurs and lazy voluptuousness. Instead of an indulgent master whom they had voluntarily chosen, the Tarentines

[139] Frontin. Stratag. l. iv. c. 1.

began to complain that they had found a cruel taskmaster.[140] Pyrrhus treated these words as seditious; some of the more audacious demagogues, he is said to have taken off by assassination: others of them, he ordered under various pretences into Epirus[141], governed in his own absence by his son Ptolemy, nephew on the side of his mother Antigoné to Ptolemy Philadelphus, then reigning with great glory in Egypt.

Aristarchus the Tarentine demagogue escapes to Rome.

There was in Tarentum a certain Aristarchus, a man of much eloquence and address, and so universally acceptable to his countrymen, that Pyrrhus was at some loss by what means most safely to remove him. To ruin the credit of this favourite, he affected to take Aristarchus into his most intimate confidence; and, mingling the artifice of courts with the severity of camps, caused it to be industriously circulated that the measures most displeasing to the Tarentines had all of them been suggested by this able counsellor. Soon afterwards, Aristarchus was dispatched on pretence of an honourable commission to young Ptolemy, viceroy in Epirus. He embarked without any apparent reluctance, but determined in his own mind to elude the arts of the king by similar address; for he was no sooner beyond the reach of Tarentum, than he commanded his pilot to steer for the coast of Latium, and was received cordially at Rome as a person well qualified to serve the common-

[140] Valer. Maxim. l. v. c. 3.

[141] Plutarch in Pyrrho.

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wealth.[142] From him, the Romans first learned the vigorous preparations of the enemy: that the Messapians, Lucanians, and Samnites were ready to co-operate with the Greeks; and that embassies had been sent to the Tuscans, Umbri, and Gauls to rouse against Rome the ill-stifled animosity of these nations, and to make them participate in a war that would assuage their rancorous hatred.

A legion, consisting of 4000 Campanians, massacres the Rhegians, and usurps their city. U. C. 473. B. C. 281.

The first care of the Romans was to secure the fidelity of their allies. They next sent a legion of 4000 men to protect the inhabitants of Regium, who, though Greeks by blood and language, were Romans in affection. But it unfortunately happened that the greater part of this legion consisted of licentious Campanians, headed by their countrymen Decius Iubellius, a wretch capable of every enormity. The Campanians beheld from Rhegium the towers of Messené on the opposite side of the Strait, and the sight reminded them of the successful villany of their now envied brethren. Iubellius exhorted them, in the midst of the general convulsion of Italy, to imitate the bold example which would crown them with wealth and power. The design was executed as cruelly as it had been wickedly conceived. The unsuspecting Rhegians were massacred; their women and property became a spoil to the murderers; and these fierce assassins, having soon entered into a confederacy with their neighbours of

[142] Zonaras, Plutarch.

Messené, brethren to them in blood and infamy, set the resentment of Rome at defiance, and styled themselves the new commonwealth of Rhegium.[143] We shall see in due time the late but dreadful vengeance which overtook the contriver and the actors in this abominable enterprise.

Pyrrhus defeats the Romans on the river Siris, and advances to Prœneste, within 25 miles of Rome. U. C. 474.

Meanwhile the consul Coruncanius, having marched northwards to repress insurrections in Tuscany, the concerns of the south were committed to his colleague Lævinus. He proceeded into Lucania, and encamped on the left bank of the Siris, which, after watering the Platæan settlement Pandosia, flows into the Tarentine gulph near Heraclæa, a colony of Tarentum. Pyrrhus was also in the field, but still unaccompanied by his auxiliares. Lævinus hoped to fight him before their arrival; and having received from him a herald with the offer of his mediation between Rome and Magna Græcia, the consul made reply, "that his countrymen neither desired Pyrrhus for their judge, nor feared him as their enemy." That he might discover the foundation of this extraordinary confidence, Pyrrhus employed fit emissaries to examine the number and quality of the adverse army. They were detected, however, and conducted to Lævinus, who, instead of punishing them as spies, ordered them to be shown every thing at the greatest leisure. They were then dismissed to their employer, with the inform-

[143] Polybius, l. i. c. 7. & Diodorus, Eclog. xxii. 2. p. 494.

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ation, that a second, and far greater army than that which they had just reviewed, was ready to take the field. The king scarcely believing his own agents, ventured to reconnoitre in person the quadrangular camp of the Romans; and when he had accurately surveyed the judicious plan of the whole, and the nice configuration of the parts, exclaimed to Megacles, an accompanying general, "These Barbarians have nothing barbarous in their encampments; we shall see, whether the bravery of their actions corresponds with the skill of their dispositions." But every thing, that he had yet heard or seen, inclined him to avoid a battle before the arrival of his expected succours. For this purpose it was necessary to defend, if possible, the passage of the Siris. His movements, however, with this intention, were ill-concerted and unsuccessful. The Romans passed the river with little molestation. A general action ensued, in which the legions were seven times repelled by the phalanx, and seven times returned to the charge.[144] Pyrrhus performed prodigies of valour; his horse was killed under him, and Megacles, fighting in royal armour, was mistaken and slain for his master. The victory of the Greeks was due to the compact arrangement of their phalanx; to the terror occasioned among the Roman horse by the appearance and noise of the elephants; and to the rapid evolution and resistless irruption of the Thessalians, whose squadrons

[144] Plutarch in Pyrrho.

were conspicuous in all the combats of cavalry during that age. According to the most moderate computation, the Romans lost 7000 men; the Greeks about half that number: the vanquished, abandoning their camp, retreated into the still friendly district of Apulia: Pyrrhus, after burying even the enemy's slain, out of respect to their valour, hastened into Campania, in hopes to make conquests, or gain allies through the fame of his victory. His attempts failed against Naples and Capua; he captured Fregellæ, a Roman colony on the Siris, and from thence proceeded to Præneste, within twenty-five miles of Rome.

Occurrences in the negociation about exchange of prisoners.

By this time two legions had been raised with a view to reinforce Lævinus, and his colleague Coruncanius had returned triumphant from Tuscany. Pyrrhus, in consequence of this intelligence, perceived his danger of being inclosed between two consular armies. He resolved, therefore, to return southward, with his spoil and prisoners, to Tarentum, suspecting that Italy was not the country in which it would be easy for him to gather laurels. This suspicion was much strengthened by occurrences which immediately followed. The Romans sent to him a deputation of three senators, Dolabella and Æmilius, famous for the reduction of the Galli Senones[145], and Fabricius who had more recently in the defence of Thurii signalized his skill and valour against the

[145] Dionys. Halicarnass. Excerp. Legation.

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Samnites and Lucanians. Pyrrhus fondly hoped that they had come to treat of peace, but their only errand was the exchange of prisoners, particularly their captive knights, of whom 1800 had fallen into the enemy's hands in consequence of the disorder produced by his elephants among the Roman cavalry. Pyrrhus gratuitously released 200 of the number, and allowed the whole remainder to return to Rome on their parole that they might celebrate the Saturnalia. According to the Greek custom, he entertained the ambassadors at his table; and on this occasion, when Cineas, the king's minister and friend, was explaining the fashionable philosophy of Epicurus, "that the gods were neither delighted with our virtues, nor offended by our crimes," Fabricius exclaimed, "may such principles actuate Pyrrhus and his allies while they continue at variance with Rome!" The king had already acknowledged the worth of Fabricius, as a man whom he could neither scare by his elephants, nor corrupt by his gold: his simple word had been declared a certain pledge for the return of the Roman prisoners; and when they actually returned, Pyrrhus, in admiration of proceedings so unlike to what he had been accustomed to meet with in the wars of the East, sent Cineas to the senate with offers of peace and the restoration of all prisoners unransomed, on condition that Magna Græcia should be left unmolested, and that, for its future security, the Romans should evacuate their strong-holds in the neighbouring districts of Samnium, Lu-

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cania, and Apulia. At the instigation of Appius Claudius Cæcus, so named from his blindness, the senate not only rejected the proffered terms, but determined not to receive any new proposal from Pyrrhus, while he remained in Italy with an army.[146]

Obstinate and undecisive battle of Asculum in Apulia. U. C. 475. B. C. 279.

In consequence of this transaction towards the end of winter, the king invaded Apulia early in the spring: he gained some towns by assault, and others by capitulation. But his success terminated on the arrival of the consuls Sulpicius and Decius, the latter of whom was son and grandson to the two Decii, who had successively devoted themselves to voluntary death in the service of their country; events of which both Pyrrhus and his soldiers were apprised. As that prince, however, had kept up a communication by sea with Epirus, and the Lucanians and Samnites had by this time joined his standard, the strength which he now mustered was fitted to inspire confidence. It exceeded forty thousand men. The Romans led against him two consular armies, each consisting, as usual, of two legions, with a due proportion of auxiliaries; so that their force fell short by about one-fourth of that of the enemy. To resist his elephants, the Romans accoutred their strongest horses in plates of iron, and yoked them in chariots blazing with fire-brands, and bristling with iron forks. It appears not, however, that this contrivance was made available in action. The battle was fought at Asculum

[146] Plutarch in Pyrrho.

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in Apulia, and the field so obstinately disputed, that it is said to have been covered with fifteen thousand slain on either side, when the approach of night left the victory still doubtful. The phalanx remained impenetrable, until a detachment being sent by Pyrrhus against the Apulians who had broken into his camp, weakened and discouraged the Epirots, and thus producing a fluctuation in their line, gave admission, in various parts, to the Roman swordsmen. The consul Decius had fallen in the beginning of the engagement, and near the close of it, Pyrrhus was severely wounded with a pilum. Next day, though both parties claimed the superiority, yet both thought fit to retreat; Pyrrhus, to Tarentum; the Romans, to the friendly strong-holds in Apulia. The dreadful carnage on both sides is attested indeed by the long inactivity which followed it: and Pyrrhus, when congratulated on his victory, said frankly, "Another such, and we are undone." During the remainder of the campaign, he showed no inclination to risk a second general engagement; and when the new consuls Fabricius and Æmilius entered the field against him in the spring, an event happened which made him more desirous than ever of accommodating his differences with the Romans. [147]

Treachery of Pyrrhus's physician discovered to him by Fabricius.

The king's physician, with equal levity and baseness, sent a letter to Fabricius, offering for a due reward to poison his royal master. Fabricius immediately transmitted this letter to

[146] Plutarch in Pyrrho.

Pyrrhus, accompanied with another from himself to the following purport. "You make an unhappy choice of your friends and of your enemies, as the writing herewith sent will afford proof. Your hostilities are directed against honest men, while you repose confidence in knaves. This communication is not made through regard to your safety, but lest the Romans, in the event of your destruction, should be suspected of procuring it through means unworthy of them." Pyrrhus exclaimed, that in this letter he recognised the soul of Fabricius, a man not to be diverted from the path of rectitude, any more than the sun from his course.[148] He immediately dispatched Cineas to Rome with rich presents, and the release of all prisoners. The Romans, both in their individual and collective capacity[149], rejected his presents, and claiming no remuneration for an act of mere justice, they sent back an equal number of prisoners in exchange, but firmly maintained their first resolution of not hearkening to any terms of accommodation, until the king should withdraw from Italy.

Pyrrhus sails to assist the Greeks in Sicily against the Carthaginians and Mamertines. U. C. 475. B. C. 279.

To this resolution Pyrrhus was shortly afterwards determined by the magnanimity of the Romans, his own inconstancy, and an emergency altogether independent on these causes, but which strongly co-operated with them. This was an invitation from the Greeks in Sicily, who saw no other resource but the arms

[148] Plutarch ip Pyrrho. [149] Valerius Maxim. l. iv. c. 3.

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of Pyrrhus, whose marriage with the daughter of Agathocles gave him a strong interest in their island, against the usurpations of the Carthaginians on one side, and the rapacity of the Mamertines on the other. The Carthaginians had not been inattentive to his Italian warfare; for Magna Græcia had long been the main object of their jealousy. Accordingly they heartily wished success to Rome, in the defensive war which she waged with Pyrrhus, and had even made offers of sending a fleet to her assistance, if that should be deemed necessary.[150] With such apprehensions, we must advert to that instability above noticed in their councils, to explain the extreme remissness with which they guarded the straits of Messina; for Pyrrhus, upon the pressing solicitations sent to him from Sicily, having left a garrison in Tarentum, immediately embarked for that island, touched at Tauromenium, landed at Catana, and uninterrupted by the Carthaginians, marched with an increasing army towards Syracuse.

His great successes in that island.

Thurion and Sosistratus, who held a divided sovereignty in that city, entrusted to his command its whole military and naval force. He was joined by Tyndarion, the general of Tauromenium; Agrigentum expelled its Carthaginian garrison; the insurrection in his favour was universal throughout the island; and Pyrrhus saw at his disposal upwards of thirty thousand foot, three thousand horse, and a fleet of two

[150] Diodor. Eclog. xxii.

hundred galleys, which were speedily employed by him with an activity and effect worthy of his ambition. The Carthaginians were driven to the western corner of the island distinguished by the promontory Lilybæum, after they had lost Panormus on the northern, and Selinus on the southern shore. At the other extremity of Sicily, near the promontory Pylorus, Pyrrhus's detachments had proved equally successful against the Mamertines of Messené. The hostilities of these banditti had been repressed, their rapacious collectors had been made prisoners, they had been beat from their strongholds in the country, and were cooped up within the walls of their capital. Lilybæum and Messené, at the mutually remotest points of Sicily, were the only places that held out against the arms of the invader.[151]

His impatience in the siege of Lilybæum and rash proceedings thereon. U. C. 478. B. C. 276.

In Lilybæum, the Carthaginians resisted with unabating vigour; and being still masters of the neighbouring sea, continually multiplied the means of defence by new supplies of men and provisions, of arms and military engines. Pyrrhus besieged the place for two months, and in prodigies of valour, aspired to rival his ancestor Achilles. But his soul, equally impatient, was not proof against the irritations of delay; his temper was completely overset; he thirsted for speedier vengeance, and the example of Agathocles had taught him that the enemy was most vulnerable in Carthage. His resolution to invade

[151] Diodorus and Plutarch.

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Africa was followed by most obnoxious measures for carrying the design into execution. In the pressing of sailors for his fleet, his agents were guilty of such cruelties, as inflamed the hasty temper of the Sicilians into mutiny. The punishment of their ringleaders only exasperated their fury, and the exertions of this fury were repressed by new acts of tyranny. Those of Pyrrhus's advisers, who exhorted him to persevere in coercion, were alone in credit with him; and all who would have persuaded him seasonably to relax his rigour, not excepting those by whom he had been invited into the island, and by whom chiefly his authority in it had been established, were heard with disgust, treated with suspicion, and many of them punished as traitors. In consequence of such proceedings, his standard was abandoned by the islanders [151]; and a new armament from Carthage, threatened to overwhelm the puny force of his devoted Epirots.

His return to Italy.—State of the war in that country. U. C. 478. B. C. 276.

In this distressful perplexity, the natural result of his own headstrong folly, Pyrrhus was glad to escape from Sicily, as from a vessel tempest-tost and unmanageable, and to seek rather honourable than safe refuge in his renewed war with the Romans. That people, though afflicted with a malady, which under the name of pestilence had raged above twenty times at Rome since the foundation of the city, had, during Pyrrhus's absence in Sicily, gained successive victories over the Lucanians and Samnites, and

[151] Plutarch in Pyrrho.

made themselves masters of the Greek cities, Locri, Heraclæa, and Crotona; the last of which was surrounded by strong walls twelve miles in circuit. Their armies had undertaken a new invasion of Lucania and Samnium, when Pyrrhus arrived at Tarentum, after being pursued at sea by the Carthaginians, and followed at land by the Mamertines, the latter of whom, having crossed the Frith, much molested his march. But notwithstanding these afflicting circumstances, he found to his joy, that the yet independent Greek cities, reinforced by all the surrounding Barbarians, the Brutii, Salentines, Lucanians, Messapians, and Samnites, had combined towards one vigorous exertion for resisting the domination of Rome. Of the forces collected from so many nations, the smaller division marched into Lucania, to keep in check the consul Cornelius Lentulus, who had entered that district; while Pyrrhus at the head of eighty thousand foot, and six thousand horse, proceeded to offer battle to his colleague Curius Dentatus in Samnium.

Decisive battle of Maleventum in Samnium. U.C. 479. B.C. 275.

The Romans had encamped on a rough and woody spot, near a city then called Maleventum, learning from experience that such ground was most unfavourable to the phalanx. They had also provided themselves with ignited weapons of an improved construction, which were successfully employed against the enemy's elephants.[152] These precautions, but far more their prowess in action, were rewarded with a memo-

[152] Orosius, l. iv. c. 2.

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rable and decisive victory. About thirty thousand of the enemy were counted among the slain, while the prisoners amounted to only thirteen hundred, for the consul Curius determined, by the greatness of the carnage, to break at once the force of so formidable a confederacy.[153]

Pyrrhus's return to Greece, and subsequent fortunes.

The battle of Beneventum, for thus, by a grateful change, the place was thenceforth named, proved completely decisive; and determined Pyrrhus to cross the Ionian sea with all convenient expedition. To cover his shame, he amused the allies who had unhappily confided in him, with a promise of speedy and more effectual aid; and even condescended to the meanness of reading to them many counterfeit letters of recall, which he pretended to have received from his own and the neighbouring kingdoms.[154] Having then left Milo, one of his officers, to guard the citadel of Tarentum, he passed into Epirus, carrying with him only eight thousand foot and five hundred horse. By singular good fortune, he regained, for a moment, possession of Macedon; but lost that kingdom, his son Ptolemy, and his own life, by an unseasonable invasion of Peloponnesus. He fell combating in the streets of Argos, not by the hand of any rival champion, but through the anxious fears of a mother, who at sight of the danger of her only son, precipitated a tile from a house-top on the head of his assailant. Thus perished Pyrrhus, in death, as well as in his whole life,

[153] Plutarch in Pyrrho. [154] Polyæn. Stratagem. l. iv. c. 6.

the sport of contingencies; a great warrior[155] who gained only useless victories, an artful politician who formed only unsuccessful projects, a meteor which blazed fiercely for a time, leaving no traces behind it, since his bold sanguinary career terminated only in transmitting his little kingdom of Epirus, much exhausted in wealth and strength, to a prince named Alexander, born to him by Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles. Besides this Alexander, Lanassa brought to her husband Nereis, married to Gelon of Syracuse, and involved, as we shall see presently, in the disasters which ruined the family of that prince. Alexander, the son of Pyrrhus, was succeeded by a descendant named Ptolemy, in whose daughter Deidamia, the race of the Æacidæ became extinct; and Epirus was erected into a commonwealth, whose transactions, until it was reduced with peculiar circumstances of cruelty under the Roman yoke, will be embodied in a following part of this history.

The Romans reduce the Tarentines and their allies.

In less than two years after the repulse of Pyrrhus, the Romans completely reduced his allies, the Lucanians, Samnites, and Tarentines. Upon his first arrival in Italy, the Carthaginians,

[155] Plutarch through his excessive predilection for Pyrrhus, is betrayed into a contradiction. In speaking of the famous conference between Scipio and Hannibal, at Ephesus, he says, that Hannibal pronounced Pyrrhus the *first* of all generals; Scipio the second; and himself the third. Plutarch in Pyrrho, p. 687. Edit. Xyland. But the same author, in speaking more expressly of what passed at the above-mentioned conference, makes Hannibal assign the first place to Alexander; the second to Pyrrhus; the third to himself. Plutarch. in Flamin. p. 381.

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U. C. 482. B. C. 272.

we have seen, had made offers of assistance to Rome: they now changed their policy in consequence of the Roman preponderancy, and endeavoured to save Tarentum from the grasp of the victorious commonwealth. That place was taken: and the squadron, which they had sent to defend it, sowed the seeds of the first Punic war which broke out eight years afterwards.

Punish the treacherous usurpers of Rhegium.

Rome at length enjoyed leisure to punish her infamous legion, which, being sent to the protection of Rhegium, had banished or butchered the citizens of that place, and appropriated their wives, children, and effects. During ten years' usurpation of Rhegium, these blood-stained villains had maintained an intimate correspondence with their fellow-assassins, the Mamertines of Messené. The two cut-throat communities, separated only by a narrow frith, mutually abetted each other's enormities; and, during Pyrrhus's wars in Italy, ravaged many parts, both of that country and of Sicily. The time was now come for destroying the one of those confederates in guilt, and thereby humbling the hopes of the other. Soon after taking Tarentum, the Romans laid siege to Rhegium. The assassins made a furious resistance. Of four thousand, their original number, only three hundred were dragged in chains to Rome, and there scourged and beheaded.[156] Their leader, Decius Jubellius, is cited as an example of that sacred vengeance, which usually pursues enormous

Vengeance that pursued Decius Jubellius.

[156] Polybius, l. i. c. 7. Appian, Zonaras.

wickedness. Having passed from Rhegium to Messené, and being seized there with a malady in his eyes, he applied to the most eminent surgeon of the place to which he had come, who happened to be a native of that from which he had removed. This surgeon administered to him an application, which totally destroyed his eyesight: and, having thus avenged the blood of his fellow-citizens, provided for his personal safety by a precipitate flight from Messené. The blind Jubellius had returned to Rhegium before the capture of that city; and only escaped the public execution which awaited him at Rome, by suicide in prison.[157] The Romans collected the remains of the dispersed Rhegians, and reinstated them in their possessions, their laws, and their liberties.[158]

Romans complete the conquest of Italy. U. C. 482—490. B. C. 272—264.

In the interval of eight years that elapsed from the taking of Tarentum to their war with the Carthaginians for Sicily, they completed the conquest of that part of the peninsula anciently comprehended under the name of Italy. Cornelius triumphed over the Sarsinates, the fiercest mountaineers in Umbria[159]: Sempronius subdued the more populous nation of the Picentes, extending from the mountains of Umbria to the coast of the Hadriatic. Their capital Asculum, with other strong-holds, were reduced to uncon-

[157] Diodor. Excerp. l. xxii. p. 562. et Appian de Rebus Samnit. l. ix. c. 3.

[158] Polybius, l. i. c. 7.

[159] Polyb. l. ii. c. 16. et Fasti Capitolin.

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ditional surrender[160]: and three hundred and sixty thousand men swore allegiance to the victors.[161] The Salentines, occupying the heel of Italy, next suffered the punishment due to allies of Pyrrhus.[162] They afforded an easy triumph to Regulus and Libo[163]; and yielded their convenient sea-port, Brundusium, which sent out and received fleets with the same wind, and was deemed incomparably the best harbour on the southern coasts of Italy.[164]

New coinage, new quæstors, and new colonies.

The opulence of Rome received great accession in the war with Magna Græcia. Instead of herds of cattle driven from the Sabines and Volsci, the empty cars of the Gauls, and the broken arms of the Samnites, Papirius Cursor exhibited in his triumph over Tarentum, innumerable carriages loaded with precious furniture; pictures, statues, vases, with a profusion of implements and ornaments of gold and silver.[165] The public prosperity was attested by the introduction of denarii and quinarii of silver[166], which received the name of money, because first coined in the temple of admonishing Juno, Juno Moneta.[167] As the important conquest of the Picentes, which we have just mentioned, nearly coincided in point of time with this new coinage, the most ancient denarii are stamped with the image of Picus, the reputed

[160] Eutropius, l. ii. et Liv. Epitom. l. xv.
[161] Plin. N. Hist. l. iii. c. 15.
[162] Tit. Liv. ibid. Florus, l. i. c. 20. [163] Fast. Capitolin.
[164] Polybius, l. x. c. i. Ennius, Zonaras.
[165] Florus, l. i. c. 28. [166] Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3.
[167] Suidas in Μονητα.

founder of the nation of the Picentes, supplicating the protection of a Roman magistrate.[168] But spoils, in the form of precious metals, were accompanied by still more important acquisitions. The conquered nations were stripped of one part of their lands to be divided among Roman citizens, and of another part to be cultivated as public domain at a stipulated rent. The Tarentines were subjected to a severe annual tribute: and the augmentation by these means accruing to the public revenues made it necessary to double the number of quæstors.[169] Two of these financial administrators had the care of the temple of Saturn, which served at Rome for a treasury: two attended the consuls in their military expeditions: the four remaining were distributed among four distinct departments in Italy: at Ostia in Latium, Cales in Campania, Sena in the country formerly belonging to the Galli Senones, and Tarentum in Magna Græcia.[170] The Romans with their usual prudence consolidated their conquests by colonies. Within the interval just mentioned, they planted Cosa and Poestum[171], the former in Tuscany, the latter on the coast of Lucania: and five years afterwards they colonised Ariminum in the territory of the Gauls, and Bene-

[168] The latter denarii are stamped with the figure of Rome, and with a biga or quadriga on the reverse. The quinarii, five asses, were called victoriati, from the figure of victory. The sestertii, 2½ asses, are usually distinguished by the figures of Castor and Pollux.

[169] Tacit. Annal. l. xi. c. 22.

[170] Tit. Liv. Epitom. xvi. Conf. Pigh. Annal. ad an. 488. U. C.

[171] Velleius Paterculus, l. i. c. 11. Conf. Liv. Epitom. l. xiv.

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ventum in that of the Samnites.[172] Their new possessions were thus firmly united with the old, under the various titles of colonies, municipia, allies, and subjects: and to enlarge the basis of a dominion projecting on every side, the ancient Sabines were now advanced to the complete dignity of Roman citizens; an equal right of suffrage, and an equal participation in all offices of authority. At the next census or lustrum, in the four hundred and ninetieth year of the city, the number of Romans capable of bearing arms amounted to two hundred and ninety-two thousand two hundred and twenty-four.[173] But populousness formed the least pre-eminent distinction of a people invigorated by exertion, disciplined by laws and manners, and to whom the best institutions both public and domestic, had, through custom, been rendered the most agreeable; above all, who, in their behaviour to friends and enemies invariably adhered to a practically accurate admeasurement of rewards and punishments, and thus pursued, for the attainment of empire, those natural and solid maxims which far surpass in efficacy all political refinements.

Census. U. C. 490. B. C. 264.

State of Carthage at that period — her recent usurpations in Sicily.

In this flourishing condition of the commonwealth, the Carthaginians, who had unwarrantably offended her by interference in the defence of one part of Magna Græcia, soon provoked her jealousy by perpetual usurpations in the

[172] Velleius Paterculus, l. i. c. 11.

[173] Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. xvi. Eutropius, l. ii. c. 18.

other. The power of Carthage had been bent, not broken, by the invasion of Agathocles. During a peace of forty years which followed that event, an industrious and maritime people had full leisure to repair their losses, and once more to shine in all the brightness of naval and commercial prosperity. Masters of a vast domain in Africa, of many important settlements in Spain, of Sardinia, and other inferior islands in the Tuscan sea, they had been continually grasping one city in Sicily after another, until the turbulent republic of Syracuse, almost alone independent, was now compressed on one side by the subjects of Carthage, and on the other by the fierce Mamertines of Messené.

Hieron II. king of Syracuse. U. C. 485. B. C. 269.

The rapacity of these usurpers had received a check by the destruction of their confederates in Rhegium. But other events, at first sight highly unpromising to them, had tended to increase their courage. The mercenaries belonging to Syracuse, being, as often happened, at variance with the magistrates, appointed generals by their own authority, among whom was young Hieron [174], who had been recommended to their choice by his popular manners, his conspicuous valour, and his descent from the generous and high-minded Gelon, the brightest gem in the long series of ancient Syracusan kings. Through the bold exertions of the mercenaries, and his own address in gaining a party among the citizens, Hieron made himself

[174] Polybius, l. i. c. 8. et. seq. Conf. Justin. l. xxiii. c. 4.

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master of the obnoxious magistrates and their capital: but used his advantage with such mildness and magnanimity, that his praises were sounded as loudly by those whom he had conquered, as by the admiring companions of his victory. Hieron, with universal consent, was named general against the Mamertines, who were carrying on, as in every autumn, their predatory incursions. He led forth part of the citizens in arms, together with the whole body of the mercenaries; but knowing the fickleness and levity of his countrymen, and how easily they were moved to severity against absent generals, he entered before his expedition into a bond of amity with Leptines, a man in high credit with the multitude, and cemented his union with that powerful citizen, by taking his daughter in marriage. Having thus provided a fit coadjutor in policy, his next care was to rid himself by war of those turbulent hirelings, who had been the ready instruments of his elevation, but whose capricious inconstancy might as suddenly precipitate him from power. To this end he dexterously exposed them to the Mamertines, by whom the greater part of them were destroyed: while the well-affected portion of his army was led home in safety. Elated by their victory over the mercenaries, the Mamertines renewed their devastations, and carried them on as incautiously as fiercely. Hieron meanwhile had been collecting recruits; these he carefully disciplined, and thereby animated the old soldiers with a near prospect of revenge. In a short time he took

the field with an army, confident in its own strength, and the abilities of its general; and having surprised and defeated the enemy at the river Longanus, which washes the beautiful Mylæan plain, he pursued them homeward with great slaughter, and made captive their leaders. This glorious exploit raised Hieron to the throne of Syracuse: while the Mamertines retired within their walls, and instead of any longer sending forth their ravenous banditti, to infest the neighbouring territories, trembled for the safety of their own guilty strong-hold.

The Mamertines in fear of Hieron — apply to the Romans and Carthaginians.

Amidst the divided councils incident to misfortune, one part of them applied to the Carthaginians, and another to the Romans. Among the latter people, the senate enjoyed the prerogative of discussing in the first instance all matters of foreign policy. The conquest of southern Italy had brought, they acknowledged, the victorious arms of their country to the shores of Sicily; but, however tempting the occasion, they declined to interpose in favour of the infamous Mamertines, whose demerit surpassed that of the recently and most justly punished Rhegians, since the latter had been imitators, but the former were originals and models, in perpetrating the most execrable villany. The popular assembly was far less scrupulous. Its leaders represented the critical situation in which the safety of Rome must be placed, should Carthage, already possessed of nearly all Sicily, and whose dominion was gradually encompassing and threatening their own, gain possession of

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Messené, which by its commodious situation on the straits, seemed to rise like a bridge for passing conveniently into Italy. This was the argument on which they thought fit chiefly to dwell; but as they hoped to enrich themselves as generals in the expedition, so they failed not to point out to the avidity of the soldiers, that the insular part of Magna Græcia surpassed the continental in opulence.[175]

The possession of Messené disputed by these powers.—Victories of Appius Claudius. U. C. 490. B. C. 264.

While the Romans deliberated, the Carthaginians were in arms. They entered Messené, and placed a garrison in its citadel. Upon learning that event, the Roman comitia, or general assembly of the nation, without waiting for the authority of the senate, sent the consul Appius Claudius to the straits. His arrival there occasioned great commotions in Messené. The Mamertines, being most of them Italians, were less fearful of Rome than of Carthage; and when they understood that a Roman consul had advanced to their neighbourhood, they flew to arms, overpowered the abettors of the Carthaginians, and urged the consul Appius to use the utmost diligence in coming to them and seconding their boldness. Before he could pass the straits in transports with which he was furnished by the dependent Greek cities on the Italian shore, Messené was invested on one side by the resentment of the Carthaginians, and on another by the policy of Hieron, who deemed this a fit opportunity for rooting out of Sicily a com-

[175] Polybius, l. i. c. 8.

monwealth of robbers and assassins, long the opprobrium of that island. But Appius with great resolution threw himself into Messené in the night time.[176] When apprised of the strength and animosity of the besiegers, he made offers to them of an accommodation, on condition that the Mamertines should be included in it. His proposals were rejected both by Hieron and by the Carthaginians. Appius fought with them separately, and successively defeated them.

The first Punic war. U. C. 490. B. C. 264.

With this double victory commenced the first Punic war, which lasted with little intermission for twenty-four years, and in which, though Sicily was its principal scene as well as its primary object, the actions of the native islanders make but a small figure in history. Their cities, many of them rich and populous, were deformed or ruined by the invading rivals, as their arms alternately prevailed. In the sack of Agrigentum, the Romans in one day, sold twenty-five thousand citizens for slaves. Shortly afterwards that magnificent city, second only to Syracuse, was nearly depopulated and demolished by the Carthaginians.[177] The inland country for the most part submitted to the legions, while the fleets of Carthage domineered over the sea-coast. But to this general result Syracuse, a maritime city, formed an important exception. Its king Hieron, whose good policy continued conspicuous through a reign of fifty years, had

Hieron unites himself with the Romans.

[176] Polybius, l. i, c. 8. Conf. Frontin. Stratagem. l. iv.

[177] Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xvi. c. 58. l. xviii. c. 38.

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the sagacity, in his first intercourse with the Romans, to discern the incomparable superiority of their character; and having made atonement to them for his ill-advised opposition to a consular army, he craved and obtained their friendship, and continued thenceforth to be numbered with the most zealous, and most strenuous of their allies.

How far that people were then acquainted with naval affairs.

But even with his maritime assistance, the Romans, who now first carried armies beyond seas, laboured under great inconveniences in contending with a people, who had long commanded all the western shores of the Mediterranean. They were not indeed, as is generally reported by historians, too prone to the marvellous, altogether unacquainted with sea-affairs. As early as the reign of Ancus Martius, their fourth king, they had built the convenient harbour of Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber: and in the first year of the republic, they counted among their maritime allies or subjects, the cities of Ardea, Antium, Laurentium, Circeii, Anxur or Terracina. In that memorable year, the first consuls, Junius Brutus and Marcus Horatius, obtained a treaty of commerce with Carthage, already approaching, as we have explained above, through the destruction of the first and far greater Tyre, to the zenith of its extensive maritime dominion. In this instrument, which has fortunately come down to us [178], the Carthaginians granted to the Romans a free trade to

Their ancient treaties with Carthage. U. C. 245—448. B. C. 509—306.

Nature and limitations of the trade

[178] Polybius, l. iii. c. 22—25.

Sicily; they granted to them also the privilege of buying and selling in Sardinia and Africa, without paying other imposts than certain stipulated fees, to the criers and public clerks of the markets; but they forbade the Roman merchantmen to pass beyond the fair promontory, now Cape Bon, towering on the north of Carthage, and shutting up, as with a strong bulwark, the valuable unwalled towns in Byzatium or Emporia. The Carthaginians, on their part, agreed not to erect any fortress in Latium; and, if carried to that coast in pursuit of an enemy, promised to use their best endeavours not to pass a single night in the country. The spirit of these articles accords well with the circumstances of the contracting parties. The Carthaginians from a commercial jealousy, as well as from fears of a political nature [179], were unwilling that the Romans should trade directly with Byzatium; they totally debarred them, therefore, from that part of the African coast, and in case they were driven thither by stress of weather, commanded them to carry nothing from thence, except what was essentially requisite for refitting their vessels, or performing indispensable sacrifices. With regard to Carthage itself, and all the western parts of Africa, as well as the island of Sardinia, the Roman traders were placed, in some measure, under the controul of criers and clerks, appointed by the magistrates of Carthage; their transactions were

[179] To prevent revolt among their dependencies. See above, p. 180.

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to be public, and the public faith was thereby pledged for the exact fulfilment of all bargains. As to Sicily, on the other hand, the Romans were indulged in the most perfect freedom. The Carthaginians, as yet, possessed scarcely a third part of Sicily. The Greeks, chiefly, were masters of all the rest: and the Romans, if fettered by commercial restrictions in one part of the island, would naturally have directed their attention to another. What were the commodities which Carthage at this time exported, we had formerly an occasion to explain. The exports of the Romans, it is not difficult to conjecture. Africa, indeed, abounded in corn, but different kinds of grain should seem to have been early cultivated in Italy, which were little known on the southern coast of the Mediterranean.[179] Linen and leather, wool, oil and wine, formed certainly very important articles: above all, slaves taken in war, which a republic in Africa was in that age as eager in purchasing from the coasts of Europe, as the Europeans have in later times been busy in prosecuting the same commerce on the coasts of Africa. Besides all this, the Romans from the age of Numa, cultivated, as we have seen[180], many ingenious arts, and carried on many useful manufactures whose productions might be in request among the Carthaginians or the nations with which they traded.

Principal articles of their traffic.

[179] Varro de Re Rustica, l. i. c. 8.

[180] See above, p. 363.

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Wonderful exertions of the Romans in constructing and equipping war galleys. U. C. 493. B. C. 261.

This memorable treaty, contracted with the Carthaginians in the 245th year of the city, had been renewed and modified three several times, that is, in the years 406, 448, and 473 of the same æra: so that the Romans were not altogether inattentive to commercial concérns, though matters of war and government form the exclusive theme of their historians. Neither were they strangers to sea affairs, nor unexperienced in the construction of round, flat, heavy-sailing merchantmen; but they had not as yet built galleys, and were altogether unpractised in naval warfare. When they carried their arms beyond Italy, it became necessary to equip a fleet, and they did so with an alacrity and perseverance which surpasses every thing most admirable in their history.[181] Fortune, at the commencement, seconded their views. About the time that Appius passed the Straits into Sicily, a Carthaginian quinquereme, sailing too near to the land, was stranded on the coast of Rhegium: and being boarded by some Roman soldiers, was carried as a prize into that harbour. Quinqueremes, or vessels with five tier of oars, had been discovered, as we have before seen, amidst the naval engagements of Alexander's successors, to be the most serviceable rate of war-ships; and their use, very generally substituted to that of trireme galleys, with which alone, the Athenians had raised their immortal trophies over the Persians. The captured Car-

[181] Polybius, l. i. c. 20—61.

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thaginian quinquereme served the Romans for a model; and, within the space of sixty days from the time that the timber was cut down, they built a hundred such vessels; commonly manned by 300 sailors and 200 marines. While the ship-carpenters performed their assigned tasks, the future rowers were furnished with heavy oars, and, being seated on benches, were daily exercised [182] in the use of them. In this manner they were accustomed to handle these implements with vigour and dexterity, and to obey with quickness and precision the signals of their officers.

Duillius's naval victory.—The corvi. U. C. 494. B. C. 260.

With a fleet thus formed on land, Cornelius put to sea, and was defeated. But his successor, Duillius, obtained a signal victory chiefly through his address in converting the naval engagement into a pitched battle. This was effected by grappling machines, called corvi, in allusion to the beaks of crows. For working the corvi, Duillius erected strong pillars on the prows of his galleys. These pillars were furnished with pullies at top, and surrounded with stages of stout timber, bordered with a parapet knee high. In action, the corvi, being thus raised aloof by pullies, might be turned to any direction, so that on whatever side an enemy's vessel approached, it would be infallibly made fast by them. When the ships thus lay alongside of each other, the Romans enjoyed the advantage of boarding in full line; but when they could only bring their

[182] Polybius, l. i. c. 21.

own prows to touch the middle, or either extremity, of the enemy's vessels, they then advanced cautiously in two files, the file-leaders extending their shields in front, and their respective followers resting the same arm of defence on the bordering parapets above mentioned, which completely defended them in flank.[183] In this manner they rushed on the enemy with their pointed, two-edged, massy, and well-tempered swords, incomparably the fittest of all instruments for such desperate service.

Maritime war. U. C. 498 —512. B. C. 256 —242.

When the decision of sea-fights was brought to this issue, and depended on a battle of men rather than of ships, the Romans uniformly prevailed; they were long as constantly unsuccessful, when the engagement chiefly depended on swiftness of sailing and dexterity of manœuvre. Notwithstanding this inferiority, they carried the war into Africa, where the first successes of Regulus rivalled those of Agathocles. But a body of Greek mercenaries arriving at Carthage under the Lacedæmonian Xantippus, the Romans, about 15,000 foot and 500 horse, were totally defeated, and their general made prisoner.[184] His story is well known. Being sent home on his parole to negociate an exchange of prisoners, he dissuaded his countrymen from acceding to that proposal, and returned to the cruel death that awaited him at Carthage.[185] In the course of the war, above 700 Roman quinqueremes were

[183] Polybius, l. i. c. 22.

[184] Ibid. c. 34. et seq.

[185] Cicero, Seneca, and Horace, l. iii. Od. 3.

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destroyed. Their losses were great in action, and still greater in storms on the coasts both of Sicily and Africa.[186] But their spirit in resisting these misfortunes, their indefatigable perseverance and unextinguishable patriotism afford one of the noblest spectacles in history. On one occasion the engaging squadrons amounted collectively to 500, and on another to 700, quinqueremes; the former containing 210,000, and the latter 294,000 combatants.[187] At length the consul Lutatius Catulus gained a decisive victory at the Ægades isles, off the western coast of Sicily; sunk 125 Carthaginian quinqueremes, and captured 73 with upwards of 30,000 men on board[188]: for the Romans had now attained an equality in seamanship, and by wonderful and most unwearied diligence had brought their vessels to cope with and surpass those of the enemy in all the celerity and variety of their most alert and most complicated movements.

The consul Catulus's decisive victory off the Ægades. U. C. 512. B. C. 242.

Incidents during the siege of Lilybæum. U. C. 502—512. B. C. 252—242.

During the siege of Lilybæum, which lasted ten years, and terminated only with the war itself, the Carthaginians felt the utmost anxiety to know the fate of a city, which, on account of its situation, its fidelity, and its power, they regarded as an essential outpost to their empire. But none of their boldest captains would venture through intricate shallows, which lay between two Roman squadrons that blocked up its harbour. At length, Hannibal, a noble Cartha-

[186] Conf. Polyb. l. i. c. 37. 39. 54.

[187] Polybius, l. i. c. 25. et seq. & 49. et seq. [188] Ibid. c. 61.

ginian, but named the Rhodian for his intimate connection with that naval island, in a vessel built on a new model and at his private expence, darted into the desired port in sight of the whole Roman fleet.[188] Provoked at this audacity, the Romans, to intercept his return, prepared ten of their swiftest vessels, and stationed them as near to the harbour's mouth as the shallows would permit, with orders to keep their oars suspended in the air, ready to be plied on the first signal. The Rhodian at length made his appearance, and, before the enemy could bear down on him, escaped from the harbour in safety; then insulting and mortifying the Romans still further by lying on his oars by way of bravado in the midst of obstacles and dangers which they themselves feared to approach. The success of Hannibal the Rhodian encouraged other Carthaginian captains. They built vessels of a similar construction, and by their means kept up a useful intercourse with the besieged city. But one of these vessels having unfortunately struck on the fragment of an ancient mole, fell into the hands of the Romans, and served them for a model in building ships of their own, fitted to cope with and finally to capture all those of the enemy employed in this dangerous service.[190] Thus did they wrest from the Carthaginians the command of the sea, by instruments which, though they wanted ingenuity to invent, they had however the

[188] Polybius, l. i. c. 46. [190] Ibid. c. 47. et seq.

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industry to improve, and the boldness and perseverance victoriously to employ.

Hamilcar Barcas.—His indignation amidst the humiliating terms of peace imposed on his country. U. C. 512. B. C. 242.

In the last stages of the war, there was not any Roman general that surpassed in abilities and enterprise Hamilcar Barcas. This man was the father of the great Hannibal, and of four other sons, whom he afterwards boasted of rearing, "as so many lion's whelps against the Romans." When the decisive sea-fight near the Ægades isles compelled the Carthaginians to treat of peace, he refused to surrender the city Eryx, in which he commanded, on any but the most honourable conditions. Articles, however, were soon adjusted, by which the Carthaginians not only relinquished all their possessions in Sicily, and its small satellite isles, but consented to pay down 1000, and to raise a contribution of 2200 talents, in the course of ten years. Such was the issue of the first Punic war, which gave to the Romans ships and seamen, and enabled them, as we shall see, only a dozen years afterwards, to carry great armaments across the Hadriatic. This advantage, which opened to them a vast career of conquest in the Macedonian empire, was not on their side cheaply purchased. In the twelfth year of the war, they mustered 297,797 citizens: at their following census the number was found to be reduced to 251,222.[191]

Division of Sicily between the Ro-

The first Punic war involved the fate of what was regarded as the most important division of Magna Græcia.[192] Many Greek cities in Sicily,

[191] Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. xix. [192] Strabo, l. vi. p. 253. & 273.

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mans and king Hieron.

which had flourished in arts and arms, were reduced with the far greater part of the island, into the form of a province; and thus subjected to tribute and port-duties, and the stern jurisdiction of a pretor, sent annually from Rome with an army.[193] From this humiliating dependence, the dominions alone of king Hieron were exempted. His zealous co-operation with the Romans procured for him, not the bare title, but all the substantial advantages of an equal and honourable ally.[194] These advantages he improved with incomparable abilities in his subsequent reign of twenty-seven years, during which Syracuse, confined to a territory extending scarcely fourscore miles along the eastern coast of Sicily, enjoyed unvarying prosperity at home, and a degree of credit abroad, surpassing that of many great contemporary kingdoms.

[193] Cicero in Verrem. l. ii. De Jurisdict. Sicil. Orat. vii. Plutarch in Marcell. Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xix. c. 64.

[194] Id. l. xix. c. 33.

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Third Generation of Alexander's Successors. — Expedition of Ptolemy Euergetes against Seleucus Callinicus. — Civil Wars between the Syrian Brothers. — Respected Neutrality of Aradus. — Seleucus made Captive in Parthia. — Reigns of Demetrius II. *of Macedon and Antigonus Doson. — Progress of the Achæan League. — Agis and Cleomenes. — The Cleomenic War. — Battle of Sellasia. — Ethiopian Expeditions of Ptolemy Euergetes. — His Transactions with the Jews. — Accession of Ptolemy Philopater. — His Profligacy and Cruelty. — The Colossus of Rhodes demolished by an Earthquake. — Liberality of the commercial Connections of that State.*

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Third generation of Alexander's successors. Olymp. cxxxiii. 3. cxxxix. 4. B.C. 246 —221.

PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS died five years before the conclusion of the first and longest war between the Romans and Carthaginians. In friendship with both powers, his impartiality and love of peace had restrained him from taking part in that obstinate conflict. His successor, Ptolemy Euergetes, observed the same neutrality, but from totally different motives. Euergetes, and the contemporary Syrian kings, his rivals, were men of rash enterprise, and inconsiderate policy. They engaged in relentless hostilities with each other, by which Syria was greatly injured, and from which Egypt derived no substantial benefit. Syria was farther deformed and exhausted by revolts in the eastern provinces, and by domestic

discord between Seleucus Callinicus and his brother Antiochus Hierax. In the western division of the empire, there was not greater tranquillity. The boundary of the Danube had been overleaped; and the Barbarians on the north of Macedon continually alarmed or infested that kingdom under Demetrius II. and Antigonus Doson. Relieved from the pressure of Macedonian power, the Greeks resumed their natural activity, and renewed those bitter animosities, by which they had so often been afflicted. In this fresh struggle, three nations distinguished themselves as principals, each exhibiting, under every aspect, and by exertions singularly memorable, the peculiar and very different principles on which they acted: the Achæans, their love of liberty and patriotism; the Lacedæmonians, their martial rivalry and ambition; the Etolians, their audacious boldness and insatiable rapacity. Such is the subject which I have to treat for a period of thirty-three years from the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus to the first hostilities between the Romans and the fourth Philip of Macedon, successor to Antigonus Doson. Having established, or rather greatly extended their naval force at the expence of Carthaginian merchants and Illyrian pirates, the Romans interposed with a strong arm in the affairs of Alexander's successors. The warfare lasted, with short interruptions, for half a century, in which space of time, by policy still more than warlike skill and bravery, Rome gained either an immediate jurisdiction, or an acknow-

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ledged supremacy over all the Greek kingdoms and republics on this side the Euphrates. Before we proceed to this interesting theme, it remains to examine the history of the thirty-three years above-mentioned, comprehending the third generation after the great Macedonian conqueror.

Euergetes's expedition against Syria. Olymp. cxxxiii. 3, 4. B.C. 246, 245.

Ptolemy Euergetes and Seleucus Callinicus mounted their respective thrones in the same year, Ptolemy legally and honourably, but Seleucus, through the execrable perfidy of his mother Laodicé, and in direct violation of a treaty between his murdered father and the late king of Egypt. To revenge the infraction of this treaty and the cruel death of his sister Berenicé, Euergetes hastened to attack the heart[1] of the Syrian monarchy. The powerful army, which he inherited, would have secured success against an adversary better prepared than Callinicus; whose parricidal usurpation had provoked and alienated the more liberal portion of the Syrians, and almost the whole of the Greeks. While he yet hesitated to drag his mother-in-law Berenicé and her infant son from their sacred asylum at Daphné, many Greek cities in Lesser Asia declared their abhorrence of this impious design, not sparing menaces to prevent its execution.[2] But the fury of Laodicé having precipitated the destruction of Berenicé her own rival, and that of the son of Berenicé, who, as rightful heir to the monarchy, was rival to Callinicus, the rebellious Greeks, expecting

[1] Polybius, l. v. c. 58.

[2] Justin, l. xxvii. c. 1.

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to be abetted by the arms of Ptolemy Euergetes, advanced in martial array towards Syria, at the same time that several provinces on that side mount Taurus, transferred their allegiance from Seleucus to his younger brother Antiochus, afterwards surnamed Hierax.[3] In this distracted state of Seleucus's affairs, Ptolemy entered Syria; the territory was not defended; many cities opened their gates; he gained possession even of Seleucia Pieria, regarded, from its vicinity, as the harbour of Antioch. We are not informed by what means Seleucus escaped his vengeance: but the more guilty Laodicé fell into the victor's hands, and died with deserved ignominy.[4]

Euergetes expedition into Upper Asia. Olymp. cxxxiii. 4. cxxxiv. 1. B.C. 245, 244.

Having shaken the Syrian kingdom in its centre, Ptolemy, without waiting to reap the nearer fruits of his success, was carried by a juvenile ardour towards Upper Asia. The provincial governors opposed not any resistance to his arms. In a short expedition, he over-ran a vast extent of territory, pursuing his victorious career to the Oxus and Indus.[5] His plunder

[3] The hawk, a name, according to Justin, derived from his rapacity, l. xxvii. c. 2. Strabo mentions the surnames Callinicus and Hierax without assigning the reasons for them, l. xvi. p. 754., and Plutarch in Aristid. contrasts the title of "Just" belonging to Aristides, and which, he says, no king had hitherto desired to wear, with the boastful appellations of "thunder, eagle, hawk," &c. Plutarch, it seems, knew not that the Parthian kings assumed the title of "Just," which often appears on their coins.

[4] Appian, Syriac. c. 65. p. 635.

[5] Polyænus, l. viii. c. 50. p. 802. Conf. Marm. Adulitan. Ptolemy's Assyrian expedition is noticed also in the contemporary poem of Callimachus, still preserved in Catullus's translation. Bere-

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was estimated at forty thousand talents of silver[6]; but what appeared far more valuable to his Egyptian followers, was the recovery of their idols, detained disgracefully in Susiana and Persis, ever since they had been torn by Cambyses from their venerated shrines. These cumbrous images of Egyptian gods, amounting to two thousand five hundred in number, were embarked on the canals[7] of Susiana, communicating with the Euphrates, conveyed up that river to Thapsacus, and thence transported by land to the Mediterranean sea. Their arrival in Egypt occasioned an enthusiasm of joy. The natives of that country contrasted the religious zeal of Ptolemy with the impious persecution of the Persians, their former masters. He was saluted with the title of Euergetes, the benefactor, a title which would have been ill-deserved by distant and precarious conquests. The new

Why honoured with the title of Euergetes.

nicé, the daughter of Magas and wife of Euergetes, consecrated her hair in the Cyprian temple of Zephyrian Venus,

Qua rex tempestate novis auctus hymenæis,
Vastatum fines iverat Assyrios.

De Coma Berenices, v. 11 & 12.

The queen's votive offering for the safe return of her husband, having disappeared from the temple, the mathematician, Conon of Samos, then residing at Alexandria, showed seven stars near the tail of the Lion hitherto little noticed, which, he said, were Berenicé's lost hair: upon this flattering conceit, the courtly Callimachus wrote his poem. Nonnus in Historiarum Synagoga. Hygini. Poetic. Astronomic.

[6] Hieronym. in Daniel, cap. xi.

[7] The Adulitic inscription ends abrubtly, but our local knowledge enables us to supply its defect.

provinces, over which he appointed[8] governors, remained not long in his possession, nor are we informed of any exertions made by him for retaining them. In his return to Egypt, having halted at Jerusalem, he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to Jehovah, and presented many precious dedications in his temple.[9]

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The disasters of Seleucus followed by a revolution in his favour. Olymp. cxxxiv. 1. B.C. 244.

During Ptolemy's expedition to the East, Seleucus had been assiduously employed in collecting the scattered remains of his western empire. Through the remaining loyalty of his subjects, and still more by his treasures, he assembled a considerable fleet, and sailed to the coasts of the peninsula, with a view to re-establish his authority over the revolted cities. His armament was overtaken by a tempest; and great part of it shipwrecked. This disaster, which might have been expected to ruin him irretrievably, redounded, on the contrary, to his advantage. The Greeks, considering[10] the storm as a judgment inflicted by heaven, began to feel compassion for the grandson of Seleucus Nicator, the worthiest and most magnanimous of all Alexander's successors. But their returning allegiance must have been hastened by the consideration that Ptolemy their ally was remote, and that Antiochus Hierax, the rapacious brother of Seleucus, having entered into a close connection with the Gauls, was preparing to ex-

[8] Hieronym. in Daniel. [9] Joseph. cont. Apion. l. ii. c. 5.

[10] Justin. l. xxvii. c. 2. Repente veluti Diis ipsis parricidium vindicantibus, &c.

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tend his usurpation in Lesser Asia through the mercenary aid of those odious Barbarians.[11]

His negociations with Antiochus Hierax, and alliance with the republics of Smyrna and Magnesia. Olymp. cxxxiv. 1. B. C. 244.

The renewed friendship of the Greeks enabled Seleucus to reinforce the garrison of Antioch, to fortify his other strong-holds in Syria, and even to take the field against Ptolemy for recovering his lost possessions in that country. He was defeated, however, in a battle attended with much bloodshed; and compelled to shut himself up within the walls of Antioch, from which place he negociated a peace with his brother Antiochus Hierax, and an alliance, far more sincere, with the Ionian cities Smyrna and Magnesia. In this latter treaty, which still remains engraven on a marble column, these cities appear as independent states, but professing the utmost gratitude and devotion to the Seleucidæ. The column was raised for an unperishing memorial of a written instrument, which had been drawn up with nice formality, recorded in the archives of both states, and attested by their public signets as well as by the signatures and seals of the magistrates who were parties to the contract.[12]

Suspension of hostilities between Ptolemy and Seleucus, and war of the latter against Antiochus Hierax.

From this time forward, Ptolemy's attention was engrossed by very extraordinary undertakings that will afterwards be explained, and which occasioned the conclusion of an armistice for ten years with Seleucus.[13] The latter prince, thus delivered from his more formidable enemy, was at leisure to watch the designs of his perfi-

[11] Strabo, l. xvi. Plutarch de Fratern. Amor.
[12] Marmor. Oxon. p. 5. et seq. [13] Justin, l. xxvii. c. 8.

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dious brother, who, instead of the amity which he had just stipulated, seemed ready to prosecute the war with all the rancour of fraternal discord.[14] Seleucus accused his brother of levying the very forces against him, which he ought to have brought sooner to his assistance against Ptolemy; Antiochus accused Seleucus of an intention to divest him of those possessions in Asia Minor, of which, according to the treaty between them, he ought to have been confirmed in full sovereignty. Both accusations were but too well founded[15]: and a fierce war was thus kindled between the brothers, and carried on with various success for three years in Syria, in Lesser Asia, and in Assyria. The first memorable engagement was fought at Ancyra, where fortune declared for Antiochus through the assistance of his Gallic mercenaries.[16] But the fury of these Barbarians, upon a false rumour that Seleucus had fallen in the action, threatened to destroy Antiochus also, that they might appropriate exclusively the fruits of victory. Antiochus was thus prevented from prosecuting his good fortune, and compelled even to redeem his life by a large ransom. The pride of the Gauls now reached such a height as rendered them equally terrible and odious in every part of the peninsula. But shortly after the battle of Ancyra, they were defeated at Sardes by

Olymp. cxxxiv. 2. cxxxv. 1. B. C. 243 —240.

Battle of Ancyra, and danger of Antiochus from his Gallic auxiliaries. Olymp. cxxxiv. 3. B. C. 242.

Their insolence and chastisement.

[14] "Dire is the war of brothers."

[15] Justin, l. xxvii. c. 2. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 750.

[16] Polyænus, l. viii. c. 61. & Plutarch de Fratern. Amore.

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Eumenes of Pergamus[17]; and in the year following, by his successor Attalus, in an engagement so decisive as compelled them to quit their predatory mode of life, and to resign that ambulatory dominion which they had held for the space of forty years in Lesser Asia.[18] The more irreclaimable part of the nation, exceeding an hundred thousand in number, still followed the standard of Antiochus Hierax, and accompanied him to Seleucia-Babylonia in hopes of plundering that wealthy capital. But they were routed and dispersed by Seleucus, powerfully reinforced on this occasion by the Macedonian inhabitants of the place, and by a body of eight thousand Babylonish Jews.[19] On this victory, Seleucus probably assumed the title of Callinicus[20], while Antiochus avoided the vengeance of his enraged and now triumphant brother by a precipitate flight. He first sought refuge in Cappadocia, and afterwards in Egypt, in which kingdom he was detained prisoner thirteen years by Ptolemy Euergetes. Having escaped from his confinement through the assistance of a courtezan, he attempted to return towards Syria, but was slain in his way thither by Arabian robbers.[21]

Total defeat of Antiochus Hierax in Babylonia. Olymp. cxxxv. 1. B.C. 240.

Honourable interference of Aradus in

The war between the brothers, though it commenced in Lesser Asia, and terminated in Babylonia, seems to have raged with greatest fury

[17] Justin, l. xxvii. c. 3. Conf. Athenæus, l. x. p. 445.

[18] Pausanias, l. x. c. 15. [19] 2 Maccab. c. viii. v. 20.

[20] "Illustrious conqueror." He was surnamed also Pogon from his bushy beard. Polybius, l. ii. c. 27.

[21] Justin, l. xxvii. c. 3.

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the war between the brothers.

in Syria. To mitigate its effects there, recourse was had to the following expedient. Aradus was a Phœnician city allied with Tyre and Sidon, and had united with them in building Tripolis for the seat of their common councils.[22] The fame of Tyre and Sidon had hitherto eclipsed that of Aradus, a city, standing on a rocky island, two miles from the continent, and scarcely one mile in circumference, but whose buildings are compared in loftiness[23] with those of insular Tyre, which vied with the highest edifices in Rome.[24] Like other cities in Phœnicia, Aradus acknowledged its dependence on Alexander's Syrian successors: it paid tribute, received protection, but was prepared to resist oppression. In case of a siege, to which it might sometime be exposed, though this evil had hitherto been prevented by the prudence of its magistrates, the only want of Aradus had been that of fresh water. This deficiency was now fortunately supplied by discovering an abundant spring at the bottom of the narrow frith which washed the walls of the city. The pure element was obtained by dropping into the sea a huge bell of lead, perforated at top, and having a leathern pipe nicely fitted to its mouth. At first, salt water came up equal in bulk to the capacity of the bell; but immediately afterwards, the fresh stream began to flow copiously through the well-contrived conduit, into boats

[22] Diodorus, l. xvi. s. 41.
[23] Strabo, l. xviii. p. 753.
[24] Id. p. 757.

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prepared to receive it. Thus happily provided with the means of subsistence as well as of defence, the hardy islanders aspired to higher dignity, and assumed a sort of independent neutrality in the civil war between Seleucus and Antiochus. The pretensions of Aradus were admitted by both kings, with a view to the mutual safety of their respective adherents. In a contract with its magistrates, it was stipulated that those of either party who might take refuge among them, should find an inviolable asylum. The fugitives were not, indeed, to quit the island without permission from the prince that happened at the moment to prevail, yet neither were the Aradians held justly compellable to surrender them to their enemies.[25] As many persons, thus protected in Aradus, came afterwards to be invested with great power, their gratitude towards the island was signalised by extending its domain on the opposite continent, and by bestowing other important benefits on this equitable and peaceful community.[26]

Seleucus's war with the Parthians. Olymp. cxxxv. 2. cxxxvi. 2. B. C. 239—235.

Seleucus had been fortunately delivered from the resentment of Egypt, the fury of the Gauls, and the rapacity of his own merciless brother. There still remained the rebellious Parthians and Bactrians, the former of whom, during the war between the Syrian brothers, had strengthened the defences of their country, added to it the neighbouring territory of Hyrcania, and

[25] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 744. [26] Id. ibid.

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threatened to invade Media[27], the finest province of the East. Seleucus, finding himself disengaged from other enemies, conducted an army against the Parthians, now strictly allied with the Bactrians. This army was repeatedly reinforced; and the war by different inroads[28] protracted during four years, until the royal invader was made captive after being defeated in a great battle decisive of the independence and future dominion of the Parthians.[29]

Captivity and death of Seleucus. Olymp. cxxxvi. 2. cxxxviii. 3. B. C. 235 —226.

His life was spared by Tiridates, who had assumed the place and name of his elder brother Arsaces[30], the author of the Parthian revolt. Seleucus was retained ten[31] years in the roughest province, and among the fiercest people of Upper Asia, but during all that time treated by his conqueror with the respect due to his rank and misfortunes.[32] Syria and its dependent provinces, meanwhile, transferred their obedience, (such was the loyalty towards the house of Nicator,) to the son of their captive

[27] Athenæus, l. iv. p. 153. Conf. Justin, l. xli. c. 4. & Appian Syriac. c. 65.

[28] Justin, l. xli. c. 5.

[29] To this battle, properly, the words of Justin are applicable, "quem diem Parthi exinde solennem, velut initium libertatis, observant, l. xli. c. 4. The Parthian æra is contemporary with the 76th year of the kingdom of the Greeks.

[30] Arrian in Parth. apud Syncell. The kings of Parthia thenceforward assumed, all of them, the name of Arsaces, in addition to which they are distinguished by the names which they bore before mounting the throne.

[31] His successor's reign is reckoned from the tenth year of the Parthian æra.

[32] Athenæus, ibid.

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monarch; and the son would have well justified their partiality to his race, had he really attained his surname of Keraunus or Thunder, from the resistless rapidity with which he broke into Parthia, and rescued the person of his father. But this improbable tale[33] seems the invention of later times to explain the unknown origin of an ostentatious and unmerited title.; for the captive Seleucus, it should seem, was killed in Parthia by a fall from his horse[34] in hunting, a royal exercise in which he was indulged by Tiridates during his loose confinement in that country. According to this account, he died in the same year with his brother Hierax, who had remained thirteen years a prisoner, and under far more severe restraint, in Egypt. Death might appear a benefit to imprisoned kings; but even imprisonment was beneficial to Seleucus and Antiochus, so shamefully had their freedom been disgraced in acts of fraternal discord.

His successors,

The former of these princes left two sons,

[33] Frælick. Annal. Syriac. p. 32. does not cite his authority; Bayer denies the fact; but the report of Seleucus's escape receives some countenance from Polybius, l. v. c. 89. Yet, in that text, instead of "Seleucus the father of Antiochus," critics read the "brother of Antiochus." It is not necessary, however, to have recourse to this alteration, if we consider that Seleucus, who, even in Parthia, was treated as a king, *αγομενος βασιλικως*, would be considered as such during his life by his own subjects. Among the Greek kings, the title of royalty might be divided without being impaired: it was enjoyed simultaneously by Antigonus and his son Demetrius, by Seleucus Nicator and his son Antiochus Soter.

[34] Justin, l. xxvii. c. 3. Conf. Athenæus, l. iv. p. 155. Demetrius Poliorcetes had been allowed the same amusement when prisoner with the first Seleucus.

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Seleucus Keraunus just mentioned, who, having marched against Attalus I. of Pergamus, perished by treachery in Lesser Asia before he had time to perform any thing memorable[35]; and Antiochus "the Great," who would not seem altogether unworthy of this title early conferred on him, had not his evil destiny brought him, in the decline of life, into a disastrous conflict with Rome.

Seleucus Keraunus. Olymp. cxxxviii. 4. B. C. 225. and Antiochus III. Olymp. cxxxix. 2. B. C. 223.

According to the method above prescribed, I proceed to a third series of events more circumstantially related than either of the former, and in themselves far more interesting. The diminutive cities of Achaia preserved, as we have seen, the germs of virtue and true liberty, which the influence of military tyrants had blasted on all sides around them. Upon the misfortunes which assailed Macedon in the reign of Ptolemy Keraunus, the cities Dyma, Patræ, Pharæ, and Tritæa, ventured to renew their ancient confederacy, but without commemorating this act, as usual on such important occasions, by the erection of a pillar, or any other public monument. Five years afterwards the people of Ægium expelled their Macedonian garrison and joined the association. Bura, Carynia, and three remaining[36] cities of Achaia, successively followed the

The Achæan league. Olymp. cxxv. 2.—cxxxi. 3. B. C. 275—254.

[35] Polybius, Appian, & Justin. The traitors were Apaturius and Nicanor, two of his officers, who are said to have poisoned him. Appian, Syr. c. 66. They raised a mutiny in the army, which was quelled by the brave and generous Achæus, as will be seen hereafter.

[36] These were Leontium, Ægira, and Pellené. The confederate cities were originally twelve. But Helicé had been destroyed by an

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Government and laws.

example, either destroying their domestic tyrants, or compelling them to abdicate their ill-gotten power. From this time forward, each of these ten communities enjoyed a government nearly resembling that of Athens, while her democracy subsisted in its purest form: each had its senate, popular assembly, and an annual magistrate, entitled *Demiurgos*, whose office closely corresponded with that of the Athenian archons. Full freedom of speech, perfect equality of law, universal right of suffrage, and universal eligibility to office, formed the four corner-stones of the Achaian cities individually, while all of them collectively were united in a confederacy of sentiment as well as of interest, with the same natred of tyrants and tyrannical republics, with the same love of equality and true freedom, the same laws and institutions, and even the same coins, weights, and measures.[37] Twice every year, at the beginning of summer and the end of autumn, deputies assembled at Ægium; they were chosen from each state by a plurality of voices, and, according to the same mode of election, they named two generals of the league, and a common secretary, entrusted with the records of the nation, and with the duty of preparing and expediting public business. Let

earthquake and inundation 372 years B. C. Olenus for some unknown reason did not join in the new league. Conf. Strabo, l. viii. p. 384. Polybius, l. ii. c. 41. Some differences, however, occur in Pausanias Achaic. & Herodotus, l. i. c. 145.

[37] Polybius, l. ii. c. 37. & 58.

it be remembered, however, that this liberal policy embraced citizens only; those now called the lower classes, mechanics and menials, though protected by the laws and magistrates, yet, being mostly in the state of slavery, had no voice in making the former, or in electing the latter. For twenty-five years the Achæan government continued without change; after that time, Marcus of Carynia obtained the sole military command; and the nomination of one general only, became in future the unvarying rule.[38]

Civil liberty and national independence.

From this short description it appears that the object of the Achæans was not only to secure to each citizen civil liberty at home, but a matter far weightier in its consequences, to maintain each member of the confederacy on a foot of political independence. For this purpose each Achæan state had but one vote in the general council: no individual state could contract alliance with any prince or people without the approbation of the whole; the same universal consent was requisite for admitting any new associate into the league; but, when associates were thus approved and accepted, their rights became, in all respects, the same with those of the original members.

Aratus joins Sicyon to the league. Olymp. cxxxii. 3. B. C. 250.

This liberal equality, which had never hitherto prevailed in the same extent, appeared to the few real patriots still remaining in Greece, the fittest basis for supporting a confederacy which might yet emancipate that illustrious country,

[38] Polybius, l. ii. c. 43.

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from the overwhelming preponderance of Alexander's successors. Only four years after the generalship of Marcus of Carynia, the territory of Sicyon, bordering on that of Achaia, joined the league through the zeal and enterprise of Aratus, then only in his twentieth year, and who, at the next following election, was chosen general of the confederacy.[39] Eight years afterwards, and when invested for the second time with the military command, Aratus gained by arms and address the important city of Corinth, the key, as it were, to the Peloponnesus; and having expelled the Macedonian garrison from the citadel, restored to the Corinthians that strong-hold of which they had been divested ever since the reign of Philip, the father of Alexander.[40] The Corinthians, thus relieved from long oppression, cheerfully joined the Achæan league; and thereby best remunerated the merit of Aratus, who had employed his private fortune, even the jewels of his wife, in effecting their liberty. The name of the Sicyonian now eclipsed the fame of the original founders of the league, and still eclipses that of all its subsequent benefactors. This preference in his favour has been heightened with posterity by affecting peculiarities in his personal and domestic history. His father Clinias, the most illustrious citizen of Sicyon, after wresting the government of his country from one tyrant, had

And Corinth. Olymp. cxxxiv. 2. B. C. 243.

Peculiarities in his history.

[39] It was a maxim of policy with the Achæans to invest with offices and honours those who had recently joined the league.

[40] Polybius, l. ii. c. 44. & Plutarch in Arato.

fallen a sacrifice to the cruel jealousy of another. Abantidas, for this was his name, raged with unbridled fury against Clinias's adherents, slew some, banished others, unwilling to spare even Aratus, a child, only seven years old. But Aratus, reserved for a nobler destiny, found refuge in the house of Soso, the tyrant's sister; who, believing that heaven must have directed him to a place singularly secure, because the least liable to suspicion, concealed him with watchful care until she found an opportunity of sending him secretly to Argos, where the revered worth of his family ensured to him the protection of many hereditary friends.

His education.

By these respectable friends, he was kindly received and liberally educated. His proficiency in the accomplishments then most valued, fully rewarded their goodness. In early youth he gained the prize in the Pentathlon, the highest ambition of Olympic combatants, since it united all the five exercises, in any one of which it was immortal glory to excel[41]: and his early diligence in letters was proved by the memoirs which he left behind him, highly commendable by their form as well as matter.

How he rescued Sicyon from tyranny.

But amidst these liberal pursuits, his mind was continually occupied with the thoughts, not of avenging his father's murder, for the tyrant Abantidas being slain, had made way for another tyrant of a different family, but of destroying the tyranny itself, and re-establishing in Sicyon the pure Dorian mode

[41] See History of Ancient Greece, Part I. c. v.

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of well harmonised policy.[42] Through the assistance of his friends in Argos, of his expatriated fellow-citizens, and even of Xenophilus, the leader of a band of robbers, he surprised Sicyon in the night, by an assault judiciously planned and boldly executed. After his guards had been made prisoners, the tyrant Nicocles escaped indeed, by a subterranean passage through his well-fortified palace, but never returned to Sicyon, which gladly accepted the liberty proclaimed next day in the market-place, "in name of Aratus the son of Clinias," and shortly afterwards obtained admission into the Achæan confederacy.[43]

He restores the emigrants to their inheritances without offending the actual possessors.

This glorious exploit, which excited public admiration for Aratus, was followed at some distance of time by a transaction which riveted him in the love and private affection of the Sicyonians. About six hundred of their fellow-citizens still lived, who had been driven into banishment by different tyrants: some exiles had lost their country, for upwards of fifty years. They gradually returned in such numbers, to claim their paternal lands, that the tranquillity of the little state was threatened with sedition. The possessions, of which they had been divested, had passed into other hands, and many of them had been long held by legal titles. An act of resumption would therefore

[42] The metaphor of Plutarch: it presented itself the more naturally as the people of Sicyon were Dorians. Plutarch in Arat.

[43] Plut. in Arat.

have been injustice, yet by what other means were the claimants to be satisfied? Aratus in this difficulty, had recourse to Ptolemy Philadelphus, whose love for the arts he had recently gratified by procuring for him the paintings of Pamphilus and Melanthus, admired masterpieces of the Sicyonian school. In a personal visit to that great prince, whose munificence on every fit occasion kept pace with his opulence, he obtained such large sums[44] of money, as enabled him at his return to Sicyon, to adjust amicably all differences between the actual possessors of the lands and their ancient proprietors.

Reign of Demetrius II. of Macedon. Olymp. cxxxiv. 2. —cxxxvii. 1. B. C. 243 —232.

The junction of Corinth to the Achæan league happened in the old age and decrepitude of Antigonus Gonatas, who died shortly after an event greatly injurious to the main drift of his rapacious reign. He was succeeded by Demetrius II., whose address had helped to put his father in possession of the Corinthian citadel[45], but whose abilities on the throne ill sustained the fame which he had acquired as a subject. Demetrius adhered, however, to the policy of his predecessor in supporting, by troops and money, the petty tyrants that still reigned in several cities of Peloponnesus to their own unspeakable misery as well as that of their subjects. The colouring is perhaps heightened by resentment, yet the picture drawn of Aristippus, who,

Picture of petty tyrants

[44] Plut. in Arat. The numbers are erroneous.

[45] See above, c. xi. p. 274.

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whom he supported in Greece. Aristippus of Argos.

by the assistance of Macedon, had usurped sovereignty in Argos, the city in which Aratus had been educated, conveys a lively impression of the agonies attending power ill-acquired, cruelly exercised, and anxiously held. Aristippus had a numerous body-guard; but his suspicions never allowed any portion of it to enter his palace. After supper he dismissed from the hall even his domestics, made the door fast with his own hands, and ascended by a ladder, through a trap-door into a small upper chamber. Upon this trap-door his bed was raised; and here he remained with his concubine, until her mother, a decrepid old woman, who had removed the ladder in the night, replaced it in the morning.[46] This reptile usurper then crawled from his lurking hold. Such is the life of tyrants among men who have ever relished the sweets of liberty, and such were the wretches whom Demetrius abetted to gratify his own unworthy ambition.

Wars and troubles of Demetrius's reign.

The accession of Corinth to the Achæan league conspired, however, with other causes, to enfeeble his exertions in their favour, and to render his aid to them ineffectual. During his reign of ten years, he was frequently engaged in hostilities with the Etolians[47] in the south, and with the Thracians and Illyrians, those fierce and implacable nations which always threatened and often invaded his northern frontiers: he carried on war against Alexander of Epirus,

[46] Plutarch in Arat.

[47] Polybius, l. ii. c. 2.

son to the renowned Pyrrhus; and after the death of Alexander, he entered into an accommodation with his widow, Olympias, now regent of the kingdom, and married her daughter Phthia, thereby provoking the resentment of Antiochus Hierax, brother to his former wife, whose repudiation had made room for the princess of Epirus.[48] The animosity of Antiochus evaporated in mere threats; but even the threats of such a daring and merciless prince long kept Demetrius in a state of cowardly alarm and fearful preparation.[49] CHAP. XIII.

Amidst the various troubles of his reign, the Achæans thus enjoyed an opportunity of extending their confederacy. Shortly after the surprise of the Corinthian citadel, the league had been joined by Megara, its first accession beyond the limits of Peloponnesus. On the eastern coast of that peninsula, Epidaurus, Træzené, and Hermioné, cities of Argolis, solicited and obtained admission, after the expulsion of their respective tyrants; while Lysiadas, tyrant of Megalopolis, in the central district of Arcadia, voluntarily abdicated the government, and added that great city as a new member to the league.[50] Various accessions to the Achæan league. Olymp. cxxxvi. 4. B. C. 233.

About this time Demetrius, king of Macedon, died; and his only son Philip, being scarcely three years old, the regency and afterwards the crown was assumed by his brother Anti- Reign of Antigonus II. of Macedon. Olymp. cxxxvii. 1.

[48] Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 1.
[49] Pausan. Attic.
[50] Polybius, l. ii. c. 44.

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gonus II., surnamed "Doson." This single word denoted his readiness of promise and his slowness in performance; and should seem to have been affixed by a very undeserved sarcasm[51] on Antigonus; since, although he reigned, by the will of the Macedonians, in preference to his nephew, he carefully educated the young prince, and adopted proper measures for making him his successor. Antigonus's character, indeed, will appear to have been distinguished by justice, tempered with mercy: his abilities did not fall short of his virtues; at home and abroad during his whole reign, he was beloved by his subjects, formidable to his enemies, and faithful to his allies.[52] Yet this respectable prince (so capricious is the distribution of honours!) was disgraced by a reproachful epithet, still adhering to his name, while contemporary sovereigns, greatly his inferiors, are dignified in history by high-sounding titles.[53] Instead of embroiling the affairs of Greece, as had long been the practice of his predecessors, Antigonus in the first years of his administration, seemed only solicitous to heal the wounds of that country, while he exerted his utmost

His uncommon merits.

[51] Plutarch in Coriolan.

[52] Polybius, Conf. l. ii. c. 47. et c. 70. et l. iv. c. 3—87.

[53] Τα αλαζονικα αυτων ονοματα, &c. Dio. Chrysostom. Orat. lxiv. p. 598. The names or epithets alluded to are, "Illustrious conqueror, benefactor, thunder, saviour, god." These names, however, seldom appear on medals, during the three first races of Alexander's successors. But the Greek kings of the East grew more assuming in their titles, as they degenerated in worth.

abilities to conciliate good-will among his barbarous northern neighbours.

Athens and Argos joined to the Achæan league.

From this peaceful system, he could not be induced to swerve, notwithstanding the perpetual aggrandisement of the Achæans, who, besides admitting into their league many new members in Peloponnesus, gained the rich island of Ægina, and soon afterwards Athens herself, nearly as populous a city, as when she shone the proud empress of Greece. This last acquisition was made by corrupting Diogenes, who commanded the Macedonian garrison. His price, a hundred and fifty talents, was high for that age: Aratus immediately paid him twenty talents, (about four thousand pounds), and the remainder might easily be liquidated, as Ptolemy Euergetes had adopted the policy of his father, and declared himself protector of the league. In Argos, the miserable tyrant Aristippus, whose life had been a thousand times forfeited to his injured fellow-citizens, had the good fortune to be slain in battle with Aratus. His power was assumed by Aristomachus, who at first defended Argos against the Achæans; but, as all places around were either incorporated with that people, or friendly to their interests, Aristomachus was prevailed on to abdicate his usurped authority, and join the Argives to the league, of which, according to the usual policy of the Achæans, he was next year appointed general. [54]

[54] Polybius, l. ii. c. 44. et Plut. in Arat.

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State of Sparta from the death of Alexander to the reign of Cleomenes. Olymp. cxxxvi. 2. B. C. 235.

The affairs of the confederacy thus continued to flourish, when a dangerous opposition to it arose from a very unexpected quarter. The Lacedæmonians, who had sullenly refused to associate themselves to the fortunes and the glory of the great Alexander, had, since the ascendency of his successors in Greece, gradually sunk into a slothful obscurity; impoverished still more in their minds, than they were reduced in their circumstances. The lands of their territory, which had been divided by Lycurgus into thirty-nine thousand lots, had accumulated in the hands of about three hundred persons, many of them females, who displayed all the disgusting follies of superfluous opulence, while the citizens at large were oppressed by debts, and the industrious peasants wanted bread.[55]

Leonidas and Agis. Olymp. cxxxiv. 1. B. C. 244.

This was the state of Sparta, when its singular form of dual royalty devolved on Leonidas, the eighth in descent from Pausanias, who had defeated the Persians in the battle of Platæa; and on Agis, the sixth in succession from Agesilaus, who had retorted the injuries of Xerxes and Mardonius by glorious conquests in the East. The actual kings of Sparta inherited the qualities of their respective ancestors: Leonidas, who before his accession had lived in the court of Syria, transported with him Asiatic luxury into Greece, and rivalled Pausanias in ostentation and haughtiness. Agis

[55] Plutarch in Agid. et Cleomen.

surpassed even Agesilaus in virtuous simplicity; he divested himself of the vast possessions of his family, that they might be thrown into the common stock, and endeavoured to prevail on others to follow this generous example. His popular zeal was heightened by the stubborn opposition of his colleague. He strove to cancel debts, to make an equal division of lands, to revive sumptuary laws; in one word, to restore the discipline of Lycurgus in its full vigour.[56] The undertaking, great as it appears, was not above his abilities; but the means, requisite for effecting it, were below his virtues. When Leonidas fell into his power, instead of destroying that opponent, he was contented with driving him from Sparta. Cleombrotus, son-in-law to Leonidas, was called to supply the vacancy. He entered into the generous views of Agis; but the party of the rich, rallying from their panic, became too powerful for both. Leonidas, thus restored to royalty, scarcely spared Cleombrotus, though husband to Chelonis, his own affectionate daughter; for Chelonis, instead of enjoying power with her husband, had preferred banishment with her father. She now obtained leave to accompany in exile her dethroned husband[57]; thus alternately soothing the afflictions of both, while she disdained to share the prosperity of the one purchased too dearly by the other's misery. Agis meanwhile had taken refuge in the brazen tem-

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Banishment and recal of Leonidas.

His daughter Chelonis.

Death of Agis.

[56] Plutarch in Agid. et Cleomen.

[57] Plutarch. ibi

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ple of Minerva, guardian of the city. He was seduced from that venerated asylum, and suffered the punishment due to innovators, whose undertakings, however splendid in their ends, are inconsistent with justice in the means of execution.

Olymp. cxxxiv. 4. B. C. 241.

His designs renewed by Cleomenes.

Olymp. cxxxvi. 2. B. C. 235.

Most unfortunately for the quiet of Greece, the short reign of Agis left a fatal ferment behind it. Six years afterwards, Leonidas was succeeded by his son Cleomenes, a youth bold, disinterested, and actuated by an ardent passion for glory. He had married Agiatis the kinswoman and admirer of Agis; the praises bestowed on that zealous patriot, and on the noble exertions of Aratus for the grandeur of Achaia, stimulated the kindred ambition of Cleomenes to surpass the merit of the former, with the popular party at home [58], and by the valour of his once warlike countrymen abroad, to eclipse the glory of the latter. These two undertakings would mutually assist each other, since liberty is the most natural source of martial spirit; and a king, victorious in the field, is the abler to mould at will the government of his country.

Encouraged by the Etolians to make war on Achaia.

Olymp. cxxxviii. 4. B. C. 225.

While Cleomenes agitated these great projects, he was instigated to arms by the Etolians, who, though in friendship with Achaia by which they had been assisted recently against Demetrius of Macedon, had become jealous of a growing confederacy, founded on principles diametrically opposite to their own. The Etolians had

[58] Polybius, l. iv. c. 81.

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first applied to Antigonus Doson, the successor of Demetrius, but found that wise prince unwilling to abet their schemes of injustice: they next addressed Cleomenes, and exhorted him to seize Mantinæa and other cities in Arcadia, strictly allied with themselves, but which they dreaded might fall into the hands of the Achæans.

The first successes of the Cleomenic war. Olymp. cxxxix. 1. B. C. 224.

Cleomenes listened to a counsel highly favourable to his views; and by an assault as successful as it was unexpected, seized Mantinæa, Tegea, and Orchomenos. He next entered the territory of Megalopolis, and built a fortress for annoying that city[59], which had remained for several years a member of the Achæan league. The Achæans were thus reduced to the necessity of repelling the aggressions of Sparta, which they had once good hopes of incorporating with their own confederacy. Arcadia became the first, and long continued the principal, scene of the Cleomenic war, which raged five years in Peloponnesus, and ended only with the ruin of its ambitious author.

Causes thereof—the military defects of Aratus, and the new arrangements of Sparta.

Its first stages were, however, highly favourable to the Spartans, who repeatedly defeated enemies far superior to themselves in number. In thus turning the tide of fortune against Achaia, much is to be ascribed to the personal energy of Cleomenes; the activity with which he levied and disciplined recruits, wherever they could be found; and the new spirit of enterprise which

[59] Polybius, l. ii. c. 45. et seq.

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he inspired into his countrymen, after he had rescued them from the oligarchy to which they had been long subject.[60] The military defects of Aratus are also to be taken into account; for, with all his great qualities, this illustrious champion of the confederacy was not calculated for open warfare and pitched battles. His military renown resulted from stratagems well combined, and surprises boldly executed. He was a tiger who leaped on his prey: darkness and silence encouraged him, but in broad light, and in the face of a prepared enemy, a constitutional weakness seemed to bereave him of his faculties.[61] Yet such, in other respects, was his incomparable merit, that, whoever was general of the Achæans, Aratus retained the chief authority in the field as well as in the council. The bad success of the war made him, of all men, most dread Cleomenes, who was likely to be soon reinforced by the warlike Etolians; and who having attained absolute authority in Sparta, by butchering the Ephori, and banishing all those who opposed his innovations, had cancelled debts, instituted a new and equal division of lands, restored the severe discipline and diet of Lycurgus, and reduced his country to the form of a stern military democracy, under a victorious and admired general.[62]

Aratus determines to apply

Rather than become subject to such a prince, Aratus was inclined to call back the Macedo-

[60] Plutarch in Agid. & Cleomen.

[61] Polybius, l. iv. c. 8. Conf. Plutarch in Arato.

[62] Plutarch in Cleomen.

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for assistance to Antigonus Doson. Olymp. cxxxix. 1 B. C. 224.

nians into Peleponnesus, by whom alone the designs of Cleomenes could be effectually resisted. The moderate and equitable character of Antigonus Doson was well calculated to justify this measure, of which, however, Aratus, as it clashed with his former counsels, was extremely unwilling to appear as the author. He therefore had recourse to Megalopolis, a city of the league, which lying nearer than any other to Sparta, was a perpetual sufferer in the war; and which, on account of some good offices, unnoticed in history, which it had received from the ancestors of Antigonus, would not, he imagined, be averse to the assistance of that prince. Two citizens of Megalopolis, Nicophanes and Cercidas, were connected with himself by the revered ties of hereditary friendship. To them Aratus fully communicated his views; and, through their means, engaged the republic of Megalopolis to send a deputation to the council of Achaia, craving permission to apply to Antigonus for aid. The counsel gave its consent; Nicophanes and Cercidas proceeded as ambassadors to Macedon; and being admitted to the king, explained briefly the state of their own republic, but expatiated largely on that of Greece.[68] The drift of their discourse was to show, that if Cleomenes should be joined by the Etolians, not only the Peloponnesus, but also the states beyond the Isthmus would be compelled first to submit to their arms, and afterwards to

[68] Polybius, l. ii. c. 48. et seq.

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follow their standard. In this case, the king of Macedon would have to contend in Thessaly for that only portion of Greece which still acknowledged his authority; and if unsuccessful there, against the united strength of the Etolians, Bœotians, Lacedæmonians, and Achæans, might be exposed to no small danger in his hereditary kingdom. Prudence therefore required, that rather than wait so formidable a war, he should seasonably avert it, by now protecting Peloponnesus. With regard to security and compensation, Aratus, they assured him, would find expedients for satisfying both parties; and would also inform the king of the fit moment to take the field.[64]

Consequences of that measure.

Antigonus approved their discourse, and entrusted them with letters to their republic, promising a ready compliance with its request, whenever the general council of the Achæans should testify its acquiescence in the measure. At the return of the ambassadors, the king's letters were read in the council at Ægium; the deputies of Megalopolis advised, that the Macedonians should be immediately invited into Peloponnesus: the majority of the council, and still more the assembled multitude around it, warmly applauded this opinion. Aratus then came forward in the assembly, and at the same time that he extolled the favourable disposition of Antigonus, highly praised the good sense and penetration of the Achæans. But though this king

[64] Polybius, l. ii. c. 48. et seq.

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of Macedon, as they well discerned, was of a very different character from many of his predecessors, he conjured them earnestly and pathetically to begin by exerting in the war their whole domestic strength. Their interest, as well as honour, required that every hope depending on themselves alone, should previously be exhausted before they had recourse for safety to a foreign prince. His counsel was approved: the Achæans took the field to defend Megalopolis, but were twice defeated in the neighbourhood of that city, and afterwards at Hecatombæum, in the district of Dymé[65], one of the four original members of the league. As they fought in this last battle with nearly the whole of their forces, no resource remained but an immediate application to Antigonus. With this view, the son of Aratus was dispatched to Pella, and arrangements being speedily made by the king, the flower of the Macedonian army began to march towards Greece. Foreseeing this expedition, the Etolians, now firm allies to Cleomenes, had occupied the straits of Thermopylæ. Antigonus was therefore obliged to sail over to Eubœa, and after pervading that long island, to cross the narrow Euripus, and pass through Bœotia and Megaris, to the isthmus of Corinth. By this time Cleomenes had acquired a useful ally in Ptolemy Euergetes, who no sooner heard that the Achæans had applied to Antigonus, than he, who had hitherto been protector of

Cleomenes gains great advantages through the assist-

[65] Polybius, l. ii. c. 51.

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ance of Ptolemy Euergetes. Olymp. cxxxix. 1. B. C. 224.

their league, openly espoused the cause of their enemies.[66] This change was natural, for the Greek kings in Asia and Egypt always viewed with jealousy the encroachments of Macedon, fearful lest some ambitious Macedonian, reinforced by the fleets of Greece, and the exhaustless armies of Thrace and Illyria, might tread in the foot-steps of the great Alexander. To prevent the ascendency of Antigonus in any of those countries, Ptolemy endeavoured to stir up against him a multiplicity of adversaries. He supplied Cleomenes, in particular, with large sums of money, which enabled this prince to prosecute his designs vigorously, and conquer many cities in Peloponnesus, recently associated with the league; particularly Epidaurus, Phlius, Argos, and lastly Corinth itself: for the wealthy and dissolute Corinthians, rather than endure the hardships of a siege, had commanded the Achæans who were in garrison, to leave the place, and even invited the Spartans to take possession of it. Their pusillanimity relieved Aratus from much difficulty with regard to the compensation, which, as before mentioned, he had undertaken to negociate in favour of Antigonus.[67] He could not have ceded to him Corinth without the consent of its citizens; but, through their own distardly spirit, he was furnished with an honourable excuse for promising to him the possession of that rich city.

[66] Polybius, l. ii. c. 47. Conf. l. xxix. c. 9. et seq.
[67] Id. l. ii. c. 52.

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Antigonus enters Peloponnesus — his success. Olymp. cxxxix. 2. B. C. 223

The two kings now encamped on opposite sides of the Isthmus, the one watchful of an opportunity to pass into Peloponnesus; the other having cast up intrenchments, and ready to oppose his entrance. But without the intervention of a battle, a sudden turn of affairs was produced in the peninsula by the mere approach of the Macedonians. Aristotle, a citizen of Argos, with the assistance of the Achæans under Timoxenus, rescued that city from the gripe of Cleomenes's partisans.[68] The news of this event, which was likely to be followed by other revolutions of a similar kind, disheartened the Spartan troops, and strangely confounded their general, who quitting his advantageous post, hastened to recover Argos, and having failed in that attempt, rather fled than retreated homewards to Sparta. Meanwhile Antigonus advanced without opposition; seized the Corinthian citadel, which had been so long held by his ancestors; and proceeded by rapid marches to Argos, where he praised and confirmed the good resolutions of its inhabitants. He then entered Arcadia, and expelled the Spartan garrisons from many strong-holds in that province. He marched afterwards to Ægium, the seat of the Achæan council: in that assembly which owed its security to his presence, he explained at large the motives of his past conduct; discussed the measures proper to be pursued in future; and was elected, with universal acclam-

[68] Κλεομενισται, the Cleomenists, Polybius, l. ii. c. 53.

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ation, general of the confederacy. As this was the autumnal meeting of the states, Antigonus took up his winter-quarters in the fertile[69] neighbourhood of Sicyon and Corinth. In the spring he again entered Arcadia. Some cities were surprised; others voluntarily surrendered: Tegea submitted after a long siege.[70]

Antigonus's moderation in victory.

Antigonus then advanced towards Laconia, the frontiers of which were watchfully guarded by Cleomenes. There happened several skirmishes on the borders of that country, but, before Antigonus could obtain his end of bringing the enemy to a general engagement, he learned by his spies, that the garrison of Orchomenos in Arcadia had quitted its walls to reinforce the Lacedæmonian army. He therefore hastily decamped, and, marching in full force against that place, gained it by the first assault. Mantinæa, the most beautiful city in Arcadia[71], was next besieged, and taken after a short resistance. The neighbouring republics of Heræa and Telphussa opened their gates at the first summons.[72] In this victorious campaign, Antigonus's behaviour is memorable for its mildness. In none of the places which he conquered, not even in Tegea, which had resisted obstinately

[69] The shore of the Corinthian gulph, from Corinth to Sicyon, is "the level surface of the finest piece of land in all Greece, and still cultivated like a garden." Clarke's Travels, part ii. p. 719.

[70] Polybius, l. ii. c. 54.

[71] And that from very early times,

Μαντινεαν ερατεινην. Homer in Catal. v. 114.

[72] Polyb. ibid.

and furiously, did he either enslave the inhabitants, or confiscate their property; cruelties allowable according to the laws of war then universally prevalent.

The treatment of Mantinæa an exception to Antigonus's mildness — reasons thereof.

Mantinæa indeed formed an exception; but the case of Mantinæa was peculiar.[73] It had entered into the Achæan league, revolted to Cleomenes, and after being recovered by Aratus, had been treated by him with the greatest lenity, and had received, at its own desire, an Achæan garrison of five hundred men[74] to protect it against the Spartans and Etolians. These events happened four years before Antigonus's invasion. In that interval, the Mantinæans a second time revolted to Cleomenes, then in the height of his prosperity, and the better to ingratiate themselves with that prince, had committed a deed of eternal infamy in murdering the Achæans whom they had invited into their city. This act was regarded by Antigonus as an execrable cruelty, since the laws of nations, barbarous as they were in that age, required that the Mantinæans, whatever motives they might themselves have for changing sides, should have sent back the Achæan garrison in safety. The conqueror therefore treated Mantinæa differently from other cities of Arcadia: he plundered the houses, and sold the inhabitants for slaves.[75]

[73] Polybius, l. ii. c. 56. et seq.

[74] Three hundred Achæans and two hundred mercenaries.

[75] Phylarchus, a contemporary historian, arraigned Antigonus's severe treatment of the Mantinæans, without explaining the just cause in which it originated. Phylarchus was an Athenian, living

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destroyed. Their losses were great in action, and still greater in storms on the coasts both of Sicily and Africa.[186] But their spirit in resisting these misfortunes, their indefatigable perseverance and unextinguishable patriotism afford one of the noblest spectacles in history. On one occasion the engaging squadrons amounted collectively to 500, and on another to 700, quinqueremes; the former containing 210,000, and the latter 294,000 combatants.[187] At length the consul Lutatius Catulus gained a decisive victory at the Ægades isles, off the western coast of Sicily; sunk 125 Carthaginian quinqueremes, and captured 73 with upwards of 30,000 men on board[188]: for the Romans had now attained an equality in seamanship, and by wonderful and most unwearied diligence had brought their vessels to cope with and surpass those of the enemy in all the celerity and variety of their most alert and most complicated movements.

The consul Catulus's decisive victory off the Ægades. U. C. 512. B. C. 242.

Incidents during the siege of Lilybæum. U. C. 502—512. B. C. 252—242.

During the siege of Lilybæum, which lasted ten years, and terminated only with the war itself, the Carthaginians felt the utmost anxiety to know the fate of a city, which, on account of its situation, its fidelity, and its power, they regarded as an essential outpost to their empire. But none of their boldest captains would venture through intricate shallows, which lay between two Roman squadrons that blocked up its harbour. At length, Hannibal, a noble Cartha-

[186] Conf. Polyb. l. i. c. 37. 39. 54.

[187] Polybius, l. i. c. 25. et seq. & 49. et seq. [188] Ibid. c. 61.

ginian, but named the Rhodian for his intimate connection with that naval island, in a vessel built on a new model and at his private expence, darted into the desired port in sight of the whole Roman fleet.[189] Provoked at this audacity, the Romans, to intercept his return, prepared ten of their swiftest vessels, and stationed them as near to the harbour's mouth as the shallows would permit, with orders to keep their oars suspended in the air, ready to be plied on the first signal. The Rhodian at length made his appearance, and, before the enemy could bear down on him, escaped from the harbour in safety; then insulting and mortifying the Romans still further by lying on his oars by way of bravado in the midst of obstacles and dangers which they themselves feared to approach. The success of Hannibal the Rhodian encouraged other Carthaginian captains. They built vessels of a similar construction, and by their means kept up a useful intercourse with the besieged city. But one of these vessels having unfortunately struck on the fragment of an ancient mole, fell into the hands of the Romans, and served them for a model in building ships of their own, fitted to cope with and finally to capture all those of the enemy employed in this dangerous service.[190] Thus did they wrest from the Carthaginians the command of the sea, by instruments which, though they wanted ingenuity to invent, they had however the

[189] Polybius, l. i. c. 46. [190] Ibid. c. 47. et seq.

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industry to improve, and the boldness and perseverance victoriously to employ.

Hamilcar Barcas.—His indignation amidst the humiliating terms of peace imposed on his country. U. C. 512. A. C. 242.

In the last stages of the war, there was not any Roman general that surpassed in abilities and enterprise Hamilcar Barcas. This man was the father of the great Hannibal, and of four other sons, whom he afterwards boasted of rearing, "as so many lion's whelps against the Romans." When the decisive sea-fight near the Ægades isles compelled the Carthaginians to treat of peace, he refused to surrender the city Eryx, in which he commanded, on any but the most honourable conditions. Articles, however, were soon adjusted, by which the Carthaginians not only relinquished all their possessions in Sicily, and its small satellite isles, but consented to pay down 1000, and to raise a contribution of 2200 talents, in the course of ten years. Such was the issue of the first Punic war, which gave to the Romans ships and seamen, and enabled them, as we shall see, only a dozen years afterwards, to carry great armaments across the Hadriatic. This advantage, which opened to them a vast career of conquest in the Macedonian empire, was not on their side cheaply purchased. In the twelfth year of the war, they mustered 297,797 citizens: at their following census the number was found to be reduced to 251,222.[191]

Division of Sicily between the Ro-

The first Punic war involved the fate of what was regarded as the most important division of Magna Græcia.[192] Many Greek cities in Sicily,

[191] Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. xix. [192] Strabo, l. vi. p. 253. & 273.

Romans and king Hieron.

which had flourished in arts and arms, were reduced with the far greater part of the island, into the form of a province; and thus subjected to tribute and port-duties, and the stern jurisdiction of a pretor, sent annually from Rome with an army.[193] From this humiliating dependence, the dominions alone of king Hieron were exempted. His zealous co-operation with the Romans procured for him, not the bare title, but all the substantial advantages of an equal and honourable ally.[194] These advantages he improved with incomparable abilities in his subsequent reign of twenty-seven years, during which Syracuse, confined to a territory extending scarcely fourscore miles along the eastern coast of Sicily, enjoyed unvarying prosperity at home, and a degree of credit abroad, surpassing that of many great contemporary kingdoms.

[193] Cicero in Verrem. l. ii. De Jurisdict. Sicil. Orat. vii. Plutarch in Marcell. Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xix. c. 64.

[194] Id. l. xix. c. 33.

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Third Generation of Alexander's Successors. — Expedition of Ptolemy Euergetes against Seleucus Callinicus. — Civil Wars between the Syrian Brothers. — Respected Neutrality of Aradus. — Seleucus made Captive in Parthia. — Reigns of Demetrius II. *of Macedon and Antigonus Doson. — Progress of the Achæan League. — Agis and Cleomenes. — The Cleomenic War. — Battle of Sellasia. — Ethiopian Expeditions of Ptolemy Euergetes. — His Transactions with the Jews. — Accession of Ptolemy Philopater. — His Profligacy and Cruelty. — The Colossus of Rhodes demolished by an Earthquake. — Liberality of the commercial Connections of that State.*

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Third generation of Alexander's successors. Olymp. cxxxiii. 3. cxxxix. 4. B.C. 246 —221.

PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS died five years before the conclusion of the first and longest war between the Romans and Carthaginians. In friendship with both powers, his impartiality and love of peace had restrained him from taking part in that obstinate conflict. His successor, Ptolemy Euergetes, observed the same neutrality, but from totally different motives. Euergetes, and the contemporary Syrian kings, his rivals, were men of rash enterprise, and inconsiderate policy. They engaged in relentless hostilities with each other, by which Syria was greatly injured, and from which Egypt derived no substantial benefit. Syria was farther deformed and exhausted by revolts in the eastern provinces, and by domestic

discord between Seleucus Callinicus and his brother Antiochus Hierax. In the western division of the empire, there was not greater tranquillity. The boundary of the Danube had been overleaped; and the Barbarians on the north of Macedon continually alarmed or infested that kingdom under Demetrius II. and Antigonus Doson. Relieved from the pressure of Macedonian power, the Greeks resumed their natural activity, and renewed those bitter animosities, by which they had so often been afflicted. In this fresh struggle, three nations distinguished themselves as principals, each exhibiting, under every aspect, and by exertions singularly memorable, the peculiar and very different principles on which they acted: the Achæans, their love of liberty and patriotism; the Lacedæmonians, their martial rivalry and ambition; the Etolians, their audacious boldness and insatiable rapacity. Such is the subject which I have to treat for a period of thirty-three years from the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus to the first hostilities between the Romans and the fourth Philip of Macedon, successor to Antigonus Doson. Having established, or rather greatly extended their naval force at the expence of Carthaginian merchants and Illyrian pirates, the Romans interposed with a strong arm in the affairs of Alexander's successors. The warfare lasted, with short interruptions, for half a century, in which space of time, by policy still more than warlike skill and bravery, Rome gained either an immediate jurisdiction, or an acknow-

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ledged supremacy over all the Greek kingdoms and republics on this side the Euphrates. Before we proceed to this interesting theme, it remains to examine the history of the thirty-three years above-mentioned, comprehending the third generation after the great Macedonian conqueror.

Euergetes's expedition against Syria. Olymp. cxxxiii. 3, 4. B.C. 246, 245.

Ptolemy Euergetes and Seleucus Callinicus mounted their respective thrones in the same year, Ptolemy legally and honourably, but Seleucus, through the execrable perfidy of his mother Laodicé, and in direct violation of a treaty between his murdered father and the late king of Egypt. To revenge the infraction of this treaty and the cruel death of his sister Berenicé, Euergetes hastened to attack the heart[1] of the Syrian monarchy. The powerful army, which he inherited, would have secured success against an adversary better prepared than Callinicus; whose parricidal usurpation had provoked and alienated the more liberal portion of the Syrians, and almost the whole of the Greeks. While he yet hesitated to drag his mother-in-law Berenicé and her infant son from their sacred asylum at Daphné, many Greek cities in Lesser Asia declared their abhorrence of this impious design, not sparing menaces to prevent its execution.[2] But the fury of Laodicé having precipitated the destruction of Berenicé her own rival, and that of the son of Berenicé, who, as rightful heir to the monarchy, was rival to Callinicus, the rebellious Greeks, expecting

[1] Polybius, l. v. c. 58.

[2] Justin, l. xxvii. c. 1.

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to be abetted by the arms of Ptolemy Euergetes, advanced in martial array towards Syria, at the same time that several provinces on that side mount Taurus, transferred their allegiance from Seleucus to his younger brother Antiochus, afterwards surnamed Hierax.[3] In this distracted state of Seleucus's affairs, Ptolemy entered Syria; the territory was not defended; many cities opened their gates; he gained possession even of Seleucia Pieria, regarded, from its vicinity, as the harbour of Antioch. We are not informed by what means Seleucus escaped his vengeance: but the more guilty Laodicé fell into the victor's hands, and died with deserved ignominy.[4]

Euergetes expedition into Upper Asia. Olymp. cxxxiii. 4. cxxxiv. 1. B.C. 245, 244.

Having shaken the Syrian kingdom in its centre, Ptolemy, without waiting to reap the nearer fruits of his success, was carried by a juvenile ardour towards Upper Asia. The provincial governors opposed not any resistance to his arms. In a short expedition, he over-ran a vast extent of territory, pursuing his victorious career to the Oxus and Indus.[5] His plunder

[3] The hawk, a name, according to Justin, derived from his rapacity, l. xxvii. c. 2. Strabo mentions the surnames Callinicus and Hierax without assigning the reasons for them, l. xvi. p. 754., and Plutarch in Aristid. contrasts the title of "Just" belonging to Aristides, and which, he says, no king had hitherto desired to wear, with the boastful appellations of "thunder, eagle, hawk," &c. Plutarch, it seems, knew not that the Parthian kings assumed the title of "Just," which often appears on their coins.

[4] Appian, Syriac. c. 65. p. 635.

[5] Polyænus, l. viii. c. 50. p. 802. Conf. Marm. Adulitan. Ptolemy's Assyrian expedition is noticed also in the contemporary poem of Callimachus, still preserved in Catullus's translation. Bere-

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was estimated at forty thousand talents of silver[6]; but what appeared far more valuable to his Egyptian followers, was the recovery of their idols, detained disgracefully in Susiana and Persis, ever since they had been torn by Cambyses from their venerated shrines. These cumbrous images of Egyptian gods, amounting to two thousand five hundred in number, were embarked on the canals[7] of Susiana, communicating with the Euphrates, conveyed up that river to Thapsacus, and thence transported by land to the Mediterranean sea. Their arrival in Egypt occasioned an enthusiasm of joy. The natives of that country contrasted the religious zeal of Ptolemy with the impious persecution of the Persians, their former masters. He was saluted with the title of Euergetes, the benefactor, a title which would have been ill-deserved by distant and precarious conquests. The new

Why honoured with the title of Euergetes.

nicé, the daughter of Magas and wife of Euergetes, consecrated her hair in the Cyprian temple of Zephyrian Venus,

Qua rex tempestate novis auctus hymenæis,
Vastatum fines iverat Assyrios.

De Coma Berenices, v. 11 & 12.

The queen's votive offering for the safe return of her husband, having disappeared from the temple, the mathematician, Conon of Samos, then residing at Alexandria, showed seven stars near the tail of the Lion hitherto little noticed, which, he said, were Berenicé's lost hair: upon this flattering conceit, the courtly Callimachus wrote his poem. Nonnus in Historiarum Synagoga. Hygini. Poetic. Astronomic.

[6] Hieronym. in Daniel, cap. xi.

[7] The Adulitic inscription ends abrubtly, but our local knowledge enables us to supply its defect.

provinces, over which he appointed[8] governors, remained not long in his possession, nor are we informed of any exertions made by him for retaining them. In his return to Egypt, having halted at Jerusalem, he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to Jehovah, and presented many precious dedications in his temple.[9]

The disasters of Seleucus followed by a revolution in his favour. Olymp. cxxxiv. 1. B.C. 244.

During Ptolemy's expedition to the East, Seleucus had been assiduously employed in collecting the scattered remains of his western empire. Through the remaining loyalty of his subjects, and still more by his treasures, he assembled a considerable fleet, and sailed to the coasts of the peninsula, with a view to re-establish his authority over the revolted cities. His armament was overtaken by a tempest; and great part of it shipwrecked. This disaster, which might have been expected to ruin him irretrievably, redounded, on the contrary, to his advantage. The Greeks, considering[10] the storm as a judgment inflicted by heaven, began to feel compassion for the grandson of Seleucus Nicator, the worthiest and most magnanimous of all Alexander's successors. But their returning allegiance must have been hastened by the consideration that Ptolemy their ally was remote, and that Antiochus Hierax, the rapacious brother of Seleucus, having entered into a close connection with the Gauls, was preparing to ex-

[8] Hieronym. in Daniel. [9] Joseph. cont. Apion. l. ii. c. 5.

[10] Justin. l. xxvii. c. 2. Repente veluti Diis ipsis parricidium vindicantibus, &c.

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tend his usurpation in Lesser Asia through the mercenary aid of those odious Barbarians.[11]

His negociations with Antiochus Hierax, and alliance with the republics of Smyrna and Magnesia. Olymp. cxxxiv. 1. B. C. 244.

The renewed friendship of the Greeks enabled Seleucus to reinforce the garrison of Antioch, to fortify his other strong-holds in Syria, and even to take the field against Ptolemy for recovering his lost possessions in that country. He was defeated, however, in a battle attended with much bloodshed; and compelled to shut himself up within the walls of Antioch, from which place he negociated a peace with his brother Antiochus Hierax, and an alliance, far more sincere, with the Ionian cities Smyrna and Magnesia. In this latter treaty, which still remains engraven on a marble column, these cities appear as independent states, but professing the utmost gratitude and devotion to the Seleucidæ. The column was raised for an unperishing memorial of a written instrument, which had been drawn up with nice formality, recorded in the archives of both states, and attested by their public signets as well as by the signatures and seals of the magistrates who were parties to the contract.[12]

Suspension of hostilities between Ptolemy and Seleucus, and war of the latter against Antiochus Hierax.

From this time forward, Ptolemy's attention was engrossed by very extraordinary undertakings that will afterwards be explained, and which occasioned the conclusion of an armistice for ten years with Seleucus.[13] The latter prince, thus delivered from his more formidable enemy, was at leisure to watch the designs of his perfi-

[11] Strabo, l. xvi. Plutarch de Fratern. Amor.
[12] Marmor. Oxon. p. 5. et seq. [13] Justin, l. xxvii. c. 8.

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dious brother, who, instead of the amity which he had just stipulated, seemed ready to prosecute the war with all the rancour of fraternal discord.[14] Seleucus accused his brother of levying the very forces against him, which he ought to have brought sooner to his assistance against Ptolemy; Antiochus accused Seleucus of an intention to divest him of those possessions in Asia Minor, of which, according to the treaty between them, he ought to have been confirmed in full sovereignty. Both accusations were but too well founded[15]: and a fierce war was thus kindled between the brothers, and carried on with various success for three years in Syria, in Lesser Asia, and in Assyria. The first memorable engagement was fought at Ancyra, where fortune declared for Antiochus through the assistance of his Gallic mercenaries.[16] But the fury of these Barbarians, upon a false rumour that Seleucus had fallen in the action, threatened to destroy Antiochus also, that they might appropriate exclusively the fruits of victory. Antiochus was thus prevented from prosecuting his good fortune, and compelled even to redeem his life by a large ransom. The pride of the Gauls now reached such a height as rendered them equally terrible and odious in every part of the peninsula. But shortly after the battle of Ancyra, they were defeated at Sardes by

Olymp. cxxxiv. 2. cxxxv. 1. B. C. 243—240.

Battle of Ancyra, and danger of Antiochus from his Gallic auxiliaries. Olymp. cxxxiv. 3. B. C. 242.

Their insolence and chastisement.

[14] "Dire is the war of brothers."

[15] Justin, l. xxvii. c. 2. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 750.

[16] Polyænus, l. viii. c. 61. & Plutarch de Fratern. Amore.

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Eumenes of Pergamus [17]; and in the year following, by his successor Attalus, in an engagement so decisive as compelled them to quit their predatory mode of life, and to resign that ambulatory dominion which they had held for the space of forty years in Lesser Asia. [18] The more irreclaimable part of the nation, exceeding an hundred thousand in number, still followed the standard of Antiochus Hierax, and accompanied him to Seleucia-Babylonia in hopes of plundering that wealthy capital. But they were routed and dispersed by Seleucus, powerfully reinforced on this occasion by the Macedonian inhabitants of the place, and by a body of eight thousand Babylonish Jews. [19] On this victory, Seleucus probably assumed the title of Callinicus [20], while Antiochus avoided the vengeance of his enraged and now triumphant brother by a precipitate flight. He first sought refuge in Cappadocia, and afterwards in Egypt, in which kingdom he was detained prisoner thirteen years by Ptolemy Euergetes. Having escaped from his confinement through the assistance of a courtezan, he attempted to return towards Syria, but was slain in his way thither by Arabian robbers. [21]

Total defeat of Antiochus Hierax in Babylonia. Olymp. cxxxv. 1. B.C. 240.

Honourable interference of Aradus in

The war between the brothers, though it commenced in Lesser Asia, and terminated in Babylonia, seems to have raged with greatest fury

[17] Justin, l. xxvii. c. 3. Conf. Athenæus, l. x. p. 445.

[18] Pausanias, l. x. c. 15. [19] 2 Maccab. c. viii. v. 20.

[20] "Illustrious conqueror." He was surnamed also Pogon from his bushy beard. Polybius, l. ii. c. 27.

[21] Justin, l. xxvii. c. 3.

the war between the brothers.

in Syria. To mitigate its effects there, recourse was had to the following expedient. Aradus was a Phœnician city allied with Tyre and Sidon, and had united with them in building Tripolis for the seat of their common councils.[22] The fame of Tyre and Sidon had hitherto eclipsed that of Aradus, a city, standing on a rocky island, two miles from the continent, and scarcely one mile in circumference, but whose buildings are compared in loftiness[23] with those of insular Tyre, which vied with the highest edifices in Rome.[24] Like other cities in Phœnicia, Aradus acknowledged its dependence on Alexander's Syrian successors: it paid tribute, received protection, but was prepared to resist oppression. In case of a siege, to which it might sometime be exposed, though this evil had hitherto been prevented by the prudence of its magistrates, the only want of Aradus had been that of fresh water. This deficiency was now fortunately supplied by discovering an abundant spring at the bottom of the narrow frith which washed the walls of the city. The pure element was obtained by dropping into the sea a huge bell of lead, perforated at top, and having a leathern pipe nicely fitted to its mouth. At first, salt water came up equal in bulk to the capacity of the bell; but immediately afterwards, the fresh stream began to flow copiously through the well-contrived conduit, into boats

[22] Diodorus, l. xvi. s. 41.
[23] Strabo, l. xviii. p. 755.
[24] Id. p. 757.

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prepared to receive it. Thus happily provided with the means of subsistence as well as of defence, the hardy islanders aspired to higher dignity, and assumed a sort of independent neutrality in the civil war between Seleucus and Antiochus. The pretensions of Aradus were admitted by both kings, with a view to the mutual safety of their respective adherents. In a contract with its magistrates, it was stipulated that those of either party who might take refuge among them, should find an inviolable asylum. The fugitives were not, indeed, to quit the island without permission from the prince that happened at the moment to prevail, yet neither were the Aradians held justly compellable to surrender them to their enemies.[25] As many persons, thus protected in Aradus, came afterwards to be invested with great power, their gratitude towards the island was signalised by extending its domain on the opposite continent, and by bestowing other important benefits on this equitable and peaceful community.[26]

Seleucus's war with the Parthians. Olymp. cxxxv. 2. cxxxvi. 2. B. C. 239—235.

Seleucus had been fortunately delivered from the resentment of Egypt, the fury of the Gauls, and the rapacity of his own merciless brother. There still remained the rebellious Parthians and Bactrians, the former of whom, during the war between the Syrian brothers, had strengthened the defences of their country, added to it the neighbouring territory of Hyrcania, and

[25] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 744. [26] Id. ibid.

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threatened to invade Media[27], the finest province of the East. Seleucus, finding himself disengaged from other enemies, conducted an army against the Parthians, now strictly allied with the Bactrians. This army was repeatedly reinforced; and the war by different inroads[28] protracted during four years, until the royal invader was made captive after being defeated in a great battle decisive of the independence and future dominion of the Parthians.[29]

Captivity and death of Seleucus. Olymp. cxxxvi. 2. cxxxviii. 3. B. C. 235 —226.

His life was spared by Tiridates, who had assumed the place and name of his elder brother Arsaces[30], the author of the Parthian revolt. Seleucus was retained ten[31] years in the roughest province, and among the fiercest people of Upper Asia, but during all that time treated by his conqueror with the respect due to his rank and misfortunes.[32] Syria and its dependent provinces, meanwhile, transferred their obedience, (such was the loyalty towards the house of Nicator,) to the son of their captive

[27] Athenæus, l. iv. p. 153. Conf. Justin, l. xli. c. 4. & Appian Syriac. c. 65.

[28] Justin, l. xli. c. 5.

[29] To this battle, properly, the words of Justin are applicable, "quem diem Parthi exinde solennem, velut initium libertatis, observant, l. xli. c. 4. The Parthian æra is contemporary with the 76th year of the kingdom of the Greeks.

[30] Arrian in Parth. apud Syncell. The kings of Parthia thenceforward assumed, all of them, the name of Arsaces, in addition to which they are distinguished by the names which they bore before mounting the throne.

[31] His successor's reign is reckoned from the tenth year of the Parthian æra.

[32] Athenæus, ibid.

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monarch; and the son would have well justified their partiality to his race, had he really attained his surname of Keraunus or Thunder, from the resistless rapidity with which he broke into Parthia, and rescued the person of his father. But this improbable tale[33] seems the invention of later times to explain the unknown origin of an ostentatious and unmerited title; for the captive Seleucus, it should seem, was killed in Parthia by a fall from his horse[34] in hunting, a royal exercise in which he was indulged by Tiridates during his loose confinement in that country. According to this account, he died in the same year with his brother Hierax, who had remained thirteen years a prisoner, and under far more severe restraint, in Egypt. Death might appear a benefit to imprisoned kings; but even imprisonment was beneficial to Seleucus and Antiochus, so shamefully had their freedom been disgraced in acts of fraternal discord.

His successors,

The former of these princes left two sons,

[33] Frælick. Annal. Syriac. p. 32. does not cite his authority; Bayer denies the fact; but the report of Seleucus's escape receives some countenance from Polybius, l. v. c. 89. Yet, in that text, instead of "Seleucus the father of Antiochus," critics read the "brother of Antiochus." It is not necessary, however, to have recourse to this alteration, if we consider that Seleucus, who, even in Parthia, was treated as a king, *αγομενος βασιλικως*, would be considered as such during his life by his own subjects. Among the Greek kings, the title of royalty might be divided without being impaired: it was enjoyed simultaneously by Antigonus and his son Demetrius, by Seleucus Nicator and his son Antiochus Soter.

[34] Justin, l. xxvii. c. 3. Conf. Athenæus, l. iv. p. 153. Demetrius Poliorcetes had been allowed the same amusement when prisoner with the first Seleucus.

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Seleucus Keraunus just mentioned, who, having marched against Attalus I. of Pergamus, perished by treachery in Lesser Asia before he had time to perform any thing memorable[35]; and Antiochus "the Great," who would not seem altogether unworthy of this title early conferred on him, had not his evil destiny brought him, in the decline of life, into a disastrous conflict with Rome.

Seleucus Keraunus. Olymp. cxxxviii. 4. B. C. 225. and Antiochus III. Olymp. cxxxix. 2. B. C. 223.

According to the method above prescribed, I proceed to a third series of events more circumstantially related than either of the former, and in themselves far more interesting. The diminutive cities of Achaia preserved, as we have seen, the germs of virtue and true liberty, which the influence of military tyrants had blasted on all sides around them. Upon the misfortunes which assailed Macedon in the reign of Ptolemy Keraunus, the cities Dyma, Patræ, Pharæ, and Tritæa, ventured to renew their ancient confederacy, but without commemorating this act, as usual on such important occasions, by the erection of a pillar, or any other public monument. Five years afterwards the people of Ægium expelled their Macedonian garrison and joined the association. Bura, Carynia, and three remaining[36] cities of Achaia, successively followed the

The Achæan league. Olymp. cxxv. 2.—cxxxi. 3. B. C. 275—254.

[35] Polybius, Appian, & Justin. The traitors were Apaturius and Nicanor, two of his officers, who are said to have poisoned him. Appian, Syr. c. 66. They raised a mutiny in the army, which was quelled by the brave and generous Achæus, as will be seen hereafter.

[36] These were Leontium, Ægira, and Pellené. The confederate cities were originally twelve. But Helicé had been destroyed by an

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Government and laws.

example, either destroying their domestic tyrants, or compelling them to abdicate their ill-gotten power. From this time forward, each of these ten communities enjoyed a government nearly resembling that of Athens, while her democracy subsisted in its purest form: each had its senate, popular assembly, and an annual magistrate, entitled *Demiurgos*, whose office closely corresponded with that of the Athenian archons. Full freedom of speech, perfect equality of law, universal right of suffrage, and universal eligibility to office, formed the four corner-stones of the Achaian cities individually, while all of them collectively were united in a confederacy of sentiment as well as of interest, with the same natred of tyrants and tyrannical republics, with the same love of equality and true freedom, the same laws and institutions, and even the same coins, weights, and measures.[37] Twice every year, at the beginning of summer and the end of autumn, deputies assembled at Ægium; they were chosen from each state by a plurality of voices, and, according to the same mode of election, they named two generals of the league, and a common secretary, entrusted with the records of the nation, and with the duty of preparing and expediting public business. Let

earthquake and inundation 372 years B. C. Olenus for some unknown reason did not join in the new league. Conf. Strabo, l. viii. p. 384. Polybius, l. ii. c. 41. Some differences, however, occur in Pausanias Achaic. & Herodotus, l. i. c. 145.

[37] Polybius, l. ii. c. 37. & 58.

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it be remembered, however, that this liberal policy embraced citizens only; those now called the lower classes, mechanics and menials, though protected by the laws and magistrates, yet, being mostly in the state of slavery, had no voice in making the former, or in electing the latter. For twenty-five years the Achæan government continued without change; after that time, Marcus of Carynia obtained the sole military command; and the nomination of one general only, became in future the unvarying rule.[38]

Civil liberty and national independence.

From this short description it appears that the object of the Achæans was not only to secure to each citizen civil liberty at home, but a matter far weightier in its consequences, to maintain each member of the confederacy on a foot of political independence. For this purpose each Achæan state had but one vote in the general council: no individual state could contract alliance with any prince or people without the approbation of the whole; the same universal consent was requisite for admitting any new associate into the league; but, when associates were thus approved and accepted, their rights became, in all respects, the same with those of the original members.

Aratus joins Sicyon to the league. Olymp. cxxxii. 3. B. C. 250.

This liberal equality, which had never hitherto prevailed in the same extent, appeared to the few real patriots still remaining in Greece, the fittest basis for supporting a confederacy which might yet emancipate that illustrious country,

[38] Polybius, l. ii. c. 43.

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from the overwhelming preponderance of Alexander's successors. Only four years after the generalship of Marcus of Carynia, the territory of Sicyon, bordering on that of Achaia, joined the league through the zeal and enterprise of Aratus, then only in his twentieth year, and who, at the next following election, was chosen general of the confederacy.[39] Eight years afterwards, and when invested for the second time with the military command, Aratus gained by arms and address the important city of Corinth, the key, as it were, to the Peloponnesus; and having expelled the Macedonian garrison from the citadel, restored to the Corinthians that strong-hold of which they had been divested ever since the reign of Philip, the father of Alexander.[40] The Corinthians, thus relieved from long oppression, cheerfully joined the Achæan league; and thereby best remunerated the merit of Aratus, who had employed his private fortune, even the jewels of his wife, in effecting their liberty. The name of the Sicyonian now eclipsed the fame of the original founders of the league, and still eclipses that of all its subsequent benefactors. This preference in his favour has been heightened with posterity by affecting peculiarities in his personal and domestic history. His father Clinias, the most illustrious citizen of Sicyon, after wresting the government of his country from one tyrant, had

And Corinth. Olymp. cxxxiv. 2. B. C. 243.

Peculiarities in his history.

[39] It was a maxim of policy with the Achæans to invest with offices and honours those who had recently joined the league.

[40] Polybius, l. ii. c. 44. & Plutarch in Arato.

fallen a sacrifice to the cruel jealousy of another. Abantidas, for this was his name, raged with unbridled fury against Clinias's adherents, slew some, banished others, unwilling to spare even Aratus, a child, only seven years old. But Aratus, reserved for a nobler destiny, found refuge in the house of Soso, the tyrant's sister; who, believing that heaven must have directed him to a place singularly secure, because the least liable to suspicion, concealed him with watchful care until she found an opportunity of sending him secretly to Argos, where the revered worth of his family ensured to him the protection of many hereditary friends.

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His education.

By these respectable friends, he was kindly received and liberally educated. His proficiency in the accomplishments then most valued, fully rewarded their goodness. In early youth he gained the prize in the Pentathlon, the highest ambition of Olympic combatants, since it united all the five exercises, in any one of which it was immortal glory to excel[41]: and his early diligence in letters was proved by the memoirs which he left behind him, highly commendable by their form as well as matter. But amidst these liberal pursuits, his mind was continually occupied with the thoughts, not of avenging his father's murder, for the tyrant Abantidas being slain, had made way for another tyrant of a different family, but of destroying the tyranny itself, and re-establishing in Sicyon the pure Dorian mode

How he rescued Sicyon from tyranny.

[41] See History of Ancient Greece, Part I. c. v.

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of well harmonised policy.[42] Through the assistance of his friends in Argos, of his expatriated fellow-citizens, and even of Xenophilus, the leader of a band of robbers, he surprised Sicyon in the night, by an assault judiciously planned and boldly executed. After his guards had been made prisoners, the tyrant Nicocles escaped indeed, by a subterranean passage through his well-fortified palace, but never returned to Sicyon, which gladly accepted the liberty proclaimed next day in the market-place, "in name of Aratus the son of Clinias," and shortly afterwards obtained admission into the Achæan confederacy.[43]

He restores the emigrants to their inheritances without offending the actual possessors.

This glorious exploit, which excited public admiration for Aratus, was followed at some distance of time by a transaction which riveted him in the love and private affection of the Sicyonians. About six hundred of their fellow-citizens still lived, who had been driven into banishment by different tyrants: some exiles had lost their country, for upwards of fifty years. They gradually returned in such numbers, to claim their paternal lands, that the tranquillity of the little state was threatened with sedition. The possessions, of which they had been divested, had passed into other hands, and many of them had been long held by legal titles. An act of resumption would therefore

[42] The metaphor of Plutarch: it presented itself the more naturally as the people of Sicyon were Dorians. Plutarch in Arat.

[43] Plut. in Arat.

have been injustice, yet by what other means were the claimants to be satisfied? Aratus in this difficulty, had recourse to Ptolemy Philadelphus, whose love for the arts he had recently gratified by procuring for him the paintings of Pamphilus and Melanthus, admired masterpieces of the Sicyonian school. In a personal visit to that great prince, whose munificence on every fit occasion kept pace with his opulence, he obtained such large sums[44] of money, as enabled him at his return to Sicyon, to adjust amicably all differences between the actual possessors of the lands and their ancient proprietors.

Reign of Demetrius II. of Macedon. Olymp. cxxxiv. 2. —cxxxvii. 1. B. C. 243 —232.

The junction of Corinth to the Achæan league happened in the old age and decrepitude of Antigonus Gonatas, who died shortly after an event greatly injurious to the main drift of his rapacious reign. He was succeeded by Demetrius II., whose address had helped to put his father in possession of the Corinthian citadel[45], but whose abilities on the throne ill sustained the fame which he had acquired as a subject. Demetrius adhered, however, to the policy of his predecessor in supporting, by troops and money, the petty tyrants that still reigned in several cities of Peloponnesus to their own unspeakable misery as well as that of their subjects. The colouring is perhaps heightened by resentment, yet the picture drawn of Aristippus, who,

Picture of petty tyrants

[44] Plut. in Arat. The numbers are erroneous.

[45] Sec above, c. xi. p. 274.

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whom he supported in Greece. Aristippus of Argos.

by the assistance of Macedon, had usurped sovereignty in Argos, the city in which Aratus had been educated, conveys a lively impression of the agonies attending power ill-acquired, cruelly exercised, and anxiously held. Aristippus had a numerous body-guard; but his suspicions never allowed any portion of it to enter his palace. After supper he dismissed from the hall even his domestics, made the door fast with his own hands, and ascended by a ladder, through a trap-door into a small upper chamber. Upon this trap-door his bed was raised; and here he remained with his concubine, until her mother, a decrepid old woman, who had removed the ladder in the night, replaced it in the morning.[46] This reptile usurper then crawled from his lurking hold. Such is the life of tyrants among men who have ever relished the sweets of liberty, and such were the wretches whom Demetrius abetted to gratify his own unworthy ambition.

Wars and troubles of Demetrius's reign.

The accession of Corinth to the Achæan league conspired, however, with other causes, to enfeeble his exertions in their favour, and to render his aid to them ineffectual. During his reign of ten years, he was frequently engaged in hostilities with the Etolians[47] in the south, and with the Thracians and Illyrians, those fierce and implacable nations which always threatened and often invaded his northern frontiers: he carried on war against Alexander of Epirus,

[46] Plutarch in Arat.

[47] Polybius, l. ii. c. 2.

son to the renowned Pyrrhus; and after the death of Alexander, he entered into an accommodation with his widow, Olympias, now regent of the kingdom, and married her daughter Phthia, thereby provoking the resentment of Antiochus Hierax, brother to his former wife, whose repudiation had made room for the princess of Epirus.[48] The animosity of Antiochus evaporated in mere threats; but even the threats of such a daring and merciless prince long kept Demetrius in a state of cowardly alarm and fearful preparation.[49]

Various accessions to the Achæan league. Olymp. cxxxvi. 4. B. C. 233.

Amidst the various troubles of his reign, the Achæans thus enjoyed an opportunity of extending their confederacy. Shortly after the surprise of the Corinthian citadel, the league had been joined by Megara, its first accession beyond the limits of Peloponnesus. On the eastern coast of that peninsula, Epidaurus, Trœzené, and Hermioné, cities of Argolis, solicited and obtained admission, after the expulsion of their respective tyrants; while Lysiadas, tyrant of Megalopolis, in the central district of Arcadia, voluntarily abdicated the government, and added that great city as a new member to the league.[50]

Reign of Antigonus II. of Macedon. Olymp. cxxxvii. 1.

About this time Demetrius, king of Macedon, died; and his only son Philip, being scarcely three years old, the regency and afterwards the crown was assumed by his brother Anti-

[48] Justin, l. xxviii. c. 1.
[49] Pausan. Attic.
[50] Polybius, l. ii. c. 44.

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gonus II., surnamed "Doson." This single word denoted his readiness of promise and his slowness in performance; and should seem to have been affixed by a very undeserved sarcasm[51] on Antigonus; since, although he reigned, by the will of the Macedonians, in preference to his nephew, he carefully educated the young prince, and adopted proper measures for making him his successor. Antigonus's character, indeed, will appear to have been distinguished by justice, tempered with mercy: his abilities did not fall short of his virtues; at home and abroad during his whole reign, he was beloved by his subjects, formidable to his enemies, and faithful to his allies.[52] Yet this respectable prince (so capricious is the distribution of honours!) was disgraced by a reproachful epithet, still adhering to his name, while contemporary sovereigns, greatly his inferiors, are dignified in history by high-sounding titles.[53] Instead of embroiling the affairs of Greece, as had long been the practice of his predecessors, Antigonus in the first years of his administration, seemed only solicitous to heal the wounds of that country, while he exerted his utmost

His uncommon merits.

[51] Plutarch in Coriolan.

[52] Polybius, Conf. l. ii. c. 47. et c. 70. et l. iv. c. 3—87.

[53] Τα αλαζονικα αυτων ονομαστα, &c. Dio. Chrysostom. Orat. lxiv. p. 598. The names or epithets alluded to are, "Illustrious conqueror, benefactor, thunder, saviour, god." These names, however, seldom appear on medals, during the three first races of Alexander's successors. But the Greek kings of the East grew more assuming in their titles, as they degenerated in worth.

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abilities to conciliate good-will among his barbarous northern neighbours.

Athens and Argos joined to the Achæan league.

From this peaceful system, he could not be induced to swerve, notwithstanding the perpetual aggrandisement of the Achæans, who, besides admitting into their league many new members in Peloponnesus, gained the rich island of Ægina, and soon afterwards Athens herself, nearly as populous a city, as when she shone the proud empress of Greece. This last acquisition was made by corrupting Diogenes, who commanded the Macedonian garrison. His price, a hundred and fifty talents, was high for that age: Aratus immediately paid him twenty talents, (about four thousand pounds), and the remainder might easily be liquidated, as Ptolemy Euergetes had adopted the policy of his father, and declared himself protector of the league. In Argos, the miserable tyrant Aristippus, whose life had been a thousand times forfeited to his injured fellow-citizens, had the good fortune to be slain in battle with Aratus. His power was assumed by Aristomachus, who at first defended Argos against the Achæans; but, as all places around were either incorporated with that people, or friendly to their interests, Aristomachus was prevailed on to abdicate his usurped authority, and join the Argives to the league, of which, according to the usual policy of the Achæans, he was next year appointed general. [54]

[54] Polybius, l. ii. c. 44. et Plut. in Arat.

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State of Sparta from the death of Alexander to the reign of Cleomenes. Olymp. cxxxvi. 2. B. C. 235.

The affairs of the confederacy thus continued to flourish, when a dangerous opposition to it arose from a very unexpected quarter. The Lacedæmonians, who had sullenly refused to associate themselves to the fortunes and the glory of the great Alexander, had, since the ascendency of his successors in Greece, gradually sunk into a slothful obscurity; impoverished still more in their minds, than they were reduced in their circumstances. The lands of their territory, which had been divided by Lycurgus into thirty-nine thousand lots, had accumulated in the hands of about three hundred persons, many of them females, who displayed all the disgusting follies of superfluous opulence, while the citizens at large were oppressed by debts, and the industrious peasants wanted bread.[55]

Leonidas and Agis. Olymp. cxxxiv. 1. B. C. 244.

This was the state of Sparta, when its singular form of dual royalty devolved on Leonidas, the eighth in descent from Pausanias, who had defeated the Persians in the battle of Platæa; and on Agis, the sixth in succession from Agesilaus, who had retorted the injuries of Xerxes and Mardonius by glorious conquests in the East. The actual kings of Sparta inherited the qualities of their respective ancestors: Leonidas, who before his accession had lived in the court of Syria, transported with him Asiatic luxury into Greece, and rivalled Pausanias in ostentation and haughtiness. Agis

[55] Plutarch in Agid. et Cleomen.

surpassed even Agesilaus in virtuous simplicity; he divested himself of the vast possessions of his family, that they might be thrown into the common stock, and endeavoured to prevail on others to follow this generous example. His popular zeal was heightened by the stubborn opposition of his colleague. He strove to cancel debts, to make an equal division of lands, to revive sumptuary laws; in one word, to restore the discipline of Lycurgus in its full vigour.[56] The undertaking, great as it appears, was not above his abilities; but the means, requisite for effecting it, were below his virtues. When Leonidas fell into his power, instead of destroying that opponent, he was contented with driving him from Sparta. Cleombrotus, son-in-law to Leonidas, was called to supply the vacancy. He entered into the generous views of Agis; but the party of the rich, rallying from their panic, became too powerful for both. Leonidas, thus restored to royalty, scarcely spared Cleombrotus, though husband to Chelonis, his own affectionate daughter; for Chelonis, instead of enjoying power with her husband, had preferred banishment with her father. She now obtained leave to accompany in exile her dethroned husband[57]; thus alternately soothing the afflictions of both, while she disdained to share the prosperity of the one purchased too dearly by the other's misery. Agis meanwhile had taken refuge in the brazen tem-

Banishment and recal of Leonidas.

His daughter Chelonis.

Death of Agis.

[56] Plutarch in Agid. et Cleomen.

[57] Plutarch. ibi

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ple of Minerva, guardian of the city. He was seduced from that venerated asylum, and suffered the punishment due to innovators, whose undertakings, however splendid in their ends, are inconsistent with justice in the means of execution.

Olymp. cxxxiv. 4. B. C. 241.

His designs renewed by Cleomenes.

Most unfortunately for the quiet of Greece, the short reign of Agis left a fatal ferment behind it. Six years afterwards, Leonidas was succeeded by his son Cleomenes, a youth bold, disinterested, and actuated by an ardent passion for glory. He had married Agiatis the kinswoman and admirer of Agis; the praises bestowed on that zealous patriot, and on the noble exertions of Aratus for the grandeur of Achaia, stimulated the kindred ambition of Cleomenes to surpass the merit of the former, with the popular party at home [58], and by the valour of his once warlike countrymen abroad, to eclipse the glory of the latter. These two undertakings would mutually assist each other, since liberty is the most natural source of martial spirit; and a king, victorious in the field, is the abler to mould at will the government of his country.

Olymp. cxxxvi. 2. B. C. 235.

Encouraged by the Etolians to make war on Achaia.

While Cleomenes agitated these great projects, he was instigated to arms by the Etolians, who, though in friendship with Achaia by which they had been assisted recently against Demetrius of Macedon, had become jealous of a growing confederacy, founded on principles diametrically opposite to their own. The Etolians had

Olymp. cxxxviii. 4. B. C. 225.

[58] Polybius, l. iv. c. 81.

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first applied to Antigonus Doson, the successor of Demetrius, but found that wise prince unwilling to abet their schemes of injustice: they next addressed Cleomenes, and exhorted him to seize Mantinæa and other cities in Arcadia, strictly allied with themselves, but which they dreaded might fall into the hands of the Achæans.

The first successes of the Cleomenic war. Olymp. cxxxix. 1. B. C. 224.

Cleomenes listened to a counsel highly favourable to his views; and by an assault as successful as it was unexpected, seized Mantinæa, Tegea, and Orchomenos. He next entered the territory of Megalopolis, and built a fortress for annoying that city[59], which had remained for several years a member of the Achæan league. The Achæans were thus reduced to the necessity of repelling the aggressions of Sparta, which they had once good hopes of incorporating with their own confederacy. Arcadia became the first, and long continued the principal, scene of the Cleomenic war, which raged five years in Peloponnesus, and ended only with the ruin of its ambitious author.

Causes thereof—the military defects of Aratus, and the new arrangements of Sparta.

Its first stages were, however, highly favourable to the Spartans, who repeatedly defeated enemies far superior to themselves in number. In thus turning the tide of fortune against Achaia, much is to be ascribed to the personal energy of Cleomenes; the activity with which he levied and disciplined recruits, wherever they could be found; and the new spirit of enterprise which

[59] Polybius, l. ii. c. 45. et seq.

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he inspired into his countrymen, after he had rescued them from the oligarchy to which they had been long subject.[60] The military defects of Aratus are also to be taken into account; for, with all his great qualities, this illustrious champion of the confederacy was not calculated for open warfare and pitched battles. His military renown resulted from stratagems well combined, and surprises boldly executed. He was a tiger who leaped on his prey: darkness and silence encouraged him, but in broad light, and in the face of a prepared enemy, a constitutional weakness seemed to bereave him of his faculties.[61] Yet such, in other respects, was his incomparable merit, that, whoever was general of the Achæans, Aratus retained the chief authority in the field as well as in the council. The bad success of the war made him, of all men, most dread Cleomenes, who was likely to be soon reinforced by the warlike Etolians; and who having attained absolute authority in Sparta, by butchering the Ephori, and banishing all those who opposed his innovations, had cancelled debts, instituted a new and equal division of lands, restored the severe discipline and diet of Lycurgus, and reduced his country to the form of a stern military democracy, under a victorious and admired general.[62]

Aratus determines to apply

Rather than become subject to such a prince, Aratus was inclined to call back the Macedo-

[60] Plutarch in Agid. & Cleomen.
[61] Polybius, l. iv. c. 8. Conf. Plutarch in Arato.
[62] Plutarch in Cleomen.

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for assistance to Antigonus Doson. Olymp. cxxxix. 1 B. C. 224.

nians into Peleponnesus, by whom alone the designs of Cleomenes could be effectually resisted. The moderate and equitable character of Antigonus Doson was well calculated to justify this measure, of which, however, Aratus, as it clashed with his former counsels, was extremely unwilling to appear as the author. He therefore had recourse to Megalopolis, a city of the league, which lying nearer than any other to Sparta, was a perpetual sufferer in the war; and which, on account of some good offices, unnoticed in history, which it had received from the ancestors of Antigonus, would not, he imagined, be averse to the assistance of that prince. Two citizens of Megalopolis, Nicophanes and Cercidas, were connected with himself by the reverèd ties of hereditary friendship. To them Aratus fully communicated his views; and, through their means, engaged the republic of Megalopolis to send a deputation to the council of Achaia, craving permission to apply to Antigonus for aid. The counsel gave its consent; Nicophanes and Cercidas proceeded as ambassadors to Macedon; and being admitted to the king, explained briefly the state of their own republic, but expatiated largely on that of Greece.[63] The drift of their discourse was to show, that if Cleomenes should be joined by the Etolians, not only the Peloponnesus, but also the states beyond the Isthmus would be compelled first to submit to their arms, and afterwards to

[63] Polybius, l. ii. c. 48. et seq.

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follow their standard. In this case, the king of Macedon would have to contend in Thessaly for that only portion of Greece which still acknowledged his authority; and if unsuccessful there, against the united strength of the Etolians, Bœotians, Lacedæmonians, and Achæans, might be exposed to no small danger in his hereditary kingdom. Prudence therefore required, that rather than wait so formidable a war, he should seasonably avert it, by now protecting Peloponnesus. With regard to security and compensation, Aratus, they assured him, would find expedients for satisfying both parties; and would also inform the king of the fit moment to take the field.[64]

Consequences of that measure.

Antigonus approved their discourse, and entrusted them with letters to their republic, promising a ready compliance with its request, whenever the general council of the Achæans should testify its acquiescence in the measure. At the return of the ambassadors, the king's letters were read in the council at Ægium; the deputies of Megalopolis advised, that the Macedonians should be immediately invited into Peloponnesus: the majority of the council, and still more the assembled multitude around it, warmly applauded this opinion. Aratus then came forward in the assembly, and at the same time that he extolled the favourable disposition of Antigonus, highly praised the good sense and penetration of the Achæans. But though this king

[64] Polybius, l. ii. c. 48. et seq.

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of Macedon, as they well discerned, was of a very different character from many of his predecessors, he conjured them earnestly and pathetically to begin by exerting in the war their whole domestic strength. Their interest, as well as honour, required that every hope depending on themselves alone, should previously be exhausted before they had recourse for safety to a foreign prince. His counsel was approved: the Achæans took the field to defend Megalopolis, but were twice defeated in the neighbourhood of that city, and afterwards at Hecatombæum, in the district of Dymé[65], one of the four original members of the league. As they fought in this last battle with nearly the whole of their forces, no resource remained but an immediate application to Antigonus. With this view, the son of Aratus was dispatched to Pella, and arrangements being speedily made by the king, the flower of the Macedonian army began to march towards Greece. Foreseeing this expedition, the Etolians, now firm allies to Cleomenes, had occupied the straits of Thermopylæ. Antigonus was therefore obliged to sail over to Eubœa, and after pervading that long island, to cross the narrow Euripus, and pass through Bœotia and Megaris, to the isthmus of Corinth. By this time Cleomenes had acquired a useful ally in Ptolemy Euergetes, who no sooner heard that the Achæans had applied to Antigonus, than he, who had hitherto been protector of

Cleomenes gains great advantages through the assist-

[65] Polybius, l. ii. c. 51.

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ance of Ptolemy Euergetes. Olymp. cxxxix. 1. B. C. 224.

their league, openly espoused the cause of their enemies.[66] This change was natural, for the Greek kings in Asia and Egypt always viewed with jealousy the encroachments of Macedon, fearful lest some ambitious Macedonian, reinforced by the fleets of Greece, and the exhaustless armies of Thrace and Illyria, might tread in the foot-steps of the great Alexander. To prevent the ascendency of Antigonus in any of those countries, Ptolemy endeavoured to stir up against him a multiplicity of adversaries. He supplied Cleomenes, in particular, with large sums of money, which enabled this prince to prosecute his designs vigorously, and conquer many cities in Peloponnesus, recently associated with the league; particularly Epidaurus, Phlius, Argos, and lastly Corinth itself: for the wealthy and dissolute Corinthians, rather than endure the hardships of a siege, had commanded the Achæans who were in garrison, to leave the place, and even invited the Spartans to take possession of it. Their pusillanimity relieved Aratus from much difficulty with regard to the compensation, which, as before mentioned, he had undertaken to negociate in favour of Antigonus.[67] He could not have ceded to him Corinth without the consent of its citizens; but, through their own distardly spirit, he was furnished with an honourable excuse for promising to him the possession of that rich city.

[66] Polybius, l. ii. c. 47. Conf. l. xxix. c. 9. et seq.
[67] Id. l. ii. c. 52.

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Antigonus enters Peloponnesus — his success. Olymp. cxxxix. 2. B. C. 223

The two kings now encamped on opposite sides of the Isthmus, the one watchful of an opportunity to pass into Peloponnesus; the other having cast up intrenchments, and ready to oppose his entrance. But without the intervention of a battle, a sudden turn of affairs was produced in the peninsula by the mere approach of the Macedonians. Aristotle, a citizen of Argos, with the assistance of the Achæans under Timoxenus, rescued that city from the gripe of Cleomenes's partisans.[68] The news of this event, which was likely to be followed by other revolutions of a similar kind, disheartened the Spartan troops, and strangely confounded their general, who quitting his advantageous post, hastened to recover Argos, and having failed in that attempt, rather fled than retreated homewards to Sparta. Meanwhile Antigonus advanced without opposition; seized the Corinthian citadel, which had been so long held by his ancestors; and proceeded by rapid marches to Argos, where he praised and confirmed the good resolutions of its inhabitants. He then entered Arcadia, and expelled the Spartan garrisons from many strong-holds in that province. He marched afterwards to Ægium, the seat of the Achæan council: in that assembly which owed its security to his presence, he explained at large the motives of his past conduct; discussed the measures proper to be pursued in future; and was elected, with universal acclam-

[68] Κλεομενισται, the Cleomenists, Polybius, l. ii. c. 53.

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and clandestinely introduced among his papers. When this was effected, by means of a suborned slave, Alexis was presently at hand to arraign a general, high in favour with Antiochus, as holding correspondence with the usurper. Epigenes denied the fact; his papers were searched; the letter forged by Hermeias was found; and Epigenes, through the basest treachery, was condemned and punished as a traitor.[25]

Means by which the latter was accomplished.

An account of this execrable transaction had reached Antiochus, but so diligently had Hermeias fortified himself by creatures and accomplices, that he was the object of fear even to his master. At length the physician Apollophanes, divining the king's unfriendly disposition towards his minister, encouraged him to anticipate the designs of a man capable of every wickedness. Their measures were soon concerted. On pretence that the king was affected with a giddiness in his head, he was advised to walk early in the cool morning air, unmolested by the bustle of his guards and courtiers. A few particular friends, all partners in the conspiracy, except Hermeias, who was its object, attended their royal master, who, after reaching a due distance from the camp, stepped aside as on some necessary occasion. This was the sign for his attendants to dispatch Hermeias with their daggers. In his return to Syria, the councils and actions of Antiochus were highly celebrated at every place through which he passed; but

[25] Polybius, l. v. c. 51.

none of his exploits were so loudly extolled as the removal, even by assassination, of his dangerous and detested minister. Such was the public rage against this abuser of royal authority, and such the sanguinary fierceness of the age, that the women of Apamea, when they heard of the murder of Hermeias, laid violent hands on his wife; the children of the place also stoned to death his children.[26]

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Destruction of his family.

The mischief of Hermeias's administration did not end with himself. His jealousy of every kind of merit had alienated from Antiochus his generous kinsman Achæus, to whose loyalty and bravery that prince owed the preservation of his western dominions. Through the perfidy of court intrigues, Achæus was driven into the rebellion of which he had been falsely accused; and before Antiochus returned from Upper Asia, assumed, for his own safety, sovereignty in the Peninsula, or rather in those parts of it not formerly dismembered from the Syrian power. As the troops which Antiochus left behind him in Syria were discontented, particularly those belonging to the district of Cyrrhus, his lieutenants were altogether unable, in his absence, to cope with so powerful a rebel; and when the king, in person, returned with his triumphant army from the East, fortune withheld him from Lesser Asia, by presenting a nearer field of victory.[27]

Achæus fortifies himself in Lesser Asia. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

This was the age of bad ministers; and what

Theodotus, the

[26] Polyb. l. v. c. 56.

[27] Ibid. l. v. c. 58.

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Etolian, puts him in possession of Cœle-Syria. Olymp. cxl. 1. B. C. 220.

Hermeias had been in Syria, Sosibius was in Egypt. Provided he could engross power, and amass wealth, Sosibius was altogether careless of the disgraceful follies of his master Ptolemy Philopator, who, in contempt of his high-spirited queen and sister Arsinoë, wallowed in shameless profligacy with Agathoclea a common harlot, her infamous mother Oenanthe, and her brother Agathocles, a wretch more abominable than either. To such persons, Theodotus the brave Etolian, to whom Philopator owed the preservation of Cœle-Syria, had rendered himself obnoxious. Instead of receiving any due rewards for his services, he incurred the hatred both of the king and his minister. To anticipate their vengeance, Theodotus had recourse to Antiochus just returned from his successful expedition into Upper Asia; and the same man who had skilfully defended Cœle-Syria against that prince, now offered to put him in possession of several strong-holds there, as well as of the seaports of Tyre and Ptolemais, with forty sail in their harbours. Theodotus's proposals were accepted; his promises were performed; in a single campaign, Antiochus recovered most places in Cœle-Syria; and, as another portion of his troops expelled from Seleucia-Pieria the Egyptians, who had garrisoned that city ever since its conquest by Ptolemy Euergetes, the Syrian power, nearly consolidated in itself, assumed a very formidable attitude with regard to Egypt. [28]

[28] Polyb. l v. c. 59. et seq.

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That Philopator's ministers were of this opinion, appeared from the orders given by them to destroy the wells between Egypt and Syria, and to open the flood-gates of the Nile near Pelusium, that the country, being laid under water, might interrupt an invading enemy. At the same time they sent ambassadors to Antiochus to negociate a truce, until peace on equitable terms might be concluded between the two kingdoms. In this embassy, they were successively joined by Rhodians, Byzantines, and other Greeks, who had long been connected with Egypt in the bands of commerce and amity. A tedious negociation was thus entered into between the courts of Antioch and Memphis; for in the latter city Sosibius and Agathocles chose to receive the ambassadors of Antiochus. Their reason for this preference shows, that, though destitute of every virtue, they were not deficient in the wiles of policy.

He threatens Egypt, which is saved by an artfully protracted negociation. Olymp. cxl. 1. B. C. 220.

While the ambassadors of Antiochus were treated with unbounded respect, and every conference held with them tended to confirm their opinion that the lazy, voluptuous Philopator would be glad to purchase peace by the meanest compliances, armed men were gradually collected, embodied, and disciplined under skilful Greek officers in the neighbourhood of Alexandria. The inland garrisons were drained; those provinces on the southern coast of Lesser Asia long subject to the Ptolemies, supplied numerous recruits; Cyrené and other dependencies in Africa

Meanwhile the Egyptians collect and discipline a great army.

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sent considerable reinforcements; above all, the Peloponnesians, Cretans, and other still warlike Greeks, were eager to enlist in a profitable service. During the long-protracted negociation, an army was thus assembled at Alexandria, consisting of seventy thousand foot, five thousand horse, and seventy three elephants: the magazines of arms and provisions were fully adequate to such a mighty force.[29]

They end the negociation and take the field. — Forces on both sides.

When all preparations were in readiness, the ambassadors of Ptolemy began to throw off the mask. They maintained, that after the defeat of Antigonus, surnamed the Cylops, Cœle-Syria in the partition of his spoils had been assigned to Ptolemy Soter, and ought therefore to be restored to his descendant, especially since it had been recently wrested from him only through the perfidious treason of Theodotus the Etolian. But though they thus stigmatised a rebel to their own king, they insisted that Achæus, who had now openly rebelled against Antiochus, should be included as a party in the peace, and enjoy his usurped possessions. Antiochus could not hear such propositions with patience. He was at the head of an army little less powerful than Ptolemy's, since it consisted of sixty-two thousand foot, six thousand horse, with upwards of an hundred elephants.

Preparations for the battle of Raphia.

Meanwhile, the Egyptians moved from Alexandria to Pelusium, and from thence to Raphia, which, after Rhinocolura, is the nearest city of

[29] Polyb. l. v. c. 64. et seq.

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Cœle-Syria[30] on the side of Egypt. Before they performed this laborious march, Antiochus with the lighter part of his army had advanced to Gaza, only forty miles distant, and when he had been joined there by his more heavily armed troops, proceeded slowly in the day, and in the night pitched his camp within less than a mile's distance from the enemy. Frequent skirmishes happened daily between parties that went abroad in search of provisions and water: and the ground between the adverse camps, became the scene of fierce encounters both of cavalry and infantry. But the exploit of Theodotus the Etolian surpassed all the rest in boldness. At once to gratify his personal resentment and to finish the war by an illustrious vengeance, he advanced with two daring companions into the enemy's camp, and through favour of darkness and disguise[31], penetrated to the royal pavilion in which Ptolemy used to sup with his friends and give audience. But the king commonly slept in a more private tent, which circumstance being unknown to Theodotus, he missed his purpose of killing him, and stabbed, instead of Ptolemy, his physician Andreas: after wounding two others, he escaped without hindrance to the surrounding entrenchment. Even there, his resistless courage suffered but a slight interruption.[32]

Olymp. cxl. 2. B. C. 219.

Attempt of Theodotus on the life of Ptolemy.

[30] Polybius uses the word in a large sense, thereby including Judæa.

[31] This was the more easy, as the Egyptian troops were variously dressed and armed.

[32] Conf. Polyb. l. v. c. 18. & 3 Maccabees, c. 1.

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Ptolemy, finding that danger pursued him in his camp itself, became impatient for battle. His light skirmishers and cavalry poured from their entrenchments, and began to form in the plain westward of Raphia, inclosing between their outspreading wings the phalanx of about thirty thousand men, with a due proportion of *hypaspists*. The army of Antiochus contained the same distinctions of troops, and nearly in the same proportions. Intermixed with Greeks and Macedonians, chosen men, from the remotest dependencies of Syria and Egypt, augmented the heavy-armed infantry in either line. On both sides there were Thessalian cavalry, and Theban spearmen; crafty Cretans, fierce Thracians, and ferocious Gauls; for the wealth of the two most powerful kingdoms of the East had purchased martial auxiliaries wherever they could be found. But the European troops of Ptolemy had an advantage over those of his rival: they came more recently from their native provinces, and carried with them that unbroken vigour and inborn bravery, which always suffered decay through contact long continued with Egyptian and Asiatic softness.

Advantage of Ptolemy's foreign troops over those of Antiochus.

Before the signal for action, the two kings, as by mutual consent, rode round their respective armies, and animated them to a battle which was to decide the pre-eminence between Syria and Egypt. In his progress along the line, Philopator was accompanied by his high-minded queen Arsinoë, eager to share the dangers of her unworthy husband, whose debased profligacy

Battle of Raphia, and victory of Philopator. Olymp. cxl. 3. B. C. 218.

was incompatible with every conjugal virtue. Having finished his review Ptolemy took his post on the left: Antiochus placed himself on his right, in direct opposition; both kings were surrounded by royal troops of *equestrian companions*[33], though those select bands were not employed by either, in the way that had made them the great instruments of Alexander's victories. Instead of clearing the ground by the horse, to make room for the unbroken assault of the phalanx, both Ptolemy and Antiochus had placed a line of elephants before their cavalry. These fierce animals advanced to the charge; and a singular spectacle was exhibited by the spearmen fighting from towers on their backs, and one still more extraordinary, by the elephants themselves, who rushed together with adverse fronts, and strove with their implicated trunks to force each other from his ground; until the stronger having pushed aside the proboscis of his adversary, and forced him to turn his flank, then pierced him in many parts with his tusks, as a bull gores with his horns.[34] At length the Egyptian elephants were repelled by the superior size, and strength, and fury of their rival warriors from India; and the confusion, which their rout occasioned, was followed by the defeat of Ptolemy's left wing, the king himself being obliged to retire for safety behind his phalanx. While Antiochus incautiously urged the

[33] Antiochus's ιλη βασιλικη, denotes the same thing with Ptolemy's αγημα. Polybius, l. v. c. 84. See above, vol. i. c. i. 296. et seq.

[34] Polybius, l. v. c. 84.

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pursuit, and was eager to push to the utmost his partial advantage, Echecrates, the Thessalian, who commanded on Ptolemy's right, instructed by what had happened at the other extremity of the field, determined, instead of advancing his elephants to the unequal combat, to defile with his Thessalian and other horsemen, until they had stretched beyond the extremity of Antiochus's left wing. To occupy the enemy's attention during this decisive movement, the Greek mercenaries on the side of Echecrates rushed against the troops posted in opposition to them, at the same time that the Thessalian horse prepared for their resistless attack in flank and rear. By this means, Antiochus was defeated as completely on the left, as he had proved victorious on the right. The phalanxes, thus stripped of both their wings, remained entire in the middle of the plain. Ptolemy on this occasion passed quickly with Arsinoë and his attendants from rear to front. Their sudden appearance infused courage into the Egyptian line, and dismayed the enemy. The battle on the side of Antiochus was sustained with vigour only by Theodotus the Etolian, who commanded the select bands of Syria, many of whom were armed with silver shields in imitation of Alexander's *Argyraspides*. But the heavier phalanx, under the inauspicious guidance of Theodotus the Hemiolian, quickly gave way; and his intrepid namesake, to avoid being attacked in flank, was compelled to accompany his flight. Antiochus, meanwhile, had been carried forward with a

juvenile ardour, as if the engagement had every where been successful, because his own wing was victorious. One of his more experienced attendants at length showed him clouds of dust flying in the direction of his camp. He then returned from the pursuit towards the scene of action, but found the battle irretrievably lost. He retreated first to Raphia, where many of the fugitives had entered, and before the next morning proceeded from thence towards Gaza.[35]

Peace between Egypt and Syria. Olymp. cxl. 3. B. C. 218.

In acknowledgement of his defeat, he sent from that place heralds to Ptolemy, craving leave to bury his slain. Ten thousand infantry and three hundred horsemen lay dead on the field: above four thousand had been made prisoners. There fell on the side of Ptolemy, fifteen hundred foot and seven hundred horse. The battle of Raphia restored to Egypt the undisturbed possession of Cœle-Syria, Palæstine, and Phœnicia. Antiochus retired northwards to his well-fortified capital on the banks of the Orontes, from whence a truce for a year, and afterwards a lasting peace was negociated between himself and Ptolemy.[36]

Greatness of Achæus in Lesser Asia.

In consequence of this treaty, which allowed the latter of these princes to exhibit, as we shall see presently, the boundless depravity of his character, his useful ally Achæus was left to maintain alone the contest in Lesser Asia. During Antiochus's occupations in the East and in Cœle-Syria, Achæus had made himself the most

[35] Polybius, l. v. c. 82—87. [36] Id. Ibid.

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powerful of the four princes, who now divided among them the inland parts of the peninsula. The centre of his dominion consisted in the usurped countries of Phrygia and Lydia: he had extended his possessions in the north at the expence of Prusias of Bithynia, had confined Attalus of Pergamus within the ancient limits of his small hereditary kingdom; and with Mithridates of Pontus, he had contracted an alliance and received in marriage Laodicé, sister to a princess known also by the same name, formerly married to Antiochus.

Commercial war between the Byzantines and Rhodians. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B.C. 221.

The greatness of Achæus's power appeared in a war, which, during the contest between Ptolemy and Antiochus for Cœle-Syria, the city of Byzantium carried on against the island of Rhodes; the first war on record, originating in principles purely commercial. The Byzantines, to repair the losses sustained by the ravages and impositions of the Gauls, had revived a vexatious toll, anciently established by Athens in the zenith of her maritime power, on all trading vessels which passed into the Euxine.[37] The merchants belonging to the neighbouring seaports of the peninsula exclaimed loudly against the injustice of this imposition. They blamed not less severely the tameness of the Rhodians, then paramount at sea, for permitting a tyran-

[37] The toll established by the Athenians was at Chrysopolis, opposite to Byzantium, now the Asiatic suburb, as it were, of Constantinople. It produced, Demosthenes says, 200 talents, about 40,000l. yearly. Demosthen. advers. Leptin. Conf. Xenoph. Hellen. l. iv. p. 542.

nous extortion by which they, in common with other commercial states, were sufferers. Thus piqued in their pride as well as stimulated by interest, the Rhodians sent an embassy to Byzantium, requiring the toll to be abolished. Their demand was rejected with scorn; and although the Rhodians declared war, and immediately sent a fleet of ten galleys to the narrow seas; though Prusias of Bithynia seized the fortress Hieron, and all that part of Mysia which the Byzantines had long occupied; though the Thracians pressed them on the side of Europe, as much as the Bithynians did on that of Asia, they yet remained firm and resolute, in the hope merely that Achæus would espouse their cause; nor, till this hope vanished, did they become willing to purchase peace by abolishing the obnoxious impost.[38]

Reason which hindered Achæus from assisting the Byzantines.

The reason that made Achæus frustrate the expectations which the Byzantines had conceived of him, shows that his filial piety was not unworthy of his great abilities and spirit. His father Andromachus had, before his own rebellion against Antiochus, been made captive in the first scene of the war between that prince and Ptolemy, and was still detained a prisoner in Egypt notwithstanding the friendly dispositions, founded on mutual interest, that began to take place between Achæus and the Egyptian king. The Rhodians, who maintained a close and animated intercourse with Egypt, and a hereditary

[38] Polybius, l. iv. c. 48. et seq.

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friendship with the Ptolemies, well knew the eagerness of Achæus to rescue his father from the power of a man so cruel and capricious as Philopator. After repeated solicitations at the court of Alexandria, they at length obtained the liberation of Andromachus; and carrying him in one of their own vessels to his son, thereby determined the latter to abandon all thoughts of interposing in behalf of Byzantium.[39]

Antiochus besieges Achæus in Sardes. Olymp. cxli. 1, 2. B. C. 216, 215.

The conclusion of the Cœle-Syrian war enabled Antiochus to exert his undivided strength against his rebellious kinsman in Lesser Asia. Having penetrated the Cilician passes, he appeared with a well-composed army in the rich Phrygian plain; and after summoning to his standard Attalus of Pergamus, the exasperated enemy of Achæus, in the course of a single campain he divested this usurper of his most valued acquisitions, drove him from the open country, and compelled him to seek refuge within the walls of Sardes the capital of Lydia. Into this place Achæus conducted the flower of his army. The city was strongly fortified by nature and art; the citadel was deemed impregnable; and as Achæus had foreseen the evils likely to fall on him, both had been amply supplied with all necessaries for subsistence and defence. Antiochus sat down before the place, and continued to besiege it during nearly two years, in which space of time many assaults were made by day and night, in all of which the boldness of the

[39] Polybius, l. iv. c. 51.

besiegers was more boldly repelled, and their stratagems encountered and defeated by still superior address. Antiochus, thus baffled in all his attempts, converted the siege into a blockade, and determined to remain before Sardes until hunger should subdue his adversary. [40]

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Sardes taken through the cunning of Lagoras the Cretan. Olymp. cxli. 2. B. C. 215.

But he had not long embraced this resolution, when Lagoras, a crafty Cretan, inspired him with hopes of bringing the war to a more speedy issue. Lagoras had learned from a long military experience, that the strongest places were often assailed with most success on that very side, where over-hasty opinion pronounced them impregnable. There was a part of the Sardian walls, joining the citadel with the city, built on craggy rocks, overhanging a rugged valley, and which the besiegers called "the Saw," from the sharp protuberances and notches indenting its summit. That this part of the fortification was unguarded, Lagoras was led to conjecture from the following circumstance. The dead bodies of men and cattle were usually precipitated from "the Saw" into the rocky abyss below it, and the vultures who flocked thither for their prey, often reposed fearless on the high adjacent wall, after gorging themselves among the deep and hollow caverns. Lagoras having carefully examined the place, discerned a part of the wall to which it would not be difficult to make approaches, and securely to fix ladders. [41] He lost no time in communicating his discovery to An-

[40] Polybius, l. vii. c. 15.

[41] Polyb. l. vii. c. 16. et seq.

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tiochus; and requested that, in so arduous an undertaking, he might be assisted by the ready boldness of Theodotus the Etolian, and of Dionysius, who commanded that distinguished portion of the *hypaspists* forming the royal guard. The three adventurers concerted measures among themselves, and made the necessary preparations. For executing their design, they chose a night, of which the latter part would be without benefit from the moon. In the preceding evening, they had selected fifteen men, the stoutest and boldest in the army; who accompanied them, bearing the scaling-ladders. They were followed by thirty others, who, after Lagoras and his companions had passed the walls, and were occupied in removing the bolts or bars on the inside of the gate, might exert themselves as vigorously from without, in destroying its cramps and hinges. Two thousand soldiers succeeded at a due distance, ready, when the gate was burst open, to rush into the area surrounding the theatre, a post highly convenient for their purpose between the city and citadel. The design was executed with an intrepidity and precision equal to the craft and secresy with which it had been concerted. Sheltered by darkness and the projecting brow of a craggy eminence, the assailants made their approaches unperceived, fixed the scaling-ladders to the wall, and at the dawn of morning, at which time the "Saw" was left altogether unguarded, began to climb into the city. They could not be seen because of the interposing

rocks, either by Achæus, commanding the citadel, or his lieutenant Ariobazus, then posted in the city. But they were distinctly viewed by the soldiers in Antiochus's camp, whose mingled emotions at so unexpected and extraordinary a spectacle, might have alarmed the enemy, had not a detachment been instantly sent to attack, by way of diversion, the opposite gate on the east, called the Gate of Persia. Ariobazus marched thither with a superior force, and rashly issuing from the gate, engaged in an unseasonable skirmish with the enemy. Achæus, more discerning, sent troops to the western side, towards which he had observed the attention of Antiochus's camp to be directed. But as they had to traverse slowly many rough and intricate paths, they did not arrive in time to hinder the gate near the "Saw" from being broken open, and Lagoras, with upwards of two thousand men, from forming on the area around the theatre. [42]

The city sacked.

When it was discovered that the besiegers had got within the city, Ariobazus returned in such hasty confusion, that many of the enemy entered together with him the gate of Persia. A general assault followed; the entrances were forced open on all sides: Ariobazus, totally overpowered, escaped with difficulty into the citadel, while Sardes became a prey to rapacity and vengeance, and suffered by fire and sword the evils incident to rebellious cities stormed by enraged conquerors.

[42] Polyb. l. vii. c. 16. et seq.

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Achæus long defends the citadel against the whole Syrian army.

Achæus had the mortification to behold from his fortress the dreadful calamities inflicted on his faithful Sardians, without the possibility of affording them relief. His only resource against death by torture, consisted in the strength of the citadel, and his perseverance in defending it. But Antiochus was not less persevering in the siege; careless of other concerns, provided he could get into his hands this daring rebel.

Ptolemy forms a project for enabling Achæus to escape.

In this situation of affairs, Ptolemy, or rather his minister Sosibius, began to think that they had too much neglected the safety of an ally, whose boldness and dexterity might render him highly useful to their views. The Syrians bore with impatience the long absence of their king; the melancholy firmness of Achæus, a man nearly related to the throne, excited in them mingled sentiments of admiration and pity; and, if he should escape from his strong-hold, and appear unexpectedly at Antioch, a powerful party would be ready to espouse his cause, and enable him to dispute with Antiochus the crown of Syria, which the army had formerly tendered to him. A civil war in Syria would, at any rate, according to the maxims too ordinary in state policy, be advantageous to the neighbouring and rival monarchy of Egypt. Under these impressions, Sosibius applied to Bolis, a Cretan in Ptolemy's service, who had attained all those rewards and honours which the king bestowed on his favourite generals, but whose insatiable mind still sighed after higher accumulations of wealth, and more conspicuous marks of dis-

tinction. Sosibius told the Cretan, that nothing could give him greater merit with Ptolemy, than the suggestion of some expedient by which Achæus might effect his escape from the Sardian citadel. [43]

Converted into the means of delivering Achæus to his enemies. Olymp. cxli. 3. B. C. 214.

The crafty Bolis, having taken a few days for deliberation, returned with a smiling countenance to the minister. He acquainted him that Cambylus, his countryman, his relation, and most intimate friend, commanded for Antiochus a post behind the citadel, which being extremely difficult of access, had not been fortified by walls, but which was strongly guarded, night and day, by a trusty band of Cretans. Upon his connection with Cambylus, Bolis grounded the fairest hopes of success; and Sosibius supplied a bag of money, without which nothing could be done in such an undertaking. He also provided Bolis with letters of credence, written in cipher, to Nichomachus of Rhodes, and Melancomas of Ephesus, confidential agents of Achæus, by means of whom that general had formerly carried on all his secret negociations with Ptolemy. To these men Bolis, sailing first to Rhodes, and afterwards to Ephesus, fully communicated his design, towards the success of which he found them most zealous to cooperate. He then sent Arian, an officer who had served under him in Ptolemy's army, to acquaint Cambylus that he had come from Alexandria to hire mercenaries, and to request

[43] Polybius, l. viii. c. 17. et seq.

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him to name the time and place for a private interview.

How this was effected.

In consequence of this message, the two Cretans met in the night: Bolis produced a letter containing the heads of his project. Upon this writing, he and his friend held a consultation highly becoming the flagitious maxims and unprincipled boldness of their country. In this truly Cretan conference, they paid not the smallest regard to the interest of their respective masters; neither of them bestowed a thought on the safety of the unhappy Achæus; the sole point in deliberation was, which of their employers they might dupe with most profit and safety. At length, after examining all the sides and bearings of the affair, they agreed to divide between them ten talents already received from Sosibius, and then to bargain for a new bribe from Antiochus, for betraying Achæus into his hands. Cambylus seized a fit opportunity for opening the business to Antiochus. The king's professions of gratitude corresponded with his transports of joy. Bolis obtained letters of credence in favour of Cambylus and himself, addressed to Achæus by his sincere friends Nichomachus and Melancomas. These letters were delivered to the besieged prince by Arian, for whom Cambylus was careful to procure safe access to the citadel. Achæus, with the distrust of a man long versed in affairs, and whose life was at stake, questioned Arian with equal anxiety and subtlety. The answers which he received from him concerning the enterprise

itself, and all the parties concerned in it, were delivered with an air of genuine truth; for Arian, though privy to the original design in favour of Achæus, was altogether ignorant of the subsequent intrigue for making his rescue from the citadel the means of surrendering him to Antiochus. The behaviour of Arian afforded much satisfaction, he was sent back with an answer to Melancomas, at Ephesus, about fifty miles distant from Sardes; and, through the same messenger, several other letters passed between Achæus and his firm Ephesian friend. At length Achæus wrote to him that he had taken his resolution; he desired, therefore, that Bolis, together with Arian, might be sent to him the first moonless night. Bolis received with alacrity the expected summons to action; and after spending a whole day with Cambylus, to adjust with him their several parts in the plot, was, in the evening that preceded its execution, presented privately to Antiochus in his tent, and by him confirmed in his purpose, through the prospect of vast rewards. From his secret interview with Antiochus, Bolis proceeded to the neighbourhood of the citadel, and there joining Arian, who waited for him, was presently admitted to Achæus. The behaviour of Bolis was frank and manly; and the intrepidity of his looks and words bespoke a character calculated to succeed in enterprises of danger. Yet Achæus did not think fit entirely to trust him. He accordingly pretended, that, for the arrangement of his future pro-

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ceedings, it was necessary that a few of his friends should be placed in safety at Ephesus, before he himself attempted to effectuate his escape. With this view, Bolis and Arian were desired to retire to the gate of the citadel, and to wait there until five persons joined them, whom they were to take under their guidance. Meanwhile Achæus visited his affectionate wife Laodicé, and for the first time disclosed to her the secret of his intended departure. The sudden intelligence disturbed her understanding. He spent a considerable time in endeavouring to calm her disorder; and then assuming a coarse and vulgar habit, with four of his friends dressed as meanly as himself, followed Bolis and Arian to the place appointed, after charging the companions of his flight that one of them only should speak with their conductors. At first Bolis was disconcerted, not knowing which of the fugitives was Achæus, nor indeed whether that prince was of the number; but as they had to pass many rough craggs and dangerous precipices, the attention involuntarily shown by the others in handing and helping the disguised Achæus, enabled the crafty Bolis to discern his victim. When they had advanced to a part of the mountain agreed on between himself and Cambylus, Bolis whistled by way of signal; Cambylus, with a party of armed men, started from their ambush; the former of these traitors grasped Achæus in his arms, and so enveloped him in his own mantle, that he was unable to

use his dagger. The four others were secured by the followers of Cambylus. CHAP. XIV.

Achæus, in bonds, was brought that same night to Antiochus, who lay sleepless in his tent waiting the event. At sight of an adversary, long the object of his terror, now humbled in the dust, Antiochus remained confused and speechless, until his faculties were revived by the warmth of sympathetic tears, which flowed plenteously at a spectacle so impressive of the sad vicissitudes of fortune. Achæus brought to Antiochus in bonds. Behaviour of the latter.

His compassion, if it ever reached the heart, was dissipated next morning by the presence of his ministers and generals. In a council, hastily assembled in the royal tent, it was agreed that Achæus should suffer the death of a traitor. The extremities were dissevered from his trunk, which, wrapped in an ass's skin, was fixed on a cross. On the highest part of that instrument of torture, the head, separated from the body, and uncovered, declared the unhappy criminal; a man ennobled by many virtues, before the deceitfulness of prosperity conspired with royal ingratitude to drive him into rebellion.[44] Punishment of the former.

The tumultuary acclamations of the camp, which accompanied his execution, were deeply suspected by Laodicé, who alone was apprised of her husband's flight, and inwardly trembled for his safety. A herald soon arrived in the citadel, to announce the fate of Achæus. That fortress was filled, first with lamentation, and Spirit of his wife Laodicé.

[44] Polybius, l. viii. c. 17—23.

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then with discord. Antiochus renewed his assaults, which finally prevailed; the high-minded Laodicé in vain exhorting her adherents still to persevere in resistance, rather than submit to the murderer of their long-admired general.

Antiochus's successful expedition against the Parthians and Bactrians. Olymp. cxli. 3. cxliv. 1. B.C. 214—204.

Antiochus having thus punished the revolt in Lesser Asia, with as signal vengeance as he had formerly inflicted on that of Media, thought himself destined to extinguish rebellion in every part of the empire. For upwards of thirty years the Parthians and Bactrians had refused tribute and disavowed allegiance. The former of these countries was now governed by Arsaces III., the latter by Euthydemus, also the third Greek king of Bactria, and who, by fortunate enterprise, had risen to that throne from the condition of a humble citizen of Ionian Magnesia.[45] With a well-appointed army, Antigonus marched into those outlying countries; traversed, as conqueror, Parthia with its maritime appendage of Hyrcania, and granted peace to Arsaces, only on condition that he followed his standard against the more formidable Euthydemus. This prince, to remove the war from his own country, encountered Antiochus in the contiguous province of Aria: a great battle ensued, in which the Syrian king signalised his personal prowess, and obtained a glorious victory, after his horse had been killed under him, and his teeth had been dashed out by a hideous wound

[45] Polybius, l. xi. c. 34. Conf. Bayer, Histor. Regn. Bactrian.

in the mouth. Previously to the action, he had deceived the enemy by passing the river Arius in the night, when its banks were unguarded; and in the battle itself, he had sustained with firmness the repeated charges of new bodies of cavalry continually succeeding to each other: a mode of warfare which the Bactrians should seem to have adopted from their neighbours the Scythians.

Peace with Euthydemus king of Bactria.

Euthydemus retreated precipitately to his capital Bactra [46], and thence dispatched ambassadors to Antiochus to propose terms of accommodation. Among other arguments employed to stop the progress of the conqueror, Euthydemus observed, that he himself had never revolted from the Syrian monarchy, but, on the contrary, had mounted the throne of Bactria by punishing the descendant of a rebel. To this remark he added, that vast swarms of Scythians were actually hovering on his northern frontier; and that, if Bactria was weakened by a civil war among Greeks, not only that country, but the more central provinces of Asia, might be desolated and barbarised by those formidable Nomades. Antiochus felt the weight of this latter argument; and when Euthydemus sent his son Demetrius to adjust terms between them, he was so much delighted with the behaviour and conversation of the young Bactrian, that he promised to give him one of his own daughters in marriage, consenting, at the same time, that his

[46] Polybius, l. x. c. 46., says Zariaspa, another name for the same place.

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father should continue to maintain the name and state of independent royalty.[47]

Renews the treaty with the Indian Sophagesimus.

Antiochus remained thenceforward above seven years in Upper Asia, in which time he governed ably the valuable countries between the Euphrates and the Indus. On the banks of the latter he renewed his friendship with the Indian Sophagesimus, and returned from his eastern expedition to Seleucia-Babylonia with vast treasures, and with one hundred and fifty elephants.[48] Shortly afterwards, we find him below the mouth of the Euphrates, rescuing the commercial city Gerra[49], on the Persian gulph, from the grasp of Arabian robbers. In return for this favour, he was rewarded by the Gerræans with a profusion of spices and perfumes, as well as with large contributions in gold and silver, all of which, as we have seen, were the usual articles of traffic in that wealthy emporium.[50]

Rescues Gerra from the Arabians.

Philopator's proceedings in Jerusalem. Olymp. cxl. 4. B. C. 217.

In the same year that Antiochus, after a long and glorious absence, revisited his capital on the Orontes, he was delivered from all danger on the side of Egypt by the death of Philopator, whose debaucheries brought him to the grave in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and seventeenth of his reign. That slothful tyrant had, contrary to the expectations of his subjects, defeated Antiochus in the decisive battle of Raphia, and

[47] Polybius, l. x. c. 48. et seq. [48] Id. l. xi. c. 54.

[49] He confirmed the ελευθερια, national independence of Gerra. Polyb. i. xiii. c. 9.

[50] See above, vol. i. p. 247.

thereby gained possession of Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Palæstine. He remained in these provinces three months after the battle, and was received by the inhabitants of the country, as well as by every city into which he entered, with professions of submission and loyalty, which, in intermediate territories, often fluctuating between two great rival kingdoms, were not restrained by any remains of allegiance to their former master. His transactions, however, at Jerusalem have been alone thought worthy of record.[51] Ptolemy surveyed the antique grandeur of the city, offered oblations to Jehovah, and dedicated valuable presents in his temple. But not contented with viewing that edifice from the outer court, beyond which no *Gentile* was permitted to pass, he desired to proceed through the holy house, into the most holy sanctuary, where none of the Jews themselves could lawfully enter, except the high-priest alone, and even that sacred magistrate but once only in the year, on the great day of expiation. The king was informed of the unsurmountable objection to the gratification of his curiosity. But though the priests, in their solemn array and august vestments, entreated him to desist from a purpose not allowable even in the ministers of the temple, he answered roughly, that *his* authority was not to be controuled by *their* laws.[52]

[51] They are related in 3 Maccabees throughout, and in Rufinus's Latin edition of Josephus, l. ii. cont. Apion, in which, however, the name of Ptolemy Physcon is by mistake substituted for that of Ptolemy Philopator.

[52] Ει εκεινοι εσερηνται ταυτης της τιμης, εμε ω δει. Maccab

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His attempt to enter the sanctuary frustrated.

The whole city was in commotion. While the high priest Simon prayed to Jehovah to defend his own sanctuary, to Jehovah who, inhabiting the highest heavens, into which no mortal could ascend, had yet consecrated a chosen spot for the monument of his glory and his worship, a promiscuous multitude, of every age and either sex, filled the air with such loud and lamentable wailings, that it seemed as if not only human voices, but the walls and streets from their foundation had deprecated the frantic impiety of the king. His purpose was unalterable; but as he pressed from the inner court to the sanctuary, he was shaken "like a reed by the wind, and fell speechless on the ground," We have seen, on a former occasion, that with the most beastly profligacy, he united the most abject superstition; and it is unnecessary to inquire, whether his body was agitated by external force, or whether the Almighty shook him more dreadfully from within, by the guilty terrors of his conscience. He was carried from the temple half dead by his body-guards; and, upon his recovery, made haste to leave Jerusalem.

His rage vents itself in cruelty towards the Jews in Alexandria. Olymp. cxli. 1. B. C. 216.

At his return to Alexandria, he carried with him his resentment against the Jews, who were more numerous in that capital than even in Jerusalem itself, and who had long enjoyed in Egypt all the privileges of those Greeks and Macedonians who formed the first class of citizens or subjects.[53] Ptolemy published a de-

[53] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 797.

cree degrading them from this rank, and ordering them to be enrolled among the lowest casts of Egyptians. As an additional insult, they were to be stigmatised in their bodies by the figure of an ivy leaf, in honour of the god Bacchus[54]: and none who refused compliance with the established rites of paganism, were allowed access to the gates of the palace, which, as the judges commonly sat there, amounted to a sentence of outlawry against the whole nation. Notwithstanding these cruel and disgraceful penalties, scarcely three hundred Jews apostatised from their religion; and those who had the meanness to embrace that measure for the sake of worldly advantages, met with ineffable disdain from their brethren. This contempt of his authority provoked Ptolemy to madness. The Jews were dragged as the worst of criminals from all parts of Egypt to Alexandria, and many thousands were shut up in the hippodrome of that city, to be destroyed for public sport by elephants rendered furious with frankincense and wine. The horrid show was twice adjourned, because Ptolemy in consequence of his drunken carousals, happened to outsleep the times appointed; and on the third day the intoxicated elephants, instead of attacking the Jewish victims, turned their chief rage against the Egyptian spectators. This unexpected catastrophe, accompanied with other extraordinary[55] circumstances, again over-

[54] 2 Maccab. c. vi. v. 7.

[55] Angels descended, φοβεροειδεις, "of frightful forms," visible to all but the Jews. 3 Maccab. p. 892. Edit. Francofurt.

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whelmed Ptolemy with religious terror; he rescinded his odious decree, and revoked his execrable orders: the Jews, faithful to their law, were reinstated in all their privileges: and in the true spirit of capricious despotism, Ptolemy made atonement for his cruelty to themselves by the more cruel permission of retaliating it on their apostate brethren. [57]

Civil war in Egypt.

Tame as the Egyptians always were, and as the Greeks and Macedonians had recently become, it was not to be expected that they should continue to pay implicit submission to such an execrable tyrant. To oppose Antiochus in the great battle of Raphia, Ptolemy had armed a larger proportion of Egyptians than were usually admitted into the service. This circumstance, inspiring them with confidence, occasioned a civil war, not distinguished by any recorded exertions either of skill or valour, but abominably disgraced by the enormities perpetrated alike by the contending parties. While it lasted, Egypt must have indeed been the scene of bloodshed, if, of the Jewish inhabitants only, forty thousand perished in the contest. [57]

Abilities and crimes of the minister Sosibius. — Death of Philopator.

Ptolemy prevailed over the insurgents through the relative superiority of his generals, and the real abilities of his minister Sosibius, a man grown old in government, and unprincipled as he was, or rather because totally unprincipled, an indispensably useful instrument under such a

[56] 3 Maccab. c. iii. v. 4, 5.
[57] Eusebius in Chronic. p. 185.

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Olymp. cxliv. 1. B. C. 204.

tyrannical reign.[58] He was fertile in expedients, of great presence of mind, with boldness to adopt vigorous measures, and penetration to discern energetic agents. What Ptolemy most admired in his minister was his cruel dexterity in removing secretly, by the cup or the dagger, all those whom it would have been dangerous openly to destroy. In this number was the high-minded Arsinoë, Philopator's queen and sister, who, while her husband wallowed in the lowest sensuality, still sustained with dignity the honours of her rank and birth. Her murder, which Sosibius effected through the agency of his creature Philammon[59], destroyed the last restraint on the headstrong profligacy of the king. The abominable Agathoclean family, contrivers or instruments of every pollution, governed him absolutely; and at the time of his obscure death[60], held the wealth and strength of Egypt so firmly in their hands, that unawed by Sosibius, now loaded with years and the weight of his crimes, Agathocles assumed the guardianship of young Ptolemy, and with that the government of the kingdom. When he had confirmed his usurpation by donatives to the soldiers, and by the murder[61] of all those who were likely to dispute

The abominable Agathoclean family. — Their proceedings.

[58] Polybius, l. xv. c. 25. [59] Id. ibid. c. 33.

[60] His death was long concealed by those who managed affairs under him. (Justin, l. xxx. c. 2.), so that the date of it is a matter of dispute with chronologers. Vaillant, Hist. Ptolem. p. 68.

[61] As Sosibius disappears at this time, it may be conjectured that his old age did not protect him against Agathocles's jealousy. This conjecture is corroborated by the particular mention of Sosibius and his villanies in the same chapter of Polybius, in which we are told that Agathocles destroyed all his rivals. Polyb. l. xv. c. 25.

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his authority, he promoted to the first employments of the state and army, servile mercenaries and low mechanics, most of them creatures debased still more by vileness of mind, than meanness of condition. At the head of such a court, Agathocles gave free scope to proceedings, if possible, more flagitious than those by which his late master had provoked a civil war. The Alexandrians murmured, communicated their complaints, and secretly corresponded with the military commanders in the provinces, entreating them to march to their assistance against an usurper, who trusting to the protection of the city guards, seduced by his largesses, raged with unbridled fury against the inhabitants of the capital.

Conspiracy against them.

Tlepolemus, a general of abilities and enterprise, undertook their defence. By means of the posts which he occupied in the inland country, he was enabled to intercept the ordinary supplies of corn and other necessaries, which were wafted down the Nile to feed a profuse court, a numerous garrison, and a city long crowded with inhabitants, both freemen and slaves. The correspondence between the Alexandrians and Tlepolemus escaped the notice of Agathocles and his agents, until the different bodies of troops stationed in the capital began to be infected with sedition. Their rapacity had much lowered his treasury; from the vicinity of their encampments to the dwellings of the citizens, they enjoyed a free communication with the latter, and were moved by their unceasing

complaints; compassion gaining easier access to their mercenary minds as cruelty grew less profitable.

Agathocles's artifices to regain his credit with the soldiers.

The tyrant, alarmed by his danger, had recourse to those called the royal guards, a body of six thousand men, holding the first rank in the Egyptian service. He proceeded to their camp, bringing with him Agathoclea, and Ptolemy, a child five[62] years old, whom he showed to the soldiers, and whose fate he bewailed in a strain of dramatic lamentation too artful to be affecting. When he had mounted a tribunal, and raised the young prince in his arms, "Him," he said, "the descendant of your ancient kings, his father at the hour of death placed in the hands of her, (pointing to Agathoclea,) who is altogether unable to ward off the unforeseen danger; you only, Macedonians, can defend him, and confirm in his throne this rightful heir, ready to be assailed by disloyal ambition.[63]" He then produced witnesses to prove that Tlepolemus had taken measures for usurping the crown. But the soldiers, instead of regarding his proofs, or the tears which he shed in abundance, treated him with scorn. He met with a similar reception from the other divisions of the city guards, to which he successively applied; many soldiers meanwhile arriving by the Nile from the distant nomes or provinces, and reinforcing the malecontents.

Treated by them with scorn.

[62] Justin, l. xxx. c. ii. Conf. Hieronym. in Daniel, c. xi.

[63] Polybius, l. xv. c. 26.

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Incidents which precipitate his destruction.

In this posture of affairs, the instruments of the tyrant, upon some secret accusation, seized Danäe, mother-in-law to Tlepolemus, as she returned from making her supplications in the temple of Ceres, and dragged her unveiled through the streets to prison. This most unseasonable outrage still farther exasperated the Alexandrians. In the night, writings upbraiding Agathocles were stuck up in every part of the city; and public meetings were held in the day-time, to declare the universal indignation against his government. The trembling usurper had not made preparations for flight; he had not spirit for any great enterprise, nor courage to seek death at the head of his remaining partisans. Meanwhile Mœragenes, one of his life-guards, was accused of treacherously corresponding with Tlepolemus. He was committed for examination to Nicostratus, the tyrant's secretary; who, upon his refusal to confess, ordered the executioners to prepare their instruments of torture. The victim was already stripped, the scourges were already raised to lacerate his body; a sad prelude to more direful sufferings. At that moment, an attendant entered the apartment, whispered Nicostratus in the ear, and hastily withdrew. Nicostratus followed, as quickly, without speaking a word, but smiting continually his thigh in token of inward anguish. The cause of his distress is not explained: there was enough of bad news to be communicated. The executioners stood motionless expecting his return; but after long waiting for him in vain,

dropped away one after the other. Mœragenes was thus left naked and alone in a remote apartment of the palace. He betook himself to flight through such galleries as he fortunately found open, and was so happy as to reach in safety the nearest tents of his Macedonian countrymen. The soldiers were assembled at their forenoon's repast, when the arrival of Mœragenes, the strange plight in which he came, his frightful danger, and surprising escape, determined them to seize the present moment for destroying Agathocles and his family. They proceeded to the farther tents of the Macedonians, and of the other troops which were all nearly contiguous in the same quarter of the city.

Behaviour of Agathocles and his mother Oenanthé.

When Agathocles learned these proceedings, and still farther, that Tlepolemus was on his way to join the insurgents, he behaved like a man altogether bereaved of understanding. As if nothing extraordinary had happened, he retired calmly to supper, and indulged in his habitual intemperance. But his mother Oenanthé, repaired to the temple of Ceres and Proserpine, which was then open for the celebration of the Thesmophorean festival, an august commemoration of the benefits conferred by those goddesses, in the introduction of agriculture and the institutions of settled and civilised life. While with piteous wailings, and in a dejected posture, she invoked Heaven to avert the evils that threatened her, and which her complicated wickedness had most justly deserved, the assembled matrons of Alexandria enjoyed her fearful humi-

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liation; a few only vouchsafed some broken expressions of pity, and drew near to learn more clearly the cause of her affliction. But Oenanthé with the voice and sentiments congenial to her depraved character and infamous life, cried out, "approach me not, wild beasts! I know your hatred to me and mine: you are praying the gods to inflict on us the worst of sufferings; but I hope, with Heaven's help! to make you devour your own children." With these words, she ordered her attendants to drive them to a distance. The women retired, holding up their hands in amazement!

Tumult in Alexandria,—the young king seized by the insurgents.

In every family, indignation now redoubled against the public enemies. As darkness came on, the whole city was filled with tumult, men running in opposite directions with lights in their hands, and many flying in darkness to places of concealment. A mixed multitude crowded the stadium and hippodrome, the broad avenues leading to the theatre of Bacchus, above all, the spacious courts surrounding the palace. Agathocles was roused by the uproar from the stupor of his debauch; he flew to the young king, and taking him by the hand conducted him to a covered gallery [64], which joined the gymnasium to the royal garden, called the Mæander from its intricate walks and winding porticoes. In this subterranean passage, the fugitives were joined by the family and principal friends of Agathocles, all, except Philon, one of the most

[64] The Syringe. Polyb. l. xv. c. 30.

profligate of the number. They passed two latticed doors, strongly secured by iron bolts. All night long, they remained in this concealment, when the insurgents were heard in the morning demanding the person of their king. Aristomenes, an Acarnanian, then attended Agathocles as one of his most devoted partisans, and most assiduous flatterers. This man alone, who afterwards governed Egypt with probity and dignity, ventured to pass through a wicket, with a view to appease the multitude. He was empowered to offer, on the part of Agathocles, the surrender of office, rank, wealth; in a word, every thing to save his life. Aristomenes with difficulty defended his own, and was sent back by the enraged multitude with orders to bring with him young Ptolemy. Upon the return of Aristomenes, and when the first door was burst open, Agathocles extended through the lattice of the second, his supplicating hands, while Agathoclea implored compassion by her breasts, which, she said, had been the source of life to their sovereign. But nothing could appease the public fury until the production of young Ptolemy, who was seized by the insurgents, conveyed on horseback to the stadium, and placed in the seat there appropriated during public shows to the king. Sosibius, son to the late minister, observing, that the child was frightened at the noise and the unknown persons with whom he was surrounded, asked him, whether he abandoned to just punishment those who had been enemies to himself, his family,

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and his country. The child nodded assent; and Sosibius with general approbation then conveyed him to his own house, which was in that neighbourhood; while a body of armed men returned to the palace to drag from thence the whole Agathoclean family, with their now despairing adherents.

Destruction of the Agathoclean family and their adherents.

Before they were brought to the stadium, Philon, already mentioned, first appeared there, still under the influence of his debauch of the preceding day. His drunken insolence subjected him to a sudden death. The same swift destruction fell on Agathocles himself, who was no sooner brought bound into the stadium, than he was dispatched by the hasty anger of his enemies, thus disappointing their own sterner purposes of long torturing vengeance. The females of his family were carried naked on horseback through the streets; and torn in pieces by the multitude. The house of Philammon, who had been the instrument in murdering Arsinoé, was broke open, and himself, together with his wife and children, destroyed with indignant fury by those who had been the female companions of that high-minded princess: for the popular insurrections in Egypt and in Carthage are said to have been distinguished in the following particular from those of Greece and Rome, that boys and women had the indecency to mingle in them openly with men, and thereby to inflame their rage, and exasperate their violence.[65]

[65] Polybius, l. xv. c. 30.

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The death of Ptolemy Philopator was thus followed by funeral games, becoming such a prince, and descriptive of manners so infamous, and of persons so contemptible, that nothing but their abuse of supreme power in a great kingdom could entitle them to a moment's regard. Agathocles, indeed, was the mere child of fortune, and ruined by the same odious vices through which he had risen to greatness under a profligate master. Both his exaltation and depression were thus occasioned by external and vulgar circumstances: they flowed not from inherent peculiarites in his own nature, like those of his execrable namesake the bloody tyrant of Sicily; whose destinies, frightful as they were, originating solely in his own tremendous energies, are thereby better calculated to excite interest in history. After the removal of Agathocles, the guardianship of young Ptolemy, and by consequence the government of Egypt, fell successively into the hands of Sosibius, of Tlepolemus, and of Aristomenes.[66] Of the two first, the administration was short, and its events unimportant; but we shall be called in the course of this history, to commemorate the rare merits of Aristomenes.

Reflection thereon.

Notwithstanding the follies and the vices of Ptolemy Philopator, arts and sciences had taken such firm root in Alexandria, that it would have been impossible for that profligate prince to destroy them. But Philopator, detestable as

Arts and letters under the reign of Philopator.

[66] Polybius. Conf. l. xvi. c. 22. & l. xv. c. 31.

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his own character was, inherited from his ancestors a passion for letters and philosophy. He is said to have delighted in the conversation of Sphærus the Stoic[67]; and all the four ancient sects continued to flourish during his reign; as well as the four new schools, of criticism, geometry, astronomy, and medicine. Philopator dedicated a temple to Homer, adorned with an admired statue of the sublime bard.[68] The poets of his own age attained not celebrity. Rhianus[69] treated an interesting subject, the ancient Messenian wars: and from his now lost poem, many interesting particulars of those wars had been received into history, and thus transmitted to posterity. Euphorion of Chalcis, a voluminious writer in heroic verse[70], became librarian to Antiochus III., Philopator's contemporary and rival. The historians Phylarchus and Chrysippus flourished in the same age[71]: we know not the merit of their matter, but their style, particularly that of the former[72], was disgraced by those inelegancies and distortions which deformed the works of Hegesias, Duris, and other historians of whom we have before spoken. Aristophanes, the scholar of Eratosthenes, distinguished himself in the walks of philology and criticism; and as a mechanician, Heron, who lived down to this reign, has left

[67] Diogen. Laert. l. vii. s. 185.
[68] Ælian Var. Hist. l. iv. c. 22.
[69] Pausanias, Messenic.
[70] Suidas ad Voc.
[71] Scholiast in Apollon. l. iv.
[72] Dionys. Halicarn. de Composit. Verbor.

works [73] that may be still read with profit. But, under the reign of such a capricious prince as Philopator, the most useful knowledge could not fail to be often strangely misapplied. This is illustrated in his far-famed galley of forty tier of oars, surpassing in magnitude all moving castles before or after it. Since the great enlargement of war-ships under Alexander's first successors, the Greek kings of the East were no longer contented with quadriremes and quinqueremes, the rates most serviceable in battle, but vied with each other in constructing vessels of a stupendous magnitude, which answered no other purpose but that of gratifying a vanity alike idle and expensive. Philopator's quadragintareme measured 420 feet in length, and 72 feet in height to the loftiest ornaments of the stern [74], far exceeded in dimensions a modern ship of the largest size carrying one hundred and twenty cannons. This unwieldy machine was impelled by 4000 rowers, steered and manœuvred by 400 sailors, and its batteries were manned by 3000 marines. The same prince built a vessel 330 feet long, but of the disproportionate breadth of 45 feet, because designed chiefly for the navigation of the Nile. It was named Thalamegus [75], as containing the haram, or women's apartment, with most other luxuries of a royal palace. Such also were the accom-

[73] Hero, jun. de Machin. Bell. Conf. Athenæus, l. xi. p. 497. et Fabricius, l. iii. c. 24.

[74] Athenæus, l. v. p. 203. et seq. The breadth is not given.

[75] Id. ibid.

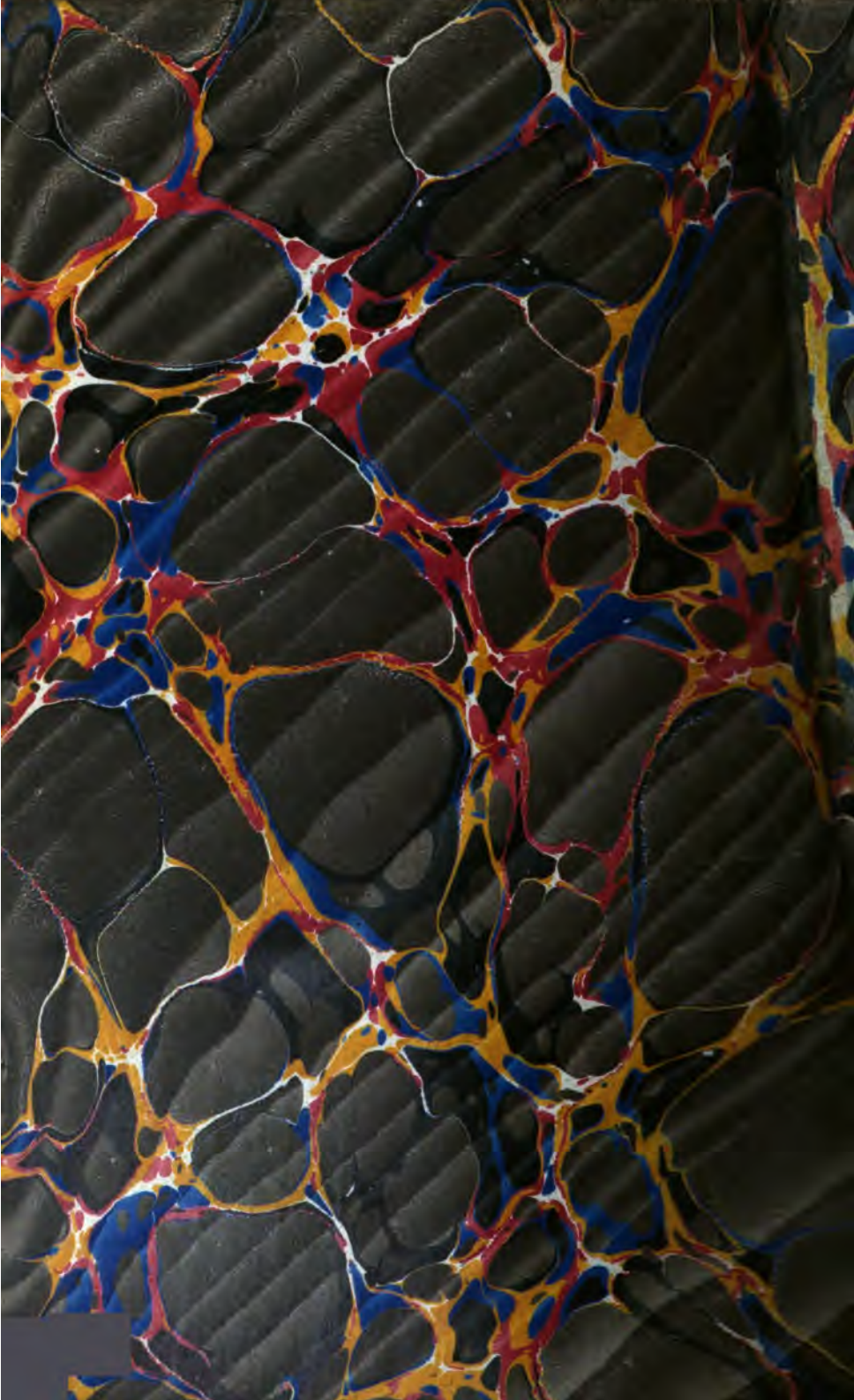
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modations of the moving fortress, which will be described hereafter, constructed by Hieron of Syracuse, and which is said to have actually sailed from that city to Alexandria. [76]

[76] Athenæus, l. v. p. 209.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME
OF PART II.

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